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A

VIEW

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

INCLUDING

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

CELEBRATED REVOLUTIONS

IN

FRANCE, POLAND, SWEDEN, GENEVA,
&c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH

AN ACCURATE AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE

OF THE LATE

MILITARY OPERATIONS;
AND OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS.

By the Rev. J. ADAMS, A.M.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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NEW-YORK.

History is philosophy, teaching by examples, how to conduct ourselves in every situation of private or public life. *Bolingbroke.*

A man who does not think he dropped from the clouds, or does not date the origin of the world from the day of his nativity, ought naturally to be curious of being acquainted with the transactions of different ages and countries. *King of Prussia.*

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HAD it not been for the baleful influence of the Jeſuits over James, the prince of Orange might have found his views upon the crown fruſtrated. The conduct of James gave him advantages which he could not otherwiſe have hoped for. Few were in the prince's ſecret, and when a convention of the ſtates was called, there ſeemed reaſon to believe, that had not James abdicated his throne, it would not have been filled by the prince and princeſs of Orange.

William had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people, who were more ready to examine the commands of their ſuperiors than to obey them.

His reign commenced with an attempt ſimilar to that which had been the principal cauſe of all the diſturbances in the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. Born and educated in a country where all religions and ſects are tolerated, William immediately ſet about repealing thoſe laws that enjoined uniformity of worſhip, and though he could not entirely ſucceed in his deſign, a toleration was granted to ſuch diſſenters as ſhould take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles.

In the mean time James, whoſe authority was ſtill acknowledged in Ireland, embarked at Breſt for that kingdom, and

arrived at Kinſale. He ſoon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. He found the appearance of things in that country equal to his moſt ſanguine expectations. Tyrconnel, the lord lieutenant, was devoted to his intereſts; his old army was ſteady, and a new one raiſed, amounting together to near forty thouſand men.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he went to lay ſiege to Londonderry, a town of ſmall importance in itſelf, but rendered famous by the ſtand which it made on this occaſion. The beſieged endured the moſt poignant ſufferings from fatigue and famine, until at laſt relieved by a ſtore ſhip, that happily broke the boom laid acroſs the river to prevent a ſupply. The joy of the inhabitants at this unexpected relief, was only equalled by the rage and diſappointment of the beſiegers. The army of James was ſo diſpirited by the ſucceſs of this enterprize, that they abandoned the ſiege in the night; and retired with precipitation, after having loſt above nine thouſand men before the place.

A. D. 1690. It was upon the oppoſite banks of the river Boyne that both armies came in ſight of each other, inflamed with all the animoſities ariſing from religion, hatred, and revenge. The river Boyne, at this place, was not ſo deep, but that men might wade over on foot; however the banks were rugged, and rendered dangerous by old houſes and ditches, which ſerved to defend the latent enemy. William, who now headed the proteſtant army, had no ſooner arrived, but he rode along the ſide of the river, in ſight of both armies, to make proper obſervations on the plan of battle; but in the mean time being perceived by the enemy, a cannon was privately brought out, and planted againſt him while he was ſitting. The ſhot killed ſeveral of his followers, and he himſelf was wounded in the ſhoulder.

Early the next morning at ſix o'clock, king William gave orders to force a paſs over the river. This the army undertook in three different places; and after a furious cannonading, the battle began with unuſual vigour. The Iriſh troops, though reckoned the beſt in Europe abroad, have always fought indifferently at home. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, they fled with precipitation, leaving the French and Swiſs regiments who came to their aſſiſtance, to make the beſt retreat they could. William led on his horſe in perſon and contributed, by his activity and vigilance, to ſecure the victory. James was not in the battle, but ſtood aloof, during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, ſurrounded with ſome ſquadrons of horſe; and at intervals was heard to exclaim, when he ſaw his own troops repulſing thoſe of the enemy, "O ſpare my "Engliſh ſubjects." The Iriſh loſt about fifteen hundred men,

men, and the proteſtants about one third of that number. The victory was ſplendid and almoſt deciſive. In the battle at Aughrim, which happened next year, the adherents of James were entirely defeated.

King William's chief object was to humble the power of France, and his reign was ſpent in an almoſt uninterrupted courſe of hoſtilities with that power, which were ſupported by England, at an expence ſhe had never known before. A land tax was impoſed, and every ſubject's land taxed, according to their valuations given in by the ſeveral counties. Thoſe who were the moſt loyal gave the higheſt valuations, and were the heavieſt taxed; and this prepoſterous burthen ſtill continues. But the greateſt and boldeſt operation in finances, that ever took place, was eſtabliſhed in this reign; which was the carrying on the war by borrowing money upon the parliamentary ſecurities, now called *the public funds*. The chief projector of this ſcheme is ſaid to have been Charles Montague, afterwards lord Halifax. His chief argument for ſuch a project was, that it would oblige the monied part of the nation to befriend the Revolution intereſt, becauſe, after lending their money, they could have no hopes of being repaid but by ſupporting that intereſt, and the weight of taxes would oblige the commercial people to be more induſtrious *. How well thoſe views have been anſwered is evident from the preſent ſtate of public credit.

William, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſervice he had done to the nation, and the public benefits which took place under his auſpices, particularly in the eſtabliſhment of the Bank of England, and the re-coining the ſilver money, met with ſo many mortifications from his parliament, that he actually reſolved upon an abdication, and had drawn up a ſpeech for that purpoſe, which he was prevailed upon to ſuppreſs. He long bore the affronts he met with in hopes of being ſupported in his war with France, but at laſt he A. D. 1697. was forced to conclude the peace of Ryſwick with the French, who acknowledged his title to the crown of England. By this time William had loſt his queen †, but the government was continued in his perſon. After peace was reſtored, the commons obliged him to diſband his army, all but an inconſiderable number, and to diſmiſs his favourite Dutch guards. Towards the end of his reign, his fears of ſeeing the whole Spaniſh monarchy in poſſeſſion of France at the death of the Catholic king Charles II. which was every day expected, led him into a very impolitic meaſure, which was the partition treaty with France, by which that monarchy

* Burnet. † She died of the ſmall-pox, Dec. 28, 1694, in the thirty-third year of her age.

was to be divided between the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria. This treaty was highly reſented by the parliament, and ſome of his miniſtry were impeached for adviſing it. It is thought that William ſaw his error when it was too late. His miniſters were acquitted from their impeachment, and the death of king James diſcovered the inſincerity of the French court, which immediately proclaimed his ſon king of Great Britain.

This perfidy rendered William again popular in England. The two houſes paſſed the bill of abjuration, and an addreſs for a war with France. The laſt and moſt glorious act of William's reign was his paſſing the bill for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown in the houſe of Hanover. His death was haſtened by a fall he had from his horſe, ſoon after he had renewed the grand alliance againſt France, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign in England. This prince was not made by nature for popularity. His manners were cold and forbidding; he ſeemed alſo ſometimes almoſt to loſe ſight of thoſe principles of liberty, for the ſupport of which he had been raiſed to the throne; and though he owed his royalty to the whigs, yet he often favoured the tories. The reſcue and preſervation of religion and public liberty were the chief glory of William's reign; for England under him ſuffered ſeverely both by ſea and land, and the public debt, at the time of his death amounted to the unheard of ſum of 14,000,000l.

March 28, A. D. 1702.

Anne, princeſs of Denmark, by virtue of the act of ſettlement, and being the next proteſtant heir to her father James II. ſucceeded king William in the throne. As ſhe had been ill treated by the late king, it was thought ſhe would have deviated from his meaſures; but the behaviour of the French in acknowledging the title of her brother, who has ſince been well known by the name of the pretender, left her no choice, and ſhe reſolved to fulfil all William's engagements with his allies, and to employ the earl of Marlborough, who had been impriſoned in the late reign on a ſuſpicion of jacobitiſm, and whoſe wife was her favourite, as her general. She could not have made a better choice of a general and ſtateſman, for that earl excelled in both capacities. No ſooner was he placed at the head of the Engliſh army abroad, than his genius and activity gave a new turn to the war, and he became as much the favourite of the Dutch as his wife was of the queen.

The capital meaſure of continuing the war againſt France being fixed, the queen found no great difficulty in forming her miniſtry, who were for the moſt part tories. The earl of Godolphin, who (though afterwards a leading whig) was thought all his life to have a predilection for the late king James and his queen, was placed at the head of the treaſury.

His ſon had married the earl of Marlborough's eldeſt daughter, and the earl could truſt no other with that important department. In the courſe of the war, ſeveral glorious victories were obtained by the earl, who was ſoon made duke of Marlborough. Thoſe of Blenheim and Ramillies gave the firſt effectual checks to the French power. By that of Blenheim, the empire of Germany was ſaved from immediate deſtruction. Though prince Eugene was that day joined in command with the duke, yet the glory of the day was confeſſedly owing to the latter. The French general, Tallard, was taken priſoner and ſent to England; and 20,000 French and Bavarians were killed, wounded or drowned in the Danube, beſides about 13,000 who were taken, and a proportionable number of cannon, artillery, and trophies of war. About the ſame time, the Engliſh admiral, ſir George Rooke, reduced Gibraltar, which ſtill remains in our poſſeſſion. The battle of Ramillies was fought and gained under the duke of Marlborough alone. The loſs of the enemy there has been variouſly reported; it is generally ſuppoſed to have been 8000 killed or wounded, and 6000 taken priſoners. A. D. 1704. A. D. 1706.

The views of the allies extended with their ſucceſſes. Having humbled France, they aſpired at the conqueſt of Spain. It was accordingly reſolved, that no peace ſhould be made with the houſe of Bourbon, while a prince of that houſe continued to ſit upon the Spaniſh throne. Thus were the objects of the confederacy in a great meaſure changed. Before this change the war was wiſe and juſt, becauſe neceſſary to maintain that equality among the powers of Europe on which their peace and common proſperity depend; but afterwards it was unwiſe and unjuſt, becauſe unneceſſary to ſuch end, and directed to other and contrary ends. After this change, it became a war of paſſion, of ambition, of avarice, and of private intereſt, to which the general intereſts of Europe were ſacrificed ſo entirely, that, if the terms inſiſted on by the confederates had been granted, ſuch a new ſyſtem of power would have been created as muſt have expoſed the balance of that power to deviations, not inferior to thoſe which the war was originally intended to prevent. While we reprobate this ambitious ſcheme conſidered in a general view, we find particular occaſion to lament the fate of Great Britain, in the midſt of triumphs that have been founded ſo high. Victories that bring honour to the arms, may bring ſhame to the councils of a nation. To win a battle, to take a town, is the glory of a commander, and of an army. Of this glory we had a very large ſhare. But the wiſdom of a nation is to proportion the

ends ſhe propoſes to her intereſt and her ſtrength. Great Britain neither expected nor deſired any thing beyond what ſhe might have obtained, by adhering to the firſt principles of the grand alliance. But ſhe was hurried into thoſe of the new plan by the cauſes which I have already mentioned: by the prejudices and the raſhneſs of party; by the influence which the ſucceſſes of the arms of the confederates gave to our miniſters, Godolphin and Marlborough; and by the popularity, if I may ſo ſpeak, which they gave to the war itſelf. The people were unwilling to put an end to a conteſt that afforded ſo many occaſions of public rejoicing, and ſo wide a range for national pride.

The Engliſh miniſtry, however, though thus laviſh of the blood and treaſure of the nation, in ſupport of unneceſſary foreign wars, were by no means negligent of its internal tranquillity and happineſs. The union of England and Scotland, under one legiſlature, which had been often attempted in vain, was at laſt accompliſhed, after a long and warm debate between the commiſſioners of the two kingdoms; and, in conſequence of it, all diſputes concerning the Scottiſh crown were fortunately prevented.

In this famous treaty it was ſtipulated that the acceſſion to the united kingdoms ſhould be veſted in the houſe of Hanover; that the united kingdoms ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament; that all the ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages; that they ſhould have the ſame allowances and privileges with reſpect to commerce and cuſtoms; that the laws concerning public right, civil government, and policy, ſhould be the ſame throughout the two united kingdoms; but that no alteration ſhould be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident benefit of the ſubjects of Scotland; that the courts of ſeſſion, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, ſhould remain, as then conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the ſame authority and privileges as before the union; that Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the parliament of Great Britain by ſixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in ſuch a manner as ſhould be ſettled by the preſent parliament of Scotland; that all peers of Scotland ſhould be conſidered as peers of Great Britain, and rank immediately after the Engliſh peers of the like degrees, at the time of the union, and before ſuch as ſhould be created after it; that they ſhould enjoy all the privileges of Engliſh peers, except that of ſitting and voting in parliament, or ſitting upon the trial of peers; that all the inſignia of royalty and government ſhould remain as they were; that all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they might be inconſiſtent

ent with the terms of theſe articles, ſhould ceaſe and be declared void by the reſpective parliament of the two kingdoms *. Theſe were the principal articles of the union: and it only remained to obtain the ſanction of the legiſlature of both kingdoms to give them authority.

The arguments of theſe different aſſemblies were ſuited to the audience. To induce the Scotch parliament to come into the meaſure, it was alledged by the miniſtry and their ſupporters, that an entire and perfect union would be the ſolid foundation of a laſting peace. It would ſecure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animoſities that prevailed among themſelves, and the jealouſies that ſubſiſted between the two nations. It would increaſe their ſtrength, riches and commerce; the whole iſland would be joined in affection, and freed from all apprehenſions of different intereſts. It would be enabled to reſiſt all its enemies, ſupport the proteſtant intereſts, and maintain the liberties of Europe. It was obſerved that the leſs the wheels of government were clogged by a multiplicity of councils, the more vigorous would be their exertions. They were ſhewn that the taxes which, in conſequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means ſo proportionably great as their ſhare in the legiſlature. That their taxes did not amount to a ſeventieth part of thoſe ſupplied by the Engliſh; and yet their ſhare in the legiſlature was not a tenth part leſs. Such were the arguments in favour of the union addreſſed to the Scotch parliament. In the Engliſh houſes it was obſerved, that a powerful and dangerous nation would thus for ever be prevented from giving them any diſturbance. That in caſe of any future rupture, England had every thing to loſe and nothing to gain againſt a nation that was courageous and poor.

On the other hand, the Scotch were fired with indignation at the thoughts of loſing their ancient and independent government. The nobility found themſelves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their ſeats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce loaded with heavy duties, and conſidered their new privilege of trading to the Engliſh plantations in the Weſt Indies, as a very uncertain advantage. In the Engliſh houſes alſo it was obſerved, that the union of a rich with a poor nation would always be beneficial to the latter, and that the former could only hope for a participation of their neceſſities. It was ſaid that the Scotch reluctantly yeilded to his coalition, and that it might be likened to a marriage with a woman againſt her conſent.

* Defoe's Hiſtory of the Union.

That ſome of the evils, foretold by the Scottiſh patriots at the union, have ſince overtaken their countrymen, cannot be denied; particularly the accumulation of taxes, in conſequence of the growth of the Engliſh national debt, which then amounted only to about twenty millions, and the multiplication of the herd of inſolent revenue officers. Yet have the Scots, from that æra, enjoyed more happineſs, as individuals, than they could poſſibly have attained in their diſunited ſtate. Nor has England reaſon to complain of the union. Inſtead of turbulent neighbours, ſhe has gained, by communicating her privileges to the Scots, hardy ſoldiers to fight her battles, and induſtrious workmen in every branch of manufactures. She has ſecured for ever the undivided ſovereignty of Great Britain, and the liberties of Engliſhmen, againſt the uſurpations of foreign or domeſtic ambition, by making the conſervation of that ſovereignty, and thoſe liberties, the common intereſt of all the brave and free ſubjects of the united kingdom.

The diſputes about the prerogative, the ſucceſſion, religion, and other public matters, had created great ferments in the nation and parliament. The queen at firſt ſtuck cloſe to the duke of Marlborough and his friends, who finding that the tories inclined to treat with France, put themſelves at the head of the whigs, who were for continuing the war, from which the duke and his dependents, according to their ſtations, received immenſe emoluments. The failures of the Germans and Dutch could not however be longer diſſembled, and the perſonal intereſt of the ducheſs of Marlborough, with the queen, began to be ſhaken by her own haughtineſs. Means, too were found to convince her majeſty, who was much attached to the church of England, that the war in the end, if continued, muſt prove ruinous to her and her people, and that the whigs were no friends to the national religion. The general cry of the deluded people was, that "the church was "in danger;" which, though groundleſs, had great effects. One Sacheverel, an ignorant, worthleſs preacher, had eſpouſed this clamour in one of his ſermons, with the ridiculous impracticable doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. It was, as it were, agreed by both parties to try their ſtrength in this man's caſe. He was impeached by the commons, and found guilty by the lords, who ventured to paſs upon him only a very ſmall cenſure. After this trial, the queen's affections were entirely alienated from the ducheſs of Marlborough, and the whig adminiſtration. Her friends loſt their places which were ſupplied by tories, and even the
A. D. 1712. command of the army was taken from the duke of Marlborough, and given to the duke of Ormond,

mond, who produced orders for a ceſſation of arms; but they were diſregarded by the queen's allies in the Britiſh pay. And indeed, the removal of the duke of Marlborough from the command of the army, while the war was continued was an act of the greateſt imprudence, and excited the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. So numerous had been his ſucceſſes, and ſo great his reputation, that his very name was almoſt equivalent to an army. But the honour and intereſt of a nation was ſacrificed to court intrigues, managed by Mr. Harley and Mrs. Maſham, a relation of the dutcheſs of Marlborough, who had ſupplanted her benefactreſs.

Conferences were now opened for peace at Utrecht, to which the queen and the French king ſent plenipotentiaries; and the allies being defeated at Denain, grew ſenſible that they were not a match for the French, now that they were abandoned by the Engliſh. Mr. Harley, who was created earl of Oxford and lord high-treaſurer of England, was at this time conſidered as the queen's firſt miniſter; but the negociations for peace went alſo through the hands of Mr. Prior, and lord Bolingbroke, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate. The miniſtry endeavoured to ſtifle the complaints of the whigs, and the remonſtrances of prince Eugene, who arrived in England on the part of the allies, by falling upon the contractors, foragers, and other agents of the fleet and army, whom they accuſed of corrupt practices. The queen was at this time in a critical ſituation. The whigs condemned the peace as injurious to the honour and intereſt of the nation. The majority of the houſe of lords were of that party, but that of the houſe of commons were tories. The queen was afraid that the peers would reject the peace, and by an unprecedented exerciſe of her prerogative ſhe created twelve peers at one time, which ſecured the approbation of the parliament for the peace. The treaties between the different powers, ſo long negociated, were at laſt ſigned at Utrecht, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Pruſſia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor reſolving to continue the war, and the king of Spain refuſing to ſign the ſtipulations until a principality ſhould be provided, in the Low Countries, for the princeſs Orſini, the favourite of his queen *. March 31, A. D. 1713.

From the complexion of the times at this critical period, it is probable that the queen, by ſome ſecret influence, which never has yet been diſcovered, and was even concealed from ſome of her miniſters, wiſhed to call her brother to the ſucceſſion. He had written a letter to her, ſome time before, in

* Duke of Berwick's Memoirs.

which

which he put her in mind of the affection that ought to subſiſt between two perſons ſo nearly related, and recalled to her memory, her repeated promiſes to their common parent:—"To you," ſaid he, "and to you alone, I wiſh to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God and "of nature are loud in your ear! The preſervation of our "family, the preventing of inteſtine wars, and the proſperity "of our country combine, to require you to reſcue me from "affliction, and yourſelf from miſery. Though reſtrained by "your difficult ſituation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, the laſt male of an ancient line, to the remoteſt relation we have in the world. Neither you nor the "nation have received any injury at my hands: therefore, "madam, as you tender your honour and happineſs—as you "love your family, as you revere the memory of your father "—as you regard the welfare and ſafety of a great people, "I conjure you to meet me, in this friendly way of compoſing our difference!—The happineſs of both depends upon "your determination: you have it in your power to deliver "me from the reproach that invariably follows unfortunate "princes, and to render your own memory dear to poſterity *."

The reſt of the queen's life was rendered uneaſy by the jarring of parties, and the contentions among her miniſters. The whigs demanded a writ for the electoral prince of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge to come to England; and ſhe was obliged haſtily to diſmiſs her lord treaſurer, when ſhe fell into a lethargic diſorder, which carried her off in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign †. This princeſs, notwithſtanding the illuſtrious events of her reign, is entitled to little praiſe: ſhe poſſeſſed neither vigour of mind, ſplendid talents, nor a deep penetration into human affairs. A prey to the moſt enſlaving timidity, and continually governed by favourites, ſhe can hardly be ſaid to have ever thought for herſelf, or to have acted according to her own inclinations. But as her popularity concealed the weakneſs of her perſonal authority, the great abilities of her principal ſervants, to whom ſhe owed that popularity, threw a ſplendid veil over the feeble qualities of queen Anne.

A. D. 1282.

* Stuart papers. † With her ended the line of the Stuarts, which, from the acceſſion of James I. anno 1603, had ſwayed the ſceptre of England 111 years, and that of Scotland 343 years, from the acceſſion of Robert II. anno 1371.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

George I.—Rebellion in favour of the Pretender—Septennial Bill—South-Sea Scheme—Inſtitution of the Sinking Fund—George II.—Sir Robert Walpole—Mr. Pelham—Adventures and diſtreſſes of the young Pretender—Admiral Byng's Puniſhment—Mr. Pitt's Adminiſtration—Succeſſes of the Engliſh—Reduction of Quebec—Character of General Wolfe—Death and Character of George II.

UPON the death of queen Anne, the ſucceſſion took place in terms of the act of ſettlement, and George I. elector of Hanover, ſon of the princeſs Sophia, grand-daughter of James I. was proclaimed king of Great Britain; his mother, who would have been next in ſucceſſion, having died a few days before. He was fifty-four years old when he aſcended the throne; and his abilities, though not ſhining, were ſolid; he was of a very different diſpoſition from the Stuart family, whom he ſucceeded. Theſe were known to a proverb, for leaving their friends in extremity; George, on the contrary, ſoon after his arrival in England, was heard to ſay, "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends, to do juſtice to all the world, and to fear no man." To theſe qualifications of reſolution and perſeverance, he joined great application to buſineſs. However, one fault with reſpect to England remained behind; he ſtudied the intereſts of thoſe ſubjects he had left, more than thoſe he came to govern.

George came over to England with ſtrong prepoſſeſſions againſt the tory miniſtry, moſt whom he diſplaced; but this did not make any great alteration to his prejudice in England. Many of the Scots, however, by the influence of the earl of Mar, and other chiefs, were driven into rebellion, and defeated by the king's troops in the famous battle of Sheriff-muir. Some deluded noblemen and gentlemen in the North of England joined a party of the Scotch rebels, but they were ſurrounded at Preſton, where they delivered up their arms, and their leaders were ſent priſoners to London where ſome of them ſuffered. A. D. 1715.

Such was the iſſue of a rebellion, which had its origin in the intrigues in favour of the pretender, during the latter years of the reign of queen Anne, and not in the meaſures of the new government. Its declared object was the reſtoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain; which many

many intelligent writers have ſuppoſed would have been attended with fewer inconveniencies than the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover. But they who reflect that the pretender was a bigotted papiſt, and not only obſtinately refuſed to change his religion, though ſenſible it incapacitated him from legally ſucceeding to the crown, but ſtudiouſly avoided, in his very manifeſtoes, giving any open and unequivocal aſſurance, that he would maintain the civil and religious liberties of the nation, *as by law eſtabliſhed* *, will find reaſon to be of another opinion. They will conſider the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, which defeated the deſigns of the Jacobites, and in a manner extinguiſhed the hopes of the pretender, as an event of the utmoſt importance to the happineſs of Great Britain.

The nation, however, was in ſuch a diſpoſition that the miniſtry durſt not venture to call a new parliament, and the members of that which was ſitting, voted a continuance of their duration from three to ſeven years, which is thought to have been the greateſt ſtretch of parliamentary power ever known, and a very indefenſible ſtep.

A national puniſhment, different from plague, peſtilence and famine, overtook England, by the ſudden
A. D. 1720. riſe of the South-Sea ſtock, one of the trading companies. This company was but of late erection, and was owing to a ſcheme of carrying on an excluſive trade, and making a ſettlement in the South-Seas, which had been formed in 1711. In 1720, the company obtained an act to increaſe their capital ſtock by redeeming the public debts; and was then inveſted with the *aſſiento* of negroes, which had been ſtipulated between Great Britain and Spain. In ſhort, it became ſo favourite a company, that it roſe to 310l. for 100l. before the bill had the royal aſſent in April; before the end of May to 500l.; and by the twentieth of June, their ſtock roſe to 890l. per. cent., and afterwards to 1000l. but before the end of September it fell to 150l. by which thouſands were involved in ruin. Though this might be owing to the inconſiderate avarice of the ſubſcribers, yet the public imagined that the miniſtry had contributed to the calamity; and ſome of the directors inſinuated that the miniſters and their friends had been the chief gainers. The latter, however, had the addreſs to eſcape without cenſure, but the parliament paſſed a bill which confiſcated the eſtates of the directors, with an allowance for their maintenance; a poor reparation for the public injuries. About the ſame time, one John Law, a Scotchman, impoſed upon the French by erecting a company under the name of the Miſſiſſippi, which pro-

* Lord Bolingbroke's Letters.

miſed

miſed that deluded people great wealth, but which ended in involving the French nation in great diſtreſs.

The diſcontents occaſioned by theſe public calamities once more gave the diſaffected party hopes of ſucceeding. But in all their councils they were weak, divided, and wavering. The firſt perſon who was ſeized upon ſuſpicion was Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, a prelate long obnoxious to the preſent government, and poſſeſſed of abilities to render him formidable to any miniſtry he oppoſed. His papers were ſeized, and he himſelf confined in the Tower. Soon after the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and ſome others of inferior rank, were arreſted and impriſoned. Of all theſe, however, only the biſhop, who was baniſhed, and one Mr. Layer, who was hanged at Tyburn, felt the ſeverity of government, the proofs againſt the reſt amounting to no convictive evidence *.

A treaty was concluded at Hanover, between the kings of Great Britain, France, and Pruſſia, A. D. 1725. to counterbalance an alliance that had been formed between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. A ſquadron was ſent to the Baltic, to hinder the Ruſſians from attacking Sweden, another to the Mediterranean, and a third under admiral Hoſier, to the Weſt Indies, to watch the Spaniſh plate fleets. This laſt was a fatal as well as an inglorious expedition. The admiral and moſt of his men periſhed by epidemical diſeaſes, and the hulks of his ſhips rotted ſo as to render them unfit for ſervice. The management of the Spaniards was little better. They loſt near 10,000 men in the ſiege of Gibraltar, which they were obliged to raiſe. The king in his ſpeech to the parliament publicly accuſed the emperor of a deſign to place the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; but this was ſtrenuouſly denied by baron Palme the imperial ambaſſador at London, who was therefore ordered to leave the kingdom. A quarrel with the emperor was the moſt dangerous to Hanover of any that could happen; and therefore the parliament granted money and ſubſidies, for the protection of Hanover, to the kings of Denmark and Sweden and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. Such was the ſtate of affairs in Europe, when George A. D. 1727. I. ſuddenly died, at Oſnaburgh, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. He was a prudent and virtuous prince; but his attachment to his German dominions, which has been much magnified, was made uſe of by the tories to render him odious to the Engliſh nation.

* Tindal. Smollett.

The

The reign of George I. is remarkable for the incredible number of bubbles and cheating projects to which it gave riſe, by which it was reckoned that almoſt a million and a half was won and loſt; and for the great alteration of the ſyſtem of Europe, by the concern which the Engliſh took in the affairs of the continent. The inſtitution of the ſinking fund for diminiſhing the national debt, is likewiſe owing to this period.

The acceſſion of George II. made no alteration in the ſyſtem of Britiſh politics. The adminiſtration was wiſely continued in the hands of the whigs, the only true friends to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as to the principles of revolution: and the ſame tory faction, which had ſo frequently attempted to thwart the meaſures, and overturn the throne of the firſt George, continued their violent oppoſition in parliament, during the more early part of the reign of George II. The heads of this faction, namely, ſir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and others, being men of great abilities, were ſoon joined by certain diſguſted courtiers, of equal, if not ſuperior talents, who hoped, by ſuch coalition, to humble their ſucceſsful rivals, and get into their own hands the higheſt employments of the ſtate. Mr. Pultney, the fineſt ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and lately a member of adminiſtration, already made one of their number. Lord Carteret and the earl of Cheſterfield, the moſt diſtinguiſhed orators in the houſe of peers, afterwards joined the phalanx.

This powerful body, by continually oppoſing the meaſures of government, and paſſionately railing againſt continental connexions, ſoon acquired great popularity, and at laſt became formidable to the throne. The patriotic, or country party, as the members in oppoſition called themſelves, were always predicting beggary and ruin in the midſt of the moſt profound peace, and the higheſt national proſperity; and a ſmall ſtanding army, which it was thought prudent to keep up, was repreſented as an engine of deſpotiſm. The liberties of the people were believed by many to be in danger. But thoſe liberties, or at leaſt the freedom of the conſtitution, has ſuffered more from a pernicious ſyſtem of domeſtic policy, which that violent oppoſition at firſt made neceſſary, than from the ſo much dreaded military eſtabliſhment.

Sir Robert Walpole was conſidered as firſt miniſter of England from George the Firſt death, and ſome differences having happened between him and the prince of Wales, it was generally thought, upon the acceſſion of the latter upon the throne, that ſir Robert would be diſplaced. That might have been the caſe, could another perſon have been found equally capable, as he was, to manage the houſe of commons, and to gra-

tify that predilection for Hanover which George II. inherited from his father. No miniſter ever underſtood better the temper of the people, and, none perhaps, ever tried it more. He filled all places of power, truſt, and profit, and almoſt the houſe of commons itſelf, with his own creatures; but peace was his darling object, becauſe he thought that war muſt be fatal to his power. During his long adminiſtration he never loſt a queſtion that he was in earneſt to carry. The exciſe ſcheme was the firſt meaſure that gave a ſhock to his power, and even that he could have carried, had he not been afraid of the ſpirit of the people without doors, which might have either produced an inſurrection or endangered his intereſt in the next general election.

Poſſeſſed of great abilities, but deſtitute of principle, ſir Robert made no ſcruple of employing the money voted by parliament, in order to corrupt its members. Having diſcovered that almoſt every man had his price, he bought many, and, to gain more, he let looſe the wealth of the treaſury at elections. The fountain of liberty was poiſoned in its ſource. "To deſtroy Britiſh liberty," ſays a ſenſible writer, "with "an army of Britons, is not a meaſure ſo ſure of ſucceſs as "ſome people may believe. To corrupt the parliament is a "ſlower, but a more effectual method. Whenever the peo- "ple of Britain become ſo degenerate and baſe, as to be in- "duced by corruption, for they are no longer in danger of be- "ing awed by prerogative, to chuſe perſons to repreſent them "in parliament, whom they have found by experience to be "under an influence ariſing from private intereſt, dependants "upon a court, and the creatures of a miniſter; or others, "who bring no recommendation, but that which they carry "in their purſes; then will that trite proverbial ſpeech be "verified in our caſe, that the corruption of the beſt things "is the worſt: for then will that very change in the ſtate "of property and power, which improved our conſtitution ſo "much, contribute to the deſtruction of it *."

This pacific ſyſtem, however, brought ſir Robert Walpole into inconveniences both at home and abroad. It encouraged the Spaniards to continue their depredations upon the Britiſh ſhipping in the American ſeas, and the French to treat the Engliſh court with inſolence and neglect. At home, many of the great peers thought themſelves ſlighted, and intereſted themſelves more than ever they had done in elections. This, together with the diſguſt of the people at the propoſed exciſe ſcheme, and paſſing the *Gin Act*, increaſed the minority in the houſe of commons to 130, ſome of whom were as able men and as A. D. 1736.

* Bolingbroke.

good

good ſpeakers as ever had ſat in a parliament; and taking advantage of the increaſing complaints againſt the Spaniards, they attacked the miniſter with great ſtrength of argument, and with great eloquence. In juſtice to Walpole, it ſhould be obſerved, that he filled the courts of juſtice with able and upright judges, nor was he ever known to attempt any ſubverſion of the known law of the kingdom. He was ſo far from checking the freedom of debate, that he bore with equanimity the moſt ſcurrilous debate that was thrown out to his face. He gave way to one or two proſecutions for libels, in compliance to his friends, who thought themſelves affected by them; but it is certain, that the preſs of England never was more open or free than during his adminiſtration.

With regard to the king's own perſonal concern in public matters, Walpole was rather his miniſter than his favourite; and his majeſty often hinted to him, as Walpole himſelf has been heard to acknowledge, that he was reponſible for all meaſures of government. Queen Caroline, conſort, to George II. was always a firm friend to the miniſter; but
A. D. 1737. ſhe died, when a variance ſubſiſted between the king and his ſon, the prince of Wales. The latter complained, that through Walpole's influence he was deprived not only of the power but the proviſion to which his birth entitled him; and he put himſelf at the head of the oppoſition with ſo much firmneſs, that it was generally foreſeen Walpole's power was drawing to a criſis. At the general election, ſo prevalent was the intereſt of the prince of Wales in England, and that of the duke of Argyle in Scotland, that a majority was returned to parliament who were no friends to the miniſter, and after a few trying
A. D. 1742. diviſions, he retired from the houſe, was created earl of Orford, and reſigned all his employments.

George II. bore the loſs of his miniſter with the greateſt equanimity, and even conferred titles of honour, and poſts of diſtinction, upon the heads of the oppoſition. By this time, the death of the emperor Charles VI. the danger of the pragmatic ſanction, (which meant the ſucceſſion of his daughter to all the Auſtrian dominions), through the ambition of France, who had filled all Germany with her armies, and many other concurrent cauſes, induced George to take the leading part in a continental war. He was encouraged to this by lord Carteret, whom he had made ſecretary of ſtate, and indeed by the voice of the nation in general. George accordingly put himſelf at the head of his army, fought and gained
A. D. 1743. the battle of Dettingen; and his not ſuffering his general, the earl of Stair, to improve the blow,

blow, was thought to proceed from tenderneſs for his electoral dominions. This partiality created an univerſal flame in England; and a clamour raiſed againſt his lordſhip's meaſures was increaſed by the duke of Newcaſtle and his brother, lord chancellor Hardwicke, lord Harrington, and other miniſters, who reſigned, or offered to reſign their places, if lord Carteret ſhould retain his influence in the cabinet. His majeſty was obliged to give way to what he thought was the voice of his people, and he indulged them with accepting the ſervices of ſome gentlemen who had never been conſidered as zealous friends to the houſe of Hanover. After various removals, Mr. Pelham was placed at the head of the treaſury, and appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, and conſequently was conſidered as firſt miniſter; or rather the power of the premierſhip was divided between him and his brother the duke of Newcaſtle.

Great Britain was then engaged in a very expenſive war both againſt the French and Spaniards, and her enemies thought to avail themſelves of the general diſcontents that had prevailed in England on account of Hanover, and which, even in parliamentary debates, were thought by ſome to exceed the bounds of decency. This naturally ſuggeſted to them the idea of applying to the pretender, who reſided at Rome; and he agreed that his ſon Charles, who was a ſprightly young man, ſhould repair to France, from whence he ſet ſail, and narrowly eſcaped, with a few followers, in a frigate, to the Weſtern coaſts of Scotland, between the iſland of Mull and Sky, where he diſcovered himſelf, aſſembled his followers, and publiſhed a manifeſto exciting the nation to a rebellion. It is neceſſary, before we relate the true cauſe of this enterprize, to make a ſhort retroſpect to foreign parts.

The war of 1741 proved unfortunate in the Weſt Indies, through the fatal diviſions between admiral Vernon and general Wentworth who commanded the land troops; and it is thought that above 20,000 Britiſh ſoldiers and ſeamen periſhed in the impracticable attempt of Carthagena, and the inclemency of the air and climate during other idle expeditions. The year 1742 had been ſpent in negociations with the courts of Peterſburgh and Berlin, which, though expenſive, proved of little or no ſervice to Great Britain; ſo that the victory of Dettingen left the French troops in much the ſame ſituation as before. A difference between the admirals Matthews and Leſtock had ſuffered the Spaniſh and French fleets to eſcape out of Toulon with but little loſs; and ſoon after, the French, who had before only acted as allies to the Spaniards, declared war againſt Great Britain, who, in her turn, declared war againſt the French. The Dutch, the natural allies of Eng-

land, during this war, carried on a moſt lucrative trade; nor could they be brought to act againſt the French, till the people entered into aſſociations and inſurrections againſt the government. Their marine was in a miſerable condition, and when they at laſt ſent a body of troops to join the Britiſh and Auſtrian armies, which had been wretchedly commanded for one or two campaigns, they did it with ſo bad a grace, that it was plain they did not intend to act in earneſt. When the duke of Cumberland took upon himſelf the command of the army, the French, to the great reproach of the allies, were almoſt maſters of the barrier of the Netherlands, and were beſieging Tournay. The duke attempted to raiſe the ſiege; but by the coldneſs of the Auſtrians, the cowardice of the Dutch, whoſe government all along held a ſecret correſpondence with France, and miſconduct ſomewhere elſe, he loſt the battle of Fontenoy, and 7000 of his beſt men; though it is generally allowed that his diſpoſitions were excellent, and both he and his troops fought with unexampled intrepidity. To counterbalance ſuch a train of misfortunes, admiral Anſon returned this year to England, with an immenſe treaſure about a million ſterling, which he had taken from the Spaniards in his voyage round the world; and commodore Warren, with colonel Pepperel, took from the French the important town and fortreſs of Louiſburgh, in the iſland of Cape Breton.

A. D. 1745. Such was the ſtate of affairs abroad, when the pretender's eldeſt ſon, at the head of ſome Highland followers, ſurprized and diſarmed a party of the king's troops in the Weſtern Highlands, and advanced with great rapidity to Perth. I ſhall only add to what has been ſaid of the progreſs and ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, that it ſpread too great an alarm through England. The government never ſo thoroughly experienced, as it did at that time, the benefit of the public debt for the ſupport of the revolution. The French and the Jacobite party (for ſuch there was at that time in England), had laid a deep ſcheme of diſtreſſing the bank; but common danger aboliſhed all diſtinctions, and united them in the defence of one intereſt, which was private property. The merchants undertook, in their addreſs to the king, to ſupport it by receiving bank notes in payment. This ſeaſonable meaſure ſaved public credit; and the rebels were entirely defeated by the duke of Cumberland, on the plains of Culloden, about nine miles diſtant from Inverneſs. The victory was in every reſpect deciſive, and humanity to the conquerous would have rendered it glorious. But little mercy was ſhewn here; the conquerors were ſeen to refuſe quarter to the wounded, the unarmed, and the defenceleſs; ſome were ſlain who were only excited by curioſity

to

to become ſpectators of the combat, and ſoldiers were ſeen to anticipate the baſe employment of the executioner. Civil war is in itſelf terrible, but more ſo when heightened by unneceſſary cruelty. How guilty ſoever an enemy may be, it is the duty of a brave ſoldier to remember that he is only to fight an oppoſer, and not a ſuppliant.

In this manner were blaſted all the hopes, and all the ambition of the young adventurer; one ſhort hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and ſceptres, and reduced him from a nominal king to a diſtreſſed forlorn outcaſt, ſhunned by all mankind, except ſuch as ſought his deſtruction. There is a ſtriking ſimilitude between his adventures and thoſe of Charles the Second, upon his eſcape from Worceſter. He ſometimes found refuge in caves and cottages, without attendants, and dependent on the wretched natives, who could pity, but not relieve him. Sometimes he lay in foreſts, with one or two companions of his diſtreſs, continually purſued by the troops of the conqueror, as there was a reward of thirty thouſand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. Sheridan, an Iriſh adventurer, was the perſon who kept moſt faithfully by him, and inſpired him with courage to ſupport ſuch incredible hardſhips. He had occaſion in the courſe of his concealments, to truſt his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whoſe veneration for his family prevailed above their avarice.

One day having walked from morning to night, he ventured to enter a houſe, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the oppoſite party. As he entered, he addreſſed the maſter of the houſe in the following manner. "The ſon "of your king comes to beg a little bread, and a few cloaths. "I know your preſent attachment to my adverſaries, but I "believe you have ſufficient honour not to abuſe my confi- "dence, or to take advantage of my diſtreſſed ſituation. Take "theſe rags that have for ſome time been my only covering; "you may probably reſtore them to me one day when I ſhall "be ſeated on the throne of Great Britain." The maſter of the houſe was touched with pity at his diſtreſs; he aſſiſted him as far as he was able, and never divulged the ſecret.

In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near ſix months, often hemmed round by his purſuers, but ſtill reſcued by ſome lucky accident from the impending danger. At length a privateer of St. Maloes, hired by his adherents, arrived in Lochnanach, in which he embarked in the moſt wretched attire. He was clad in a ſhort coat of black frize, threadbare, over which was a common highland plaid girt round by a belt, from which depended a piſtol and a dagger. He had not been

ſhifted for many weeks; his eyes were hollow, his viſage wan, and his conſtitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Iriſh adherents, who had ſhared all his calamities, together with Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, and a few other exiles. They ſet ſail for France, and after having been chaſed by two Engliſh men of war, they arrived in ſafety at a place called Roſeau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it more difficult to eſcape, had not the vigilance of his purſuers been relaxed by a report that he was already ſlain.

In the mean time, while the pretender was thus purſued, ſcaffolds and gibbets were preparing for his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Kenington common in the neighbourhood of London. Their conſtancy in death gained more proſelytes to their cauſe than even, perhaps, their victories would have obtained. Nine were executed in the ſame manner at Carliſle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a conſiderable number of the common men were tranſported to the plantations in North America. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, and the others were beheaded on Tower-hill.

Tranquillity, however, was not reſtored to Europe. Though the prince of Orange, ſon-in-law to his majeſty George II. was, by the credit of his majeſty, and the ſpirit of the people of the United Provinces, raiſed to be their Stadtholder, the Dutch could never be brought to act heartily in the war. The allies were defeated at Val, near Maeſtricht, and the duke of Cumberland was in danger of being made priſoner. Bergen-op-zoom was taken in a manner that has never yet been accounted for. The allies ſuffered other diſgraces on the continent; and it now became the general opinion in England, that peace was neceſſary to ſave the duke and his army from total deſtruction. By this time, however, the French marine and commerce were in danger of being annihilated by the Engliſh at ſea, under the command of the admirals Anſon, Warren, Hawke, and other gallant officers; but the Engliſh arms were not ſo ſucceſsful as could have been wiſhed, under rear admiral Boſcawen, in the Eaſt Indies. In this ſtate of affairs, the ſucceſſes of the French and Engliſh, during the war, may be ſaid to have been balanced, and both miniſtries turned their thoughts to peace. The queſtion is not yet decided which party had greateſt reaſon to deſire it, the French and Spaniards for the great loſſes they had ſuſtained

tained by ſea, or the allies for the diſgraces they had ſuffered by land. However this might be, A. D. 1748. preliminaries for peace were ſigned, and a definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle; the baſis of which was the reſtitution, on both ſides, of all places taken during the war.

His royal highneſs Frederic prince of Wales died, univerſally lamented, in the beginning of the year 1750. Next year an act paſſed for regulating the commencement of the year, by which the old ſtyle was aboliſhed, and the new ſtyle eſtabliſhed, to the great conveniency of the ſubjects. This was done by ſinking eleven days in September, 1752, and from that time, beginning the year from the firſt of January. In 1753, the famous act paſſed for preventing clandeſtine marriages; but whether it is for the benefit of the ſubject, is a point that is ſtill very queſtionable. The people of England about this time ſuſtained an immenſe loſs by the death of Mr. Pelham, who was one of the honeſteſt, wiſeſt, and beſt miniſters England had ever ſeen.

The French having landed 11,000 men in Minorca, in order to attack fort St. Philip, admiral Byng, who had been ſent out with a ſquadron at leaſt equal to that of the French, was baffled, if not defeated, by their admiral Galiſſionere, and at laſt Minorca was ſurrendered by Blakeney. The Engliſh were far more alarmed than they ought to have been at this event. The loſs of Minorca was more ſhameful than detrimental to the kingdom; but the public outcry was ſuch, that the king gave up Byng to public juſtice. Upon his arrival in England he was committed to cloſe cuſtody, in Greenwich hoſpital, and ſome arts were uſed to inflame the populace againſt him, who generally want no incentives to injure and condemn their ſuperiors. Several addreſſes were ſent up from different counties, demanding juſtice on the delinquent, which the miniſtry were willing to ſecond. He was ſoon after tried by a court-martial in the harbour of Portſmouth, where, after a trial which continued ſeveral days, his judges were agreed that he had not done his utmoſt during the engagement to deſtroy the enemy, and therefore they adjudged him to ſuffer death by the twelfth article of war. At the ſame time, however, they recommended him as an object of mercy, as they conſidered his conduct rather as the effect of error than of cowardice. By this ſentence they expected to ſatisfy at once the reſentment of the nation, and yet ſcreen themſelves from conſcious ſeverity. The government was reſolved upon ſhewing him no mercy; the parliament was applied to in his favour, but they found no circumſtances in his conduct that could invalidate the former ſentence. Being thus abandoned

to his fate, he maintained to the laſt a degree of fortitude and ſerenity that no way betrayed any timidity or cowardice. On the day fixed for his execution, which was on board a man of war in the harbour of Portſmouth, he advanced from the cabin, where he had been impriſoned, upon deck, the place appointed for him to ſuffer. After delivering a paper, containing the ſtrongeſt aſſertions of his innocence, he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for ſome time perſiſted in not covering his face; but his friends repreſenting that his looks would poſſibly intimidate the ſoldiers who were to ſhoot him, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with a handkerchief; and then giving the ſignal for the ſoldiers to fire, he was killed inſtantaneA. D. 1757. ouſly. There appears ſome ſeverity in Byng's puniſhment; but it certainly produced ſoon after very beneficial effects to the nation.

It was about this time, that Mr. Pitt was placed, as ſecretary of ſtate, at the head of adminiſtration. He had long been known to be a bold, eloquent, and energetic ſpeaker, and he ſoon proved himſelf to be as ſpirited a miniſter. The miſcarriages in the Mediterranean had no conſequence but the loſs of fort St. Philip, which was more than repaired by the vaſt ſucceſs of the Engliſh privateers, both in Europe and America. The ſucceſſes of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies, under colonel Clive, were almoſt incredible. He defeated Suraja Dowla, nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and placed Jaffier Ally Cawn in the ancient ſeat of the nabobs of thoſe provinces. Suraja Dowla, who was in the French intereſt, a few days after his being defeated, was taken by the new nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn's ſon, and put to death. This event laid the foundation of the preſent amazing extent of riches and territory, which the Engliſh now poſſeſs in the Eaſt Indies.

Mr. Pitt introduced into the cabinet a new ſyſtem of operations againſt France, than which nothing could be better calculated to reſtore the ſpirits of his countrymen, and to alarm their enemies. Far from dreading an invaſion, he planned an expedition for carrying the arms of England into France itſelf; and the deſcent was to be made at Rochefort, under general ſir John Mordaunt, who was to command the land troops. Nothing could be more promiſing than the diſpoſitions for this expedition. It failed on the eighth of September, 1757; and admiral Hawke brought both the ſea and land forces back on the ſixth of October to St. Helen's, without the general making any attempt to land on the coaſt of France. He was tried and acquitted free of the public murmuring: ſo great an opinion had the people of the miniſter;

who,

who, to do him juſtice, did not ſuffer a man or a ſhip belonging to the Engliſh army or navy to lie idle.

The French having attacked the electorate of Hanover with a moſt powerful army, merely becauſe his Britannic majeſty refuſed to wink at their encroachments in America, the Engliſh parliament, in gratitude, voted large ſupplies of men and money in defence of the electoral dominions. George the Second with the conſent of his Pruſſian majeſty, declaring that the French had violated the convention concluded between them and the duke of Cumberland at Cloſterſeven, ordered his Hanoverian ſubjects to reſume their arms under prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, a Pruſſian general, who inſtantly drove the French out of Hanover; and the duke of Marlborough, after the Engliſh had repeatedly inſulted the French coaſt, by deſtroying their ſtores and ſhipping at St. Maloes and Cherburgh, marched into Germany, and joined prince Ferdinand with 12,000 Britiſh troops which were afterwards increaſed to 25,000. A war enſued, in the courſe of which the Engliſh every where performed wonders, and were every where victorious; but nothing deciſive followed, and the enemy opened every campaign with advantage. Even the battle of Minden, the moſt glorious perhaps in the Engliſh annals, in which about ſeven thouſand Engliſh defeated *eighty thouſand* of the French regular troops in fair battle, contributed nothing to the concluſion of the war, or towards weakening the French in Germany. The Engliſh bore the expences of the war with chearfulneſs, and applauded Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, becauſe their glorious ſucceſſes in every part of the globe demonſtrated that he was in earneſt.

The year 1759 was introduced by the taking of the Iſland of Goree, on the coaſt of Africa, by commodore Keppel. Three capital expeditions had been planned for this year in America, and all of them proved ſucceſsful. One of them was againſt the French iſlands in the Weſt Indies, where Guadaloupe was reduced. The ſecond expedition was againſt Quebec, the capital of Canada. The command was given, by the miniſter's advice, to general Wolfe, a young officer of a truly military genius. Wolfe was oppoſed with far ſuperior force by Montcalm the beſt and moſt ſucceſsful general the French had. Though the ſituation of the country which Wolfe was to attack, and the works that the French threw up to prevent a deſcent of the Engliſh, were deemed impregnable, yet Montcalm never relaxed in his vigilance. Wolfe's courage and perſeverance, however, ſurmounting incredible difficulties, he gained the heights of Abraham, near Quebec, where he fought and defeated the French army, but was himſelf killed, as was alſo A D. 1759.

Montcalm. General Wolfe firſt received a ſhot in the wriſt; but wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and encouraged his men to advance, without diſcovering the leaſt diſcompoſure. He next received a ſhot in his groin, which he alſo concealed. Even after the mortal bullet had pierced his breaſt, he ſuffered himſelf unwillingly to be carried between the ranks. Under all the agonies of approaching diſſolution, his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued; and when told that the French army was entirely routed, and fled on both ſides, "Then," ſaid he, "I am happy!"—and inſtantly expired, in a kind of patriotic tranſport, which ſeemed to diffuſe over his darkening countenance, an air of exultation and triumph.

The death of this gallant officer was a national loſs and univerſally lamented. Soldiers may be raiſed, officers will be ormed by experience, but the loſs of a genius in war is not eaſily repaired. By nature formed for military greatneſs, his memory was retentive, his judgment deep, and his comprehenſion ſurpriſingly quick, clear, and extenſive. His conſtitutional courage was not only uniform and daring, perhaps to an extreme, but he poſſeſſed alſo that higher ſpecies of it, a ſtrength, ſteadineſs, and activity of mind, which no difficulties or dangers could deter. Generous, gentle, friendly, affable, and humane, he was the pattern of the officer, and the darling of the ſoldier. His ſublime genius ſoared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exerciſed in their full extent, by opportunities and action, and his judgment been fully ripened by age and experience, he would have rivalled the moſt celebrated heroes of antiquity *.

Montcalm, the French general, was not inferior to his antagoniſt in military talents. Though leſs fortunate in the laſt ſcene of his life, he had often been victorious; and he made the moſt judicious diſpoſitions human prudence could ſuggeſt, both before the battle of Quebec and during the engagement. Nor were his dying words leſs remarkable than thoſe of Wolfe. "I am glad of it!" ſaid he, when informed his wound was mortal; and on being told he could ſurvive only a few hours, he gallantly replied, "So much the better!—I "ſhall not then live to ſee the ſurrender of Quebec †."

That event, as the illuſtrious Montcalm foreſaw, was not diſtant. It happened about five days after. General Monckton, who was next in command to Wolfe, being wounded, the completion of the French defeat, and the glory of reducing Quebec, was reſerved for brigadier general Townſhend‡.

* Wynne. † Knox's Campaigns. ‡ Afterwards lord Viſcount Townſhend.

General

General Amherſt, who was the firſt Engliſh general on command in America, conducted the third expedition. His orders were to reduce all Canada, and to join the army under general Wolfe on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. To the honour of the miniſter, Mr. Amherſt, in this expedition, was ſo well provided with every thing that could make it ſucceſsful, that there ſcarcely appeared any chance for its miſcarriage; and thus the French empire in North America became ſubject to Great Britain.

The affairs of the French being now deſperate, and their credit ruined, they reſolved upon an attempt to retrieve all by an invaſion of Great Britain. But, ſir Edward Hawke having defeated the Breſt fleet, commanded by admiral Conflans, off the iſland of Dumet, in the bay of Biſcay, and having ſunk, burnt, or taken ſeveral of their ſhips, they gave up all thoughts of their intended invaſion.

Captain Thurot, a French marine adventurer, who had, with three ſloops of war alarmed the coaſt of Scotland, and actually made a deſcent at Carrickfergus in Ireland, was, on his return from thence, met, defeated, and killed by captain Elliot, the commodore of three ſhips inferior in force to the Frenchman's ſquadron. Every day's gazette added to the accounts of the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh, and the utter ruin of the French finances, which that government did not bluſh publicly to avow. In ſhort, Great Britain now reigned as ſole miſtreſs of the main, and ſucceeded in every meaſure that had been projected for her own ſafety and advantage. The war in Germany, however, continued ſtill as undeciſive as it was expenſive, and many in England began to conſider it now as foreign to the internal intereſts of Great Britain. The French again and again ſhewed diſpoſitions for treating, and the charges of the war, which began now to amount to little leſs than eighteen millions ſterling yearly, inclined the Britiſh miniſtry, to liſten to their propoſals. A negociation was accordingly entered upon, which proved abortive, as did many other projects for accommodation. A. D. 1760.

On the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, the king died ſuddenly (from a rupture in the right ventricle of the heart), full of years and glory, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon, now George III. eldeſt ſon to the late prince of Wales. The memory of George II. is reprehenſible on no head but his predilection for his electoral dominions. He never could ſeparate an idea that there was any difference between them and his regal dominions: and he was ſome times ill enough adviſed to declare ſo much in his ſpeeches to parliament. He

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was not very acceſſible to converſation, and therefore it was no wonder, that having left Germany after he had attained to man's eſtate, he ſtill retained foreign notions both of men and things. In government he had no favourite, for he parted with ſir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration with great indifference, and ſhewed very little concern at the ſubſequent revolutions among his ſervants. This quality may be deemed a virtue, as it contributed greatly to the internal quiet of his reign, and prevented the people from loading the king with the faults of his miniſters. In his perſonal diſpoſition he was paſſionate, but, placable, fearleſs of danger, fond of military parade, and enjoyed the memory of the campaigns in which he ſerved when young. His affections, either public or private, were never known to interfere with the ordinary courſe of juſtice; and though his reign was diſtracted by party, the courts of juſtice were never better filled than under him. This was a point in which all factions were agreed.

CHAP. II.

George III—Reſignation of Mr. Pitt—Duke of Newcaſtle—Lord Bute—Peace proclaimed—Mr. Wilkes—Stamp-act paſſed—Abolition of a barbarous practice—Captains Cooke and Phipps—Battle of Bunker's-hill—The Americans declare themſelves a free People—General Burgoyne is defeated at Saratoga—John the Painter—Admirals Keppel and Palliſer—Patriotiſm of Mr. Reed—Admiral Rodney—Dreadful Riots in London—Capture of Lord Cornwallis, which put an end to the American war—Skill and gallantry of General Elliot—Coalition—Mr. Pitt's plan for reducing the national debt—Mr. Haſtings—Hundreth anniverſary of the Revolution—Indiſpoſition and happy recovery of the King—Nootka Sound.

KING George III. aſcended the throne with great advantage. His being a native of England prejudiced the people in his favour; he was in the bloom of youth, in his perſon tall and comely, and at the time of his acceſſion Great Britain was in the higheſt degree of reputation and proſperity, and the moſt ſalutary unanimity and harmony prevailed among the people.

As his majeſty could not eſpouſe a Roman Catholic he was precluded from intermarrying into any of the great fami-

lies

lies of Europe; he therefore choſe a wife from the houſe of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, the head of a ſmall but ſovereign ſtate in the north weſt of Germany; and the conduct of his excellent conſort has hitherto been ſuch as to give him no reaſon to repent of his choice.

The nuptials were celebrated on the eighth of September; and on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month the ceremony of the coronation was performed with great pomp and magnificence in Weſtminſter-abbey. A. D. 1761.

Mr. Pitt, who, though never very acceptable to the late king, had conducted the war with a ſpirit and ſucceſs that were never exceeded, and perhaps never equalled by any former miniſter, was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his ſagacity and penetration in diving into the deſigns and intrigues of the enemy. He had for ſome time obſerved, with the higheſt indignation, the extreme partiality of the Spaniards towards the French, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of neutrality. He now diſcovered by means of his ſpies in foreign courts, that they had entered into a treaty (known by the name of the Family-compact) with that ambitious people; and he was firmly convinced, that it would not be long before they declared war in form againſt England. Moved by theſe conſiderations, he propoſed, that a fleet ſhould be immediately diſpatched into the Mediterranean, to intercept the Spaniſh flota, or ſtrike ſome other blow of importance, in caſe the miniſtry of Spain refuſed to give inſtant ſatisfaction to the court of Great Britain. He urged his reaſons for this meaſure with his uſual energy; aſſerting, that "this was the time for "humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon; and that if this op-"portunity was let ſlip, it might never be recovered." This propoſal, however, was ſtrongly oppoſed by the other members of the cabinet, either from a conviction of its impropriety, or perhaps in order to get rid of a miniſter, who by means of his popularity and the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, had acquired an aſcendancy in parliament and even in the council, that, in ſome meaſure, annihilated the hereditary influence of all the oldeſt, moſt wealthy, and moſt powerful families in the kingdom. In a word, it was diſapproved by every member of the cabinet, Mr. Pitt and earl Temple excepted: upon which theſe two miniſters reſigned their places; the former as ſecretary of ſtate, and the latter as lord privy-ſeal. That Mr. Pitt, however, might not be ſuffered to retire from the public ſervice without ſome mark of royal as well as national gratitude, a penſion of 3000l. a year was ſettled upon him for three lives; and at the ſame time a title was conferred upon his lady, who was created baroneſs Chatham. Theſe advantages

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and honours had undoubtedly been well deſerved by his public ſervices; but his acceptance of them greatly leſſened his popularity, and many artifices were employed to produce this effect. A very conſiderable degree of diſcontent, notwithſtanding, prevailed in the nation, on account of his removal from power; and it was extremely natural, that the people ſhould behold, with the utmoſt regret, the removal of a miniſter from the direction of public affairs, of whoſe ability and integrity they had the higheſt opinion, and in the midſt of a war, which he had conducted with ſo much honour to himſelf and to his country, and in a manner that had excited the aſtoniſhment of Europe.

The experience of a few months ſerved to ſhow, that Mr. Pitt's ſuſpicions were two well founded: for when the earl of Briſtol, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid, endeavoured to procure a ſight of the family-compact, and to ſound the ſentiments of the Spaniſh miniſtry with regard to their intention of taking part with France in the preſent war, he received nothing but evaſive anſwers or flat refuſals to all his demands. He therefore left Madrid without taking leave; and as the hoſtile deſigns of Spain were now no longer doubtful, war was in a little time declared againſt that nation.

The old parliament was now diſſolved, and a new one ſummoned. Till the reſignation of Mr. Pitt, no material change had been made in the miniſtry during the preſent reign. It continued nearly the ſame as it was at the death of the late king, with this only difference, that lord Bute had been introduced into the cabinet, and appointed ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the earl of Holderneſs. This nobleman, who had a conſiderable ſhare in directing the education of the king, had no doubt acquired an aſcendancy in the royal favour. A more important alteration however, afterwards
A. D. 1762. took place. An opinion had been long entertained, and at laſt it was induſtriouſly propagated by certain perſons, that the Pelham family had been as complete maſters of the cabinet during the latter years of king George the Second's reign, as ever the Marlborough family was during a great part of that of queen Anne. A reſolution, it is ſaid, was therefore taken to get rid of the Pelham's and all their connections. The duke of Newcaſtle was made ſo uneaſy in his ſituation, that he reſigned his poſt as firſt lord of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by the earl of Bute. This gave occaſion to a moſt furious paper war between the friends and adherents of theſe two noblemen, and naturally tended to revive in the kingdom that ſpirit of party, which, during the ſucceſsful adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, had in a great meaſure been laid aſleep.

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The duke of Newcaſtle, it muſt be owned, was not a man of great abilities, though his brother, Henry Pelham, undoubtedly was. But even the duke, with all the defects in his character, was perhaps not ill qualified to be a popular miniſter in a free country. He was open, liberal, diſintereſted, hoſpitable, ſplendid and magnificent in his ſtyle of living. Inſtead of amaſſing places and penſions for himſelf and his family, he laid out, his own patrimony in ſupporting what he conſidered as the honour of the king and the dignity of the nation; and when, upon his retiring from office in ſomewhat narrow and reduced circumſtances, he was offered a penſion, he nobly replied, that after having ſpent a princely fortune in the ſervice of his country rather than become a burden to it at laſt, he would make his old ducheſs a waſher-woman.

Lord Bute, on the other hand, was certainly a man of ability, as well as virtue; but perhaps he was deficient in that eaſineſs of addreſs and thoſe engaging manners, without which no miniſter can ever expect to be long popular in England. As he was a man of taſte and learning, had he continued groom of the ſtole, as he was at the time of his majeſty's acceſſion, he might eaſily have paſſed for the Mæcenas of the age. Every favour which the king might have beſtowed upon men of letters, would have been conſidered as originating from his advice, and owing to his recommendation; whereas by plunging into politics, for which, as he was not bred to them, perhaps he was but ill qualified, he at once deſtroyed the peace of his own mind, diminiſhed for a while the popularity of his ſovereign, and diſtracted and perplexed the councils of his country.

The war, however, was ſtill carried on with the ſame ſpirit and ſucceſs as formerly. A large body, whether of a political or mechanical nature, when once put in motion, will continue to move for ſome time, even after the power which originally ſet it a going has ceaſed to operate. Two expeditions were undertaken againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements; the one againſt the Havannah in the gulph of Mexico, the other againſt Manila in the Eaſt Indies: and both of them proved ſucceſsful. The plunder found in the firſt amounted to three millions ſterling, which paſſed in triumph through Weſtminſter to the Bank, the very hour the prince of Wales was born. Conferences for a peace, being now opened at Paris, the enemy at laſt offered ſuch terms as the Britiſh miniſtry thought admiſſible and adequate to the occaſion, and it was finally concluded on the tenth day of February. On the eighteenth, the treaty was laid before the parliament, when it met the approbation of the majo- A. D. 1763.

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rity of both houſes; and on the twenty-ſecond, the peace was ſolemnly proclaimed at Weſtminſter and London.

The cry of favouritiſm, which was raiſed againſt lord Bute immediately upon his introduction into the miniſtry, had hitherto been kept up with great violence and animoſity; and a tax, which had lately been impoſed on cyder, ſerved at laſt to complete his downfal. He reſigned his place as firſt lord of the treaſury in the month of April, and was ſucceeded by Mr. George Grenville. The attention of the public was now turned from the war of the ſword to that of the pen. Many furious papers and pamphlets were publiſhed by the partizans of both parties. But one of the moſt furious of the whole was a periodical paper, entitled the North Briton, conducted, it is ſaid, and principally compoſed by Mr. Wilkes, member for Ayleſbury, a man of wit and ſpirit, but not of the moſt rigid principles. In the 45th number, the king's ſpeech to the parliament was attacked with ſo indecent a freedom, that the miniſters thought they could not paſs it over in ſilence. A general warrant was, therefore, iſſued for taking up the authors, printers, and publiſher of that paper. Mr. Wilkes was ſeized and committed to the Tower. Several innocent printers, were at the ſame time apprehended; but they afterwards brought their actions againſt the meſſengers who had ſeized them, and recovered conſiderable damages. A writ of *habeas corpus* being procured by his friends, Mr. Wilkes was brought up to the court of Common Pleas, and the matter being there argued, he was ordered to be diſcharged. This affair made a great noiſe; people of all ranks intereſted themſelves in it, and Weſtminſter-hall reſounded with acclamations when he was ſet at liberty. An information, however, was filed againſt him in the court of King's Bench, at his majeſty's ſuit, as author of the North Britain, No 45. On the firſt day of the meeting of parliament, after theſe tranſactions, Mr. Wilkes ſtood up in his place, and made a ſpeech, in which he complained to the houſe, that in his perſon the rights of all the commons of England, and privileges of parliament, had been violated by his impriſonment, the plundering of his houſe, and the ſeizure of his papers. The ſame day, a meſſage was ſent to acquaint the houſe of commons, with the informations his majeſty had received, that John Wilkes, eſquire, and another member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel, and the meaſures, that had been taken thereupon. The next day a duel was fought in Hyde-park between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Martin, another member of parliament, and ſecretary of the treaſury, in which Mr. Wilkes received a dangerous wound in the belly with a piſtol-

tol-bullet. Both houſes of parliament ſoon concurred in voting the North Briton, No 45, to be a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. This order was accordingly executed, though not without oppoſition from the populace; and Mr. Harley, one of the ſheriffs who attended was wounded, and obliged to take ſhelter in the Manſion houſe. Another proſecution was commenced againſt Mr. Wilkes, for having cauſed an obſcene and profane poem to be printed intitled, "An Eſſay on Woman." Of this, only twelve copies had been privately printed: and it did not appear to have been intended for publication. Finding, however, that he ſhould continue to be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour, when his wound was in ſome degree healed, he thought proper to quit the kingdom. He was ſoon after expelled the houſe of commons; verdicts were alſo given againſt him, both on account of the North Briton and the Eſſay on Woman, and towards the end of the year 1764 he was outlawed. Sundry other perſons had been taken up for being concerned in printing and publiſhing the North Briton; but ſome of them obtained verdicts againſt the king's meſſengers for falſe impriſonment.

Under Mr. Grenville's adminiſtration an act was paſſed, ſaid to have been framed by him, which was productive of the moſt pernicious conſequences to Great Britain; "An act "for laying a *ſtamp-duty* in the Britiſh colonies of North "America," which received the royal aſſent on the twenty-ſecond of March. As ſoon as it was known in North America that the *ſtamp-act* was paſſed, the whole continent was kindled into a flame. As the Americans had hitherto been taxed by their own repreſentatives in their provincial aſſemblies, they loudly aſſerted that the Britiſh parliament, in which they were not repreſented, had no right to tax them. The ſame doctrine had been maintained in the Britiſh parliament, when the ſtamp-act was under conſideration: and though it was repealed in the ſucceeding ſeſſion, yet the memory of it continued to rankle in the minds of the coloniſts; and they ſeem never entirely to have forgotten, nor heartily to have forgiven it. A. D. 1765.

The ſpirit of party which was now ſo general as well as violent, was attended with one very great inconvenience. It was productive of ſuch a mutability in public men, and conſequently in public meaſures and councils, that we had a new miniſtry and new meaſures almoſt with every new year. This naturally tended to weaken the authority of government both at home and abroad. Foreign nations were averſe to enter into any cloſe connection or alliance with a people, whoſe public councils were ſo very fluctuating; and the inferior ranks

ranks of men at home loſt all that reverence and reſpe
their rulers which is ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of orde
good government. The Grenville adminiſtration was
forced to make way for that of the marquis of Rocking
who was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury in the roo
Mr. Grenville. The marquis himſelf, was indeed, a n
man of as much purity of intention, of as diſintereſted p
ples, and of as genuine and unaffected patriotiſm as eve
tinguiſhed any miniſter either in ancient or modern ti
and by theſe good qualities of the heart, he in ſome me
compenſated for that mediocrity of underſtanding, b
which his warmeſt admirers never alledged that his ca
extended. The chief buſineſs of this miniſtry was to
all that their predeceſſors had done, particularly repealin
ſtamp and cyder acts; as on the other hand all that they
did, was in its turn, undone by their ſucceſſors in office.
majeſty's uncle, the late duke of Cumberland, and his you
brother, prince William Frederic, died this year; as al
old Pretender, at Rome, in the ſeventh-ſeventh year
age.

A. D. 1766. The new year, as uſual, gave us a ne
of miniſters. The duke of Grafton ſucc
the marquis of Rockingham as firſt lord
treaſury; ſeveral other changes were made in the inferic
partments of ſtate, and the cuſtody of the privy ſeal wa
ſtowed upon Mr. Pitt, now created earl of Chatham, at
recommendation it is ſaid this miniſtry was formed.
political arrangement was not of any long continuance
ſundry changes followed. Mr. Charles Townſhend,
was a gentleman of great abilities and eloquence, mac
ſome time a conſiderable figure both in the cabinet a
parliament; but on his death the place of chancellor
Exchequer was ſupplied by lord North, who afterward
came firſt lord of the treaſury, and obtained a great aſcen
in the adminiſtration.

A. D. 1768. Mr. Wilkes, who had for a conſiderable
reſided in France, came over to England
again became an object of public atte
Verdicts were found againſt him on account of the
Briton, and for the indecent poem, "Eſſay on Wo
He ſuffered a long impriſonment of two years and pai
fines of 500l. each. He diſplayed great abilities durin
conteſts of the miniſtry, and was choſen member fo
county of Middleſex. After being again ex
A. D. 1771. and impriſoned, he was choſen one of the ſ
for London and Middleſex. In the ſubſe
parliament, he was elected member for the county of M

ſex, and permitted quietly to take his ſeat. In the year 1775, he executed the office of lord mayor of the city of London, and hath ſince been elected to the lucrative office of chamberlain of that city. In the year 1783, after the change of lord North's adminiſtration, at Mr. Wilkes's motion, all the declarations, orders, and reſolutions of the houſe of commons reſpecting his election for the county of Middleſex, were ordered to be expunged from the journals of that houſe, "as "being ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors "of this kingdom." And it ſhould be remembered, that in conſequence of his manly and ſpirited conteſts with the government, general warrants were declared to be illegal, and an end was put to ſuch warrants, and to the unlawful ſeizure of an Engliſhman's papers by ſtate meſſengers.

Elective kingdoms are ſubject to ſuch violent ſhocks and convulſions, upon every vacancy of the throne, that it has been thought proper, in moſt of the modern ſtates of Europe, to eſtabliſh hereditary monarchies; and even in theſe laſt, a diſputed title is always attended with ſuch civil wars and bloodſhed, that it has been found expedient to keep the line of ſucceſſion as clear and diſtinct as poſſible. This is the reaſon why ſo much attention is given in this country to the marriages of the royal family. The king's two brothers, the dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland, having married privately; the former, the counteſs dowager of Waldegrave, the latter, a widow lady of the name of Horton, daughter to lord Irnham, a bill was now paſſed, enacting that all the deſcendants of his late majeſty (other than the iſſue of princeſſes who have married, or may hereafter marry into foreign families) ſhall be incapable of contracting marriage without the previous conſent of the king, or his ſucceſſors on the throne, ſignified under the great ſeal, and declared in council; that every ſuch marriage, without ſuch conſent ſhall be null and void, that, nevertheleſs, ſuch deſcendants, being above the age of twenty-five years, upon their giving the privy council twelve months previous notice of their deſign, may, after the expiration of that term, enter into marriage without the royal conſent, unleſs both houſes of parliament ſhall within that time expreſsly declare their diſapprobation of it; and that all perſons, who ſhall knowingly preſume to ſolemnize, or aſſiſt at the celebration of ſuch illicit marriage, ſhall be liable to all the pains and penalties of the ſtatute of præmunire. A. D. 1772.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion a material alteration was made in the criminal law of the kingdom. Formerly, when a felon refuſed to plead, he was ſtretched out upon his back at full length, and a heavy weight laid upon his breaſt, which was

gradually though ſlowly, increaſed till he expired; durin which operation he was fed with nothing but a cruſt of brea and ſome dirty water. By a bill, which was now paſſed, th barbarous practice was aboliſhed, and all felons refuſing t plead are adjudged to be guilty of the crimes laid to the charge.

A. D. 1773. This year captain Phipps in the Sea-horſ and captain Lutwidge in the Carcaſe, were ſe out by the government, in order to examin whether there was a poſſibility of diſcovering either a nort eaſt or a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies; but aft ſailing to the latitude of eighty-one degrees, thirty-nine m nutes, they were prevented by the mountains, or rather th iſlands of ice they met with, from proceeding any farther, an they therefore returned home without being able to accompli their purpoſe.

This reign, indeed, ſeems, for ſome years paſt, to hav been particularly diſtinguiſhed by the ſpirit of adventur Four different voyages have been performed round the worl for the ſimilar purpoſe of making diſcoveries in the South-ſe the firſt, by commodore Byron, the ſecond, by captain Walli the third, by captain Carteret; and the fourth, by captai Cook; and none of them have entirely failed in the object their deſtination; each of the circumnavigators have eith found out ſome new countries, or ſomething new in the ma ners of thoſe that were already known. Captain Cook, i deed, performed a ſecond voyage round the world; and w actually engaged in ſailing round it a third time, when, to t infinite regret of all lovers of real merit, he was cut off in ſcuffle with the inhabitants of one of the new-diſcovered iſlan in the South-ſea, called O-why-hee.

In the mean time, other occurrences happened relative America, which produced conſequences highly injurious the intereſts of Great Britain. The great ſubject of diſpu between the mother country and her American colonies, w the right of taxation. The parliament of Great Britain i ſiſted upon its right of taxing them by its own proper auth rity. The colonies denied this right, and ſaid that they cou not be legally taxed without their own conſent; and rath than ſubmit to any taxes otherwiſe impoſed, they ſeemed wil ing to encounter every danger, and to riſk every extremit In order, however, to try their temper, and ſee whether th would put their threats in practice, ſome tea was ſent out America, loaded with a certain duty. This tea was not only n ſuffered to be landed, but was ſent back to England with t utmoſt contempt and indignation. In the harbour of Boſt it met with a ſtill worſe reception. It was taken out of t

ſhi

ſhips by the populace, and thrown into the ſea. To puniſh the New-Englanders for this act of violence, two bills were now paſt; one for ſhutting up A. D. 1774. the port of Boſton; and the other, for taking the executive power out of the hands of the people and veſting it in the crown. Though the miniſter had hitherto carried every thing in parliament with a high hand, yet as that aſſembly was now drawing towards an end, he began to be apprehenſive that it would not be eaſy to procure another houſe of commons equally obſequious, if the people were allowed to be prepared for the elections in the uſual manner. He therefore reſolved to ſteal a march upon his antagoniſts, and to take the people by ſurpriſe. The parliament accordingly was ſuddenly diſſolved at the end of the ſixth ſeſſion, and a new one was choſen equally courtly and complaiſant with the former.

The acts of ſeverity, we have mentioned above, were levelled in appearance only at the town of Boſton; yet moſt of the other colonies ſoon took the alarm. They thought they ſaw, in the fate of that devoted town, the puniſhment that might ſoon be inflicted on themſelves, as they had all been guilty of nearly the ſame crime, if not in deſtroying, at leaſt in refuſing the tea. They, therefore, reſolved to make one common cauſe with the people of New England; and accordingly all the old Britiſh colonies, (Nova Scotia and Georgia excepted) ſent delegates or commiſſioners to a general aſſembly, which met at Philadelphia, and aſſuming the name of the congreſs preſented a bold and ſpirited remonſtrance to his majeſty, ſoliciting a redreſs of grievances. Georgia, the year following, acceded to the union, and thus completed the number of the thirteen united provinces, which ſoon after revolted from the mother-country, and at laſt rendered themſelves ſovereign and independent ſtates.

The firſt action happened in America between the king's troops and the provincials at A. D. 1775. Lexington, on the 19th of April. On the 17th of June there was a bloody action, on an eminence called Bunkers hill, in the neighbourhood of Boſton, when the provincials were defeated, and compelled to withdraw to the continent. This advantage, however, was not gained without the loſs of many men. The number of officers that fell in this action, compared to that of the private men, was greatly beyond the uſual proportion; and this is ſaid to have been owing to the following circumſtance. The Americans had trained, and employed on this occaſion, a certain ſet of ſoldiers, called markſmen or riflemen, who excelled all others in taking a ſure and ſteady aim. They had likewiſe furniſhed

them with a new kind of muſketts, called rifle-barrelled guns, which not only carried the ball to a greater diſtance, but ſent it in a more ſtrait and direct line than the common firelocks. Thus our officers were marked out and diſpatched by theſe riflemen with almoſt as fatal a certainty as a bird is ſhot by a fowler when perched upon a tree.

A. D. 1776. The congreſs ſoon after declared the American colonies, "Free and Independent States;" that they were abſolved from all allegiance to the Britiſh crown, and, that all political connection between them and the kingdom of Great Britain was totally diſſolved; and alſo that as free and independent ſtates, they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, eſtabliſh commerce, and do all other acts and things, which independant ſtates may of right do. They likewiſe publiſhed articles of confederation and perpetual union between the united colonies, in which they aſſumed the title of "The United States of America," and by which each of the colonies contracted a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendſhip for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themſelves to aſſiſt each other againſt all violence that might threaten all or any of them, and to repel, in common, all the attacks that might be levelled againſt all, or any one of them on account of religion, ſovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatſoever. Each of the colonies reſerved to themſelves alone the excluſive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws in all matters not included in the articles of confederation.

A. D. 1777. General Burgoyne, who commanded an army in Canada of about ten thouſand men, including ſome Indians, reſolved with this body to make an impreſſion upon the province of New England. He croſſed the lakes George and Champlain without oppoſition. He even reduced the fort of Ticonderago. But, upon his arrival at Saratoga, he was ſuddenly ſurrounded and attacked by a ſuperior body of New Englanders, under the generals Gates and Arnold, and after fighting them two different times with great bravery though with great loſs, his camp was at laſt ſtormed, and he and his men were obliged to ſubmit to a capitulation; importing, that they ſhould lay down their arms, and be conducted to Boſton, from whence they ſhould be allowed to embark for Great Britain, upon condition of their not ſerving again in America during the preſent war.

Civil wars are always attended with a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which frequently carries men to the commiſſion of crimes, the bare thoughts of which, in their cooler moments, would fill them

them with horror. It was no doubt under the influence of this ſpirit, that one James Aitken, commonly known by the name of John the Painter, ſet fire to the rope houſe at Portſmouth, and to a ſtreet called Quay-lane, in Briſtol. He is even ſaid to have formed a plan of burning all the principal towns in the iſland together with their docks and ſhipping. But before he would carry any more of his helliſh deſigns into execution, he was ſeized, tried, condemned, executed, and hung in chains.

What had long been forſeen by almoſt every ſenſible and unprejudiced man in the kingdom, and repeatedly foretold by the oppoſition in parliament, now came to paſs. The French threw off the maſk they had hitherto worn, and openly declared in favour of the Americans, whom they acknowledged as ſovereign and independent ſtates. General Clinton, who had ſucceeded general Howe in the command of the army, now evacuated Philadelphia, and retreated to new York, in his march to which he was attacked by general Waſhington, but no great loſs was ſuſtained on either ſide. In this action indeed, general Lee was accuſed of not having acted with his uſual alacrity in attacking the Britiſh troops, and being found guilty, was ſuſpended for a year. A. D. 1778.

Though war had not been formally declared between Great Britain and France, yet there could be no doubt but that theſe rival nations were in a ſtate of actual hoſtility. Fleets were accordingly fitted out on both ſides. D'Orvilliers commanded the French ſquadron; admiral Keppel conducted the Engliſh. The fleets met on the twenth-ſeventh of July, when a running fight took place, but no deciſive action. Admiral Keppel was afterwards accuſed of not having done his duty, by admiral Palliſer the ſecond in command. He was therefore tried but honourably acquitted. Palliſer himſelf was likewiſe tried for diſobedience of orders, and was partly acquitted and partly condemned.

In the courſe of this year died the celebrated earl of Chatham, one of the greateſt orators, as well as one of the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful miniſters that this country ever produced. As ſome mark of national gratitude for the many eminent ſervices he had performed to his country, the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds was now granted by parliament for diſcharging his debts, an annuity of four thouſand was ſettled upon his ſon and ſucceſſor, and upon all the heirs of his body that ſhall inherit the earldom of Chatham; his remains were interred with great funeral pomp in Weſtminſter Abbey; and a monument was ordered to be created to his memory at the public expence.

This year a bold adventurer of the name of Paul Jones kept all the weſtern coaſt of the iſland in alarm.
A. D. 1779. He landed at Whitehaven, where he burned a ſhip in the harbour, and even attempted to burn the town. He afterwards landed in Scotland, and plundered the houſe of the earl of Selkirk. He ſome time after fought a bloody battle with captain Pearſon of the Serapis, whom he compelled to ſubmit; and ſo ſhattered was his own ſhip in the engagement, that he had no ſooner quitted her, in order to take poſſeſſion of his prize, than ſhe went to the bottom. Captain Farmer, too, of the Quebec, fought a no leſs deſperate battle with a French ſhip of greatly ſuperior force. He continued the engagement with unremitted fury, till his own ſhip, accidentally taking fire, was blown into the air, together with himſelf and moſt of his crew.

A freſh attempt was made this year to compromiſe all differences with the American colonies in an amicable manner; and for this purpoſe three commiſſioners were ſent out to that part of the world, viz. The earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnſtone; but it was plain to every man of common ſenſe, that after the ſword had been uſed ſo long, it was in vain to think of ſettling the diſpute with a few ſtrokes of the pen. This negociation, however, we chiefly mention for the ſake of a noble and high ſpirited anſwer, that was given by Mr. Reed, an American general, to one of the commiſſioners, who had offered him the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, and any office in his majeſty's gift in the colonies, provided he would uſe his influence in bringing about an accommodation. This offer Mr. Reed conſidered as an attempt to bribe him; and he therefore replied—"I am not worth purchaſ-"ing; but ſuch as I am, the king of Great Britain is not "rich enough to do it." Times of civil war and commotion, as they ſome times give riſe to the moſt ſhocking vices, produce likewiſe, upon particular occaſions, the moſt exalted virtues, the pureſt patriotiſm, the greateſt elevation of mind, and the moſt ſteady and incorruptible principles. It has been laid down as a maxim by ſome unprincipled politicians, who judge of all mankind by themſelves, that every man has his price; but here is a man who plainly appears to be above all price.

The king of Spain now followed the example of the French monarch in acknowledging the independence of the American colonies; and the fleets of theſe two great powers being joined together, rendered them more than a match for that of Great Britain. A man, however, ſtarted
A. D. 1780. up from the depth of obſcurity, in which he had for ſome time been buried by debts and difficulties,

ies, to carry the honour of the Britiſh flag, to a higher pitch than it had lately attained. This was admiral Rodney, who being entruſted with the command of a ſquadron, ſet ſail for Gibraltar, and in his way thither, firſt took a rich convoy of Spaniſh merchantmen; afterwards defeated a fleet of Spaniſh men of war, taking the admiral Don Langara's ſhip, and three other ſhips of the line; a few months after he fought a moſt obſtinate battle with a ſuperior French fleet uuder the count de Guichen in the Weſt Indies; and to mention all his gallant actions at once, in 1782 he obtained a moſt glorious victory in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, over another French fleet commanded by the count de Graſſe, taking the admiral's own ſhip, the Ville de Paris of 110 guns, and ſeveral others. For theſe heroic atchievements he was raiſed to the peerage, which he ſeems, indeed, to have juſtly deſerved.

The principal events that happened in America this year were the reduction of Charles Town, South Carolina, by ſir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot; the defeat of general Gates by lord Cornwallis; the execution of major Andrée, adjutant-general to the Britiſh forces, who was taken in diſguiſe within the American lines, and condemned as a ſpy; and the deſertion of general Arnold from the American cauſe, and his joining the Britiſh army.

Our more immediate domeſtic occurrences were of a moſt ſhocking and diſgraceful nature. In conſequence of ſome indulgences now granted by the parliament to Roman Catholics, a riotous and licentious mob aſſembled in St. George's Fields, in order to petition the two houſes againſt theſe marks of lenity; ſoon after which they proceeded to commit the moſt terrible devaſtations. They deſtroyed all the Romiſh chapels in and about town; they burnt the priſons of Newgate, the Fleet, and King's Bench, together with the houſes of many private perſons; and they were even going to make an attack upon the Bank, when they were happily oppoſed by a body of citizens, who had learned the military diſcipline, and called themſelves the London Aſſociation, as well as by the regular troops who were now called in; and theſe two together ſoon ſuppreſſed the riot, though not till they had killed, or mortally wounded, about two hundred and twenty of the ringleaders. Lord George Gordon was afterwards tried for having collected this aſſembly; but as it appeared that he was actuated merely by religious prejudices, and had never encouraged the mob to commit, nor even expected they would commit, any outrage, he was acquitted.

The events of 1781 were neither numerous nor important; yet ſome things worthy of notice happened in moſt quarters of the globe, A. D. 1781.

Having engaged in a war with the Dutch, whom we diſcovered to be no friends to us in the American conteſt, we took from them the iſland of St. Euſtatius in the Weſt Indies; but it was ſoon after retaken by the French. A deſperate engagement happened off the Dogger Bank between a ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips under admiral Hyde Parker, and a like ſquadron of Dutch ſhips under admiral Zoutman. The action was maintained for three hours and forty minutes with equal gallantry on both ſides, and at laſt ended in a drawn battle.

In America, ſome petty ſkirmiſhes happened by land, and ſome trifling encounters by ſea, in ſome of which we failed, and in others ſucceeded. But at laſt earl Cornwallis, our ſecond in command, got himſelf into a ſituation in Virginia, from which no military ſkill or generalſhip could poſſibly deliver him; and he was therefore obliged to ſurrender himſelf and his whole army priſoners of war to the united armies of America and France, under the command of general Waſhington. This was the ſecond Britiſh army that had been captured in America, and might have ſerved to convince our miniſters, if any thing could have convinced them, of the extreme difficulty, if not utter impoſſibility, of carrying on a ſucceſsful war in ſo remote and extenſive a continent, where the enemy, as natives, were ſo much better acquainted with the face of the country, and conſequently poſſeſſed ſuch infinite advantages over us.

A.D. 1782. Though the capture of lord Cornwallis did not put an actual, yet it may be ſaid to have put a virtual, end to the war in America. All hopes of conquering it were from that moment abandoned as vain and chimerical; and every military operation that was afterwards carried on, was not ſo much with a view of ſubjugating the colonies, as to maintain the honour of the Britiſh arms. The object of the war, therefore, being now fairly given up as altogether unattainable, the minds of men in general were ſet upon a peace. But as peace could not be decently concluded by that miniſtry which had ſo long and obſtinately carried on the war, there was an abſolute neceſſity for a new miniſtry. The old miniſtry therefore was diſmiſſed, and a new one appointed in its room. The marquis of Rockingham was made firſt lord of the treaſury; lord John Cavendiſh chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Fox and lord Shelburne, ſecretaries of ſtate; the duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance; and general Conway, commander in chief of the army. In a word, there was hardly a ſingle member of the late miniſtry, who retained his place in the preſent,

preſent, except the chancellor, lord Thurlow; and he is ſaid to have had a capital hand in bringing about the change.

Ever ſince the commencement of hoſtilities with Spain, the fortreſs of Gibraltar had been cloſely inveſted by the troops of that nation; but all their attempts had been rendered ineffectual by the admirable ſkill and gallantry of the governor, general Elliot. He commonly ſuffered the enemy to finiſh their works before he attacked them; and then in the ſpace of a few hours, he either ſet them on fire or levelled them on the ground. In their laſt attempt upon the place, they attacked it with a number of gun boats, that are ſaid to have been bomb-proof; but theſe he likewiſe contrived to ſet on fire by firing red hot balls into them. The Spaniards however though they failed in this attempt, ſucceeded in two others. They took from us the iſland of Minorca, and the province of Weſt Florida.

The miniſtry were proceeding diligently with the work of peace, negociations for which were opened at Paris, when they ſuddenly, and unhappily for the nation, fell in pieces by the death of their leader the marquis of Rockingham. He was ſucceeded by the earl of Shelburne; and this gave ſo much diſguſt to ſome of the principal members of adminiſtration, that Mr. Fox, lord John Cavendiſh, Mr. Burke paymaſter of the forces, and ſeveral other gentleman reſigned their places. The new miniſtry, however, for ſuch it may be called, were as zealous for a peace as the old one, and they accordingly proceeded to ſettle the terms of it in the beſt manner they could: but before they could complete the work of a general pacification, they were obliged to give way to the ſuperior parliamentary intereſt of Mr. Fox and lord North, who formed the *famous coalition*, A. D. 1783. and though formerly ſo different in their political ſentiments, now came into power as friends and co-adjutors. Thus Mr. Fox had the ſatisfaction of finiſhing the peace which he had begun under the marquis of Rockingham; and lord North had the mortification of being compelled to acknowledge the independence of thoſe colonies which he had long flattered himſelf, his ſovereign, and the nation, with the hopes of being able to conquer.

The peace being concluded, the next object that engaged the attention of the miniſtry was the ſtate of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies. Whether Mr. Fox's bill (as it is uſually called) for regulating theſe affairs was not rather too violent, we will not take upon us to determine. But ſurely, if ever there was a wound in the body politic that required the probing knife of a bold ſtate-ſurgeon, it is the management of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies, which has long exhibited ſcenes of cruelty,

rapacity and oppreſſion, that perhaps are unequalled in the annals of mankind. This bill, however, excited ſuch a ferment in the nation, as when aided by the arts and outcries of the numerous friends and dependents of the Eaſt India Company, effectually ſerved to overthrow the miniſtry; and they therefore in their turn were obliged to make room
A. D. 1784. not indeed for the return of lord Shelburne (for he did not chuſe to appear) but, in all probability for ſuch as he thought proper to recommend. On the eighth of March, Mr. Fox made his laſt effort, and moved for an addreſs, or rather *remonſtrance*, the ſtrongeſt preſented to any king ſince the unhappy days of Charles the Firſt.

This repreſentation and addreſs of the commons to the crown, was carried but by a majority of *one*, 191 to 190, which as it required no anſwer, ſo it put an end to the diſpute between the different branches of the legiſlature. The coalition party gave up the conteſt, and looked forward to a ſpeedy diſſolution of the houſe. The national buſineſs went on regularly and quietly. The neceſſary bills were forwarded in both houſes, and on the 24th of March an end was put to the ſeſſion. The next day a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the parliament and calling a new one, agreeable to the deſires and addreſſes of a great part of the kingdom. Juſt at that critical period, the great ſeal was ſtolen from the houſe of the lord chancellor, which occaſioned many ſuſpicions as if done by more than ordinary felons: but nothing farther appeared, and a new ſeal was preſently made. On the 18th of May the new parliament aſſembled, and the commons choſe Mr. Cornwall, the ſpeaker of the late houſe, for their ſpeaker. The next day, his majeſty addreſſed them from the throne. A very feeble oppoſition was made to the addreſs of thanks in the houſe of lords, and it ſoon appeared that the appeal to the people had turned out greatly in Mr. Pitt's favour. Many, whom lord North had bound to him by his douceurs when in power, were thrown out: and others deſerted him, finding his vaſt influence was at an end. Several of Mr. Fox's friends alſo loſt their ſeats; and, in the two firſt conteſts, it was plain that the coalition could do little more than ſpeak. Their views were diſappointed in turning out the peace-makers and ſeating themſelves in their room; their forces melted away, and the young miniſter obtained a complete triumph over them. He ſoon after brought in his famous Eaſt India bill; but time alone can diſcover whether it be framed with wiſdom, and adequate to the great purpoſes intended, and held forth to view.

The buſineſs of parliamentary reform appears
A. D. 1785. to have been taken up by Mr. Pitt as a miniſterial meaſure, and to have received from him a conſider-

conſiderable ſhare of attention; he accordingly introduced a ſpecific plan for that purpoſe, which he prefaced by a hiſtory of parliamentary repreſentation from a very remote period. The plan was to give one hundred members to the popular intereſt of the kingdom, and to extend the right of election to above one hundred thouſand perſons, who, by the exiſting proviſions of law, were excluded from it. This acceſſion to the popular intereſt was to be principally obtained by the ſuppreſſion of decayed boroughs, and the transfer of their repreſentatives to the counties; ſo that the number of the houſe of commons would remain the ſame. After a debate of conſiderable length it was rejected by a majority of ſeventy-four; the noes being 248, and the ayes 174.

Amongſt the variety of new taxes impoſed in this ſeſſion, that called the ſhop-tax received the ſtrongeſt oppoſition; and by the perſevering applications of thoſe who were particularly aggrieved, its repeal was at length obtained.

In conſequence of ſevere prohibitions having been laid on the importation of Britiſh manufactures into the Auſtrian dominions, and ſeveral reſtrictions on their introduction into France, the miniſter opened a negociation with the latter kingdom, for a more liberal commercial intercourſe between the two countries, and appointed Mr. Eden * envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary for that purpoſe. A treaty was accordingly concluded and ratified by both houſes of parliament. This was a meaſure of great political conſequence, as it tended to break aſunder the national prejudices, which had exiſted for many ages between the two countries.

Amongſt the various meaſures now agitated, in parliament, the plan for eſtabliſhing a ſinking fund, and employing a million annually for reducing the national debt, engaged their moſt immediate attention. This million is produced by the yearly income of the ſtate exceeding the permanent level of its expenditure by a ſum of 900,000l. which may be increaſed to a million by means in no wiſe burthenſome to the people. This meaſure, which had the concurrence of every man, who deſired the emancipation of the ſtate from the accumulated load of debts and taxes, was carried into a law, which created commiſſioners for carrying the purpoſes of this valuable act into execution. A. D. 1786.

We come now to a very important tranſaction of the preſent times, the impeachment of Mr. Warren Haſtings, late governor general of Bengal. The characters both of the accuſers and of the perſon accuſed were ſuch as to give dignity and intereſt to the ſcope of the buſineſs; Mr. Burke being a man of the moſt original genius, of the moſt cultivated

* Lord Auckland,

talents,

talents, and the moſt unwearied application; and Mr. Haſtings, on the other hand, a man of ſtrong imagination, of boundleſs ſpirit, and enterpriſe, and of extenſive obſervation. On the 17th of February, Mr. Burke explained, in ſome degree, the mode of proceeding he was deſirous to adopt; and in the courſe of the ſeſſion moved for a multitude of papers to ground and ſubſtantiate his charges upon. Theſe were at length produced, and Mr. Haſtings heard at the bar of the houſe of commons in his defence. The debates which aroſe on the ſubject terminated in reſolutions, that certain of the charges contained matter of impeachment againſt the late governor general of Bengal.

The feeble attempt of an obſcure and contemptible maniac, of the name of Margaret Nicholſon, againſt the life of the ſovereign, in the face of day, and in the ſight of a multitude of ſpectators, on the 2nd of Auguſt, was productive of no other effect than to ſhew how much he was beloved by his ſubjects. The general exultation which prevailed after that event, reflected honour on the people as well as the king.

A. D. 1788. The year 1788, being the hundredth anniverſary of the glorious revolution in 1688, the 4th of November being the birth-day of king William, the inſtrument under Providence who completed that event, and the fifth of this month being the anniverſary of his landing, were obſerved by many ſocieties in London, and other parts of the kingdom, not only with feſtivity, but with devotion. At Edinburgh this day was obſerved as a day of ſolemn thankſgiving, as directed by an act of the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland paſſed on the 30th of May in this year; and by this act all the miniſters of that national church were enjoined to obſerve the ſame. By the publication of this act nearly ſix months before the annual return of the day, that aſſembly had the honour to take the lead, in their reſolution to celebrate this glorious event; and it ought to be mentioned, to the honour of that high-ſpirited and noble-minded people, that the principles of the revolution are well underſtood and warmly embraced by them.

It is not eaſy to imagine or to parallel, in the hiſtory of the preſent century, a period of more perfect ſecurity than that which England preſented in the autumn of 1788. The king, accompained by the queen, and ſurrounded by his family, after having tried the effects of a relaxation from public buſineſs, and of the medicinal waters of Cheltenham, had returned to Windſor; not, indeed, in a ſtate of vigorous health, but by no means in any ſuch declining ſtate of indiſpoſition as to excite alarm among his ſubjects. The prince of Wales,

Wales, as uſual, paſſed the ſummer at his marine pavilion at Brighthelmſtone; Mr. Pitt, occupied in the functions of his ſtation, was detained in the vicinity of the capital; while Mr. Fox, whoſe faculties of body and mind had been not a little exerciſed and exhauſted, by a toilſome attendance in Covent-garden, during the extreme heats of Auguſt, which was thought requiſite to ſecure the election of lord John Townſend as member for Weſtmiſter, indulged a degree of neceſſary repoſe, and withdrew for a ſhort time from the hurry of political life. He quitted England, and repaired to Switzerland and Italy, as a ſcene calculated to amuſe and entertain, while it reſtored and invigorated a conſtitution impaired by conſtant exertion. The great leaders of miniſtry and oppoſition, having laid aſide their political animoſities, were diſperſed in peaceful inactivity over every part of the kingdom. From this ſtate of public recreation and felicity, the nation was rudely and ſuddenly awoke, by the reports of his majeſty being attacked with an unexpected and dangerous illneſs. The preciſe nature of it was for ſeveral days unaſcertained and unexplained, even to thoſe whoſe reſidence near the court ſhould have enabled them to obtain early and authentic information. Meanwhile fame augmented the evil, and the death of the ſovereign was believed to have either already taken place, or to be imminent and inevitable.

The grief and diſtraction which were manifeſted in every part of the iſland, on the publication of this calamitous event, can be only compared with that of the Roman people, on the news of Germanicus being ſeized with mortal ſymptoms at Antioch; as the diſtreſsful ſituation of the queen bore ſome reſemblance to that of Agrippina. "*Paſſim ſilentia et gemitus, nihil compoſitum in oſtentationem; et quanquam neque inſignibus lugentium abſtinerent, altius animis mœrebant.*" Time, however, gradually divulged the truth, and changed the apprehenſions of the nation for the ſituation of the king. His diſorder was underſtood to have fallen upon the brain, and to have produced, as might be expected, a temporary privation of reaſon. As the cauſe of this alienation of mind was extraneous and violent, it might be hoped that it could only be of ſhort duration: but the iſſue was uncertain, while the ſuſpenſion of all government, and of every function attached to the kingly dignity, was immediate and indiſputable. A ſpecies of interregnum, in fact, took place; though unaccompanied by any of thoſe circumſtances which uſually characterize and accompany that unfortunate ſtate. The kingdom, anxious, and with eyes directed towards their ſovereign, betrayed no ſymptoms of confuſion, anarchy, or civil commotion. The firſt miniſter continued to exerciſe, by a general ſubmiſſion and

and conſent, the powers delegated to him before the king's indiſpoſition; and the political machine, well conſtructed and properly organized, ſuſtained no derangement or injury whatſoever from this ſhock, except thoſe inſeparably connected with delay in the tranſactions or negotiations pending with foreign courts.

Meanwhile the heir to the monarchy had quitted Brighthelmſtone on the firſt information of his father's malady, and repaired to Windſor, whither he was followed by the duke of York. Phyſicians were called in, though ineffectually; and as the nature of the diſtemper and of its final termination opened a wide field to conjecture, change and alteration, an expreſs was ſent to overtake Mr. Fox in whatever part of the continent he might be found, and to intreat that he would return without delay to England.

The two houſes of parliament, in conſequence of the preceding prorogation, met in a few days ſubſequent to theſe extraordinary events. The general agitation and curioſity, even if they had not been aided by other emotions of hope and fear, of ambition, and of public duty, would alone have produced a numerous attendance. Mr. Pitt opened the ſubject of their meeting in a very conciſe and pathetic manner; lamented the occaſion, expreſſed his hope that the cauſe would ſpeedily be removed, and, in purſuance of that idea, adviſed an immediate adjournment of a fortnight. The propoſition was received in deep ſilence by the oppoſite ſide of the houſe, and aſſented to in mute acquieſcence. Their leader was not yet arrived, and conſequently time was wanted to adjuſt and determine on their plan of action under circumſtances ſo delicate and unprecedented. In the interval which took place, his majeſty was removed to the palace of Kew. The prince of Wales returned to Carlton Houſe; and Mr. Fox, impatiently expected, after a journey which he performed with incredible expedition from Bologna, in a very infirm and diſordered ſtate of health, arrived in London, and aſſumed his juſt pre-eminence in the councils of his party.

Thoſe councils evinced their nature and object, as ſoon as the late adjournment was at an end; and Mr. Fox generouſly, though perhaps injudiciouſly, ſtepping forward in the ſenate, rather laid claim to the vacant ſceptre, in the name and on the behalf of the heir apparent, as belonging and devolving to him of right, than preferred his pretenſions with modeſty and ſubmiſſion at the bar of the aſſembled nation. After many warm and intereſting debates on this ſubject, which were often embittered by mutual aſperity and reproach, the diſorder under which the king ſuffered during three months, whoſe violence appeared to baffle all medical ſkill and exertion,

gradually, but rapidly, ſubſiſted. Time confirmed the cure, and reſtored to his ſubjects a prince, rendered ſupremely and peculiarly dear to them by the recent proſpect and apprehenſion of his loſs. The viſion of a regency faded and diſappeared, as the ſovereign came forward to public view, and was totally extinguiſhed by his reſumption of all the regal functions. The demonſtrations of national joy far exceeded any recorded in the Engliſh annals, and were probably more real and unfeigned than ever were offered on ſimilar occaſions. No efforts of deſpotiſm, or mandates of arbitrary power could have produced the illuminations which not only the capital but almoſt every town and village throughout the kingdom, exhibited in teſtimony of its loyalty; and theſe proofs of attachment were renewed, and even augmented, on the occaſion of his majeſty's firſt appearance in public, and his ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, to return thanks to heaven for his recovery. Serenity and tranquillity, ſo long baniſhed, reſumed their place, and ſoon effaced the recollection of a calamity not more awful and alarming in its appearance and progreſs, than ſpeedily and happily extinguiſhed. April 23, 1789.

The beginning of this year was diſtinguiſhed by a more ſevere froſt than has happened ſince that memorable one in 1740. The river Thames was completely frozen over in ſeveral parts, inſomuch that booths for recreation were erected, and a variety of ſports and amuſements commenced. One of the ſuttling booths had for its ſign, "Beer, wine, and ſpirituous liquors, *without a licence.*" A man who ſold hot gingerbread had a board, on which was written. "No ſhop "tax nor window duty."

An enterpriſe, original in its own nature, able in its conception, bold in its execution, and having no precedent for its guidance, had ſome years ago been directed to counties and to objects almoſt as much unknown to geographical as to commercial knowledge or experience. It demanded many qualities rarely and difficultly combined: a conſiderable capital; miniſterial approbation; faithful and capable conductors; dextrous navigators, and above all, much time and perſeverance to ripen, and ultimately recompence the perſons engaging in ſo eccentric and expenſive an expedition. This extraordinary union of talents and circumſtances was, however, found in men of no ſuperior deſcription among the mercantile inhabitants of London; and it will remain a ſtriking monument to future ages, of the energy, capacity, and nautical ability, which diſtinguiſh the preſent century and the Britiſh nation, above the moſt enlightened periods of any ancient or modern people.

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The north weſt coaſt of America, the part of the earth to which this embarkation was deſtined, was not only ſo remote, but ſo undefined, that its very exiſtence remained unknown or doubtful, before the diſcoveries of the reign of George the Third. This immenſe tract of land, extending northward from California and New Albion to the frozen ſea, had been partly explored and faintly traced by captain Cook; but much remained for future enterpriſe and induſtry to accompliſh, before this diſcovery could be converted to any purpoſe of public utility. He had, however, aſcertained the exiſtence of the continent; and he had received from the barbarous natives, with whom he eſtabliſhed a ſpecies of barter, ſome valuable ſpecimens of furs, in exchange for European commodities of a far inferior nature.

The hope of procuring a conſiderable quantity of theſe rare and coſtly ſkins, for the ſale of which a very advantageous market preſented itſelf at Canton in China, was the leading inducement to the adventurers, who engaged in the expedition. But, in the purſuit of private emolument, objects of general and national conſequence were neceſſarily implicated and interwoven. Behind this coaſt to the eaſtward, lay the vaſt continent of America; opening a field to commercial activity and reſearch, in which the imagination itſelf was loſt. The diſcovery of a communication through this unexplored country, and which may ultimately connect it, to a certain degree, with our ſettlements in Hudſon's Bay, appears from their account not to be totally viſionary, though it was regarded as ſuch by our juſtly celebrated but unfortunate countryman *.

Animated by theſe views, and having received the moſt affirmative marks of the protection of government previous to their departure, five ſhips were fitted out from London in 1785, and the two ſucceeding years. Four of theſe veſſels, after doubling Cape Horn, arrived ſafely on the north-weſt coaſt of America. The ſanguine expectation which had been entertained of effecting a lucrative exchange of commodities with the natives, were fully and ſpeedily realized. Cargoes of the fineſt furs were procured, and ſold to the Chineſe, even under great commercial diſcouragements, and pecuniary impoſitions, at ſo high a price, as amply to reimburſe, and enrich the adventurers. Other attempts of a ſimilar nature, were made from Bengal; and two veſſels were ſucceſſively diſpatched from the Ganges to the ſame coaſt in the year 1786. A factory was eſtabliſhed at Nootka Sound, a port ſituated in the fiftieth degree of northern latitude, on

* Captain Cook.

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the ſhore of America. Poſſeſſion of it was ſolemnly taken in the name of the ſovereign and crown of England: amicable treaties were concluded with the chiefs of the neighbouring diſtricts; and a tract of land was purchaſed from one of them, on which the new proprietors proceeded to form a ſettlement, and to conſtruct ſtorehouſes. Every thing bore the appearance of a riſing colony, and each year opened new ſources of commerce and advantage.

That, upon every principle of the law of nations, upon the eſtabliſhed uſage in all ſimilar caſes, and as being *the firſt ſettlers*, the Britiſh adventurers had an undoubted title to the place in queſtion, is beyond diſpute. Notwithſtanding this, in the month of May 1789, a Spaniſh ſhip of war from St. Blas, called the Princeſſa, commanded by Mr. Martinez, and mounting twenty guns, anchored there. The various avocations of trade having led the greater part of the perſons imployed at this ſettlement to different parts of the coaſt, the only Engliſh trading ſhip remaining in the Sound was the Iphigenia. The Princeſſa was ſoon joined by a Spaniſh ſnow of ſixteen guns; and, for ſome time mutual civilities paſſed between the Spaniards and Engliſh. Theſe, however, were at length interrupted, by an other being ſent to captain Douglas, the commander of the Iphigenia, to come on board of the Princeſſa; when he was informed by Mr. Martinez, that he had the king of Spain's orders to ſeize all veſſels which he might find upon that coaſt, and that he himſelf was his priſoner. In conſequence of this Mr. Martinez alſo took poſſeſſion of the Iphigenia in the name of his Catholic majeſty, and conveyed the crew priſoners on board the Spaniſh ſhips, where they were ironed. Mr. Martinez alſo took poſſeſſion of the ſettlements, hoiſted the Spaniſh flag, and proceeded to erect various buildings, on which he employed, together with his own men, ſome of the crew of the Iphigenia. He afterwards permitted captain Douglas to reſume the command of his ſhip; and on his repreſenting, that he had been ſtript of his merchandize, and other ſtores, Mr. Martinez gave him a ſmall ſupply of ſtores and proviſions, for which he took bills on the owners, by means of which, about a fortnight after he was at firſt detained, he was enabled to proceed to China.

Of theſe tranſactions only a partial, vague, and uncircumſtantial account was known by his majeſty miniſters, till captain Meares preſented his memorial to Mr. Grenville. Within one week after the affair was communicated, the moſt active and formidable preparations were made, a poſitive demand of preliminary ſatisfaction and reſtitution was ſent to Madrid, and the people of England were called upon to adopt the national vindication. The buſineſs, however, being com-

promiſed, a convention was agreed upon between his Britannic majeſty and the king of Spain, and ſigned at the Eſcurial, by their plenipotentaries Alleyne Fitzherbert, October 28, 1790. eſquire, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, and by count de Florida Blanca on that of his Catholic majeſty; which was finally ratified by the court of Spain, and exchanged with Mr. Fitzherbert againſt his majeſty's ratification on the 22nd of November, at the palace of the Eſcurial, by his Catholic majeſty's miniſter.

By this convention, the navigation of the Pacific Ocean is, in effect, declared to be as free as that of the Atlantic. The right, claimed by England, of purſuing the fiſhery on thoſe parts of the coaſt of South America, unoccupied and uncolonized by Spain, is not only avowed, but a vaſt tract of the Magellanic regions, on either ſide of Cape Horn, compriſing the whole coaſt below the moſt ſouthern ſettlements already made by the Spaniards, is declared to be free to both countries, for every purpoſe of temporary accommodation: while the two crowns are equally interdicted and reſtrained from forming future permanent eſtabliſhments on that inhoſpitable ſhore. In return for this conceſſion, England ſubmits to the demand, of not permitting her veſſels to approach within ten leagues of the coaſts and countries actually occupied by Spain upon the Pacific Ocean. The miniſter followed the convention with the immediate production of accounts reſpecting the naval and military armaments, and the pecuniary impoſitions neceſſary for their ſpeedy liquidation. He propoſed to raiſe, not merely the intereſt of the debt recently incurred, but to extinguiſh the principal itſelf, in the ſpace of four years; though the expence of the preparations amounted to above three millions ſterling.

There were dreadful riots at Birmingham, A. D. 1791. about the middle of July, 1791. A public meeting having been announced to commemorate the anniverſary of the French revolution, at the hotel in Temple-Row, a number of perſons repaired thither for that purpoſe; but a mob aſſembling in the evening, deſtroyed all the windows of the building, demoliſhed Dr. Prieſtley's chapel, his houſe at Fair Hill, and ſeveral other houſes. The doctor's grand philoſophical apparatus, his extenſive and valuable library, together with his manuſcripts and furniture were all committed to the flames. The riots continued five or ſix days, during which time, the mob, being reinforced by many thouſands from the neighbouring country, razed to the ground, and reduced to aſhes, a great number of fine edifices.

The varying aſpect of the political horizon in A. D. 1792. France caſt a varying light and ſhade over the neighbouring countries, animating or diſcouraging

ing the friends of liberty and innovation on the one hand, and thoſe of eſtabliſhed governments on the other. In Britain, in the earlier part of the year, a ſociety was formed under the name of Friends to the People, at the Freemaſon's Tavern; and other ſocieties, branching from this, were united by correſpondence in different parts of the country. The march of duke of Brunſwick into France caſt a damp on theſe ſocieties, and all who abetted them. His retreat, however, revived their ſpirits, and they were ſuſpected of promoting diſturbances.

A royal Proclamation called on all who held officers under government, and wiſhed well to the Britiſh conſtitution, to keep order, and to carry the laws againſt all riots and diſorders into execution with vigour. This tried and proved the principles of the Britiſh nation, which, particularly in England, appeared to be on the ſide of the preſent order of affairs in the church, as well as in matters of government. Aſſociations were every where formed in oppoſition to all turbulence and ſedition, more numerous than the ſocieties abovementioned. The parliament, which, from the apprehenſion of danger, was all on a ſudden ſummoned to meet, before the uſual time, breathed the ſame ſpirit throughout the nation. In Scotland, however, where every man, from the peer to the beggar, can read, and does read every thing that falls into his hands, the pamphlets of Mr. Paine, and others of a ſimilar nature, made a very ſenſible impreſſion.

Mr. Dundas the ſecretary of ſtate, being roughly handled on his viſit to his native country, endeavoured to recover his influence by bringing into parliament a bill for the eſtabliſhment of a militia in Scotland, and another for granting relief to the poor highlanders, labouring under the miſerable effects of a rainy and backward ſeaſon. The Alien Bill was paſſed, by which all foreigners, who could not give a ſatisfactory account of themſelves, were obliged to leave the kingdom. In Ireland, the Roman Catholics held a convention for the purpoſe of claiming the right of electing and being elected to parliament. In Scotland, a kind of convention was alſo held for the purpoſe of regulating elections, and doing away fictitious votes, which will be a conſiderable diminution of the ariſtocratical influence in Scotland. The burgh-reformers in that country perſevered in aſſembling, petitioning, and remonſtrating. In the Eaſt Indies, lord Cornwallis crowned a ſucceſsful war with a happy and glorious peace. Several bills were paſſed, and others introduced into parliament, in favour of humanity; among which lord Rawdon's bill for the relief of unfortunate, not fraudulent debtors, is moſt diſtinguiſhed.

The following accounts have been received, with regard to our new ſettlement in Sierra Leone. It appears that the rain began to ſet in about the end of May, and that a conſiderable degree of ſickneſs and mortality had prevailed from that time, chiefly occaſioned by the inſufficiency of the temporary houſes, which could not be completed before the rains ſet in. The ſoldiers, and the lower order of white people, ſuffered more particularly, partly through irregularity, and the want of freſh proviſions, the ſailors excepted, who, by being accommodated on ſhipboard, were in general in good health. In all, about thirty-five white perſons have died, of whom fourteen were ſoldiers. The whole number of white perſons who have gone to the colony (ſailors included) are upwards of two hundred. Of the blacks from Nova Scotia a conſiderable number have fallen ſick, and many had died; but no regular returns of the mortality among them could be furniſhed at the time of the ſailing of the Sierra Leone packet. It was thought, however, that the number of ſick was decreaſed. The colony were in anxious expectation of the arrival of the company's ſhip York (which was unfortunately driven back to Plymouth by a ſtorm), as many of the deaths appeared to be owing to the want of good accommodations on ſhore. The natives appeared to be extremely friendly, and a few had come to work for the company. The colony were ſtill in want of freſh proviſions; but fiſh, vegetables, and fruit, were in tolerable plenty, and the ſettlers had begun to ſow a variety of ſeeds for their own ſuſtenance, which appeared to thrive very well. The company's manager had collected a few ſugar-canes, with a view of beginning a plantation, which were thriving extremely well.

Earl Stanhope's experiments for navigating veſſels by the *ſteam engine*, without maſts or ſails, have ſucceeded ſo much to his ſatisfaction on a ſmall ſcale, that a veſſel of two hundred tons burthen, on this principle, is now building under his direction. The expence of this veſſel is to be paid by the navy board in the firſt inſtance, on condition that if ſhe do not anſwer, after a fair trial, ſhe ſhall be returned to the earl of Stanhope, and all the expence incurred made good by him. This is undoubtedly a noble experiment, and highly honourable to his lordſhip, whatever may be its ſucceſs. If it anſwer, the advantage to the public, particularly to inland navigation, will be immenſe. If it fail, he will be entitled to the praiſe of having beſtowed much ſtudy and a large ſum of money on an object of national utility.

In the month of December, an information was tried in the court of King's-bench, againſt Mr. Sampſon Perry, printer

printer of a late morning paper, called *The Argus*, for a libel, inſinuating, that the houſe of commons were not the real repreſentatives of the people, and that therefore the laws were not enacted by their own conſent. The neceſſary evidence being adduced, lord Kenyon declared it to be a very flagitious libel; and the jury brought in their verdict guilty. In the London Gazette preceding this trial, a reward of 100l. was offered, for the apprehending of Mr. Perry.

Much about the ſame time, a court of lieutenancy of the London militia was held at Guildhall; preſent the lord-mayor, aldermen Sainſbury, Croſby, Newnham, Pickett, Curtis, Macauly, Anderſon, ſir Watkin Lewis, colonel, and the two ſheriffs. The court came to a determination, that one company ſhall be conſtantly kept on duty at the Artillery-houſe, night and day, to be ready at a moment's notice, in caſe any diſturbance ſhould happen in the city, owing to the prevalence of French principles. They likewiſe came to a reſolution to ſwear in forty of their men as extra-conſtables. A few days after, ſeveral hundreds of men were employed about the walls of the Tower. The ſtones, which were upon ſundry parts of Tower-hill, were collected together, with quantities of earth, into old puncheons, and uſed in forming barricadoes. The gates were ſhut at nine o'clock, two hours ſooner than uſual. Strangers were with difficulty admitted in the day time, and no perſons but officers and ſentinels were ſuffered to appear upon the ramparts.

During the ſame month, came on before lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury, at Guildhall, the trial of Thomas Paine, for writing and publiſhing a certain ſeditious pamphlet, under the title of *The Second Part of the Rights of Man.* The information, which was opened by Mr. Percival, ſtated; that Thomas Paine, being a wicked, malicious, ſeditious, and ill-diſpoſed perſon, and diſaffected to the king and government, had traduced the happy revolution effected by the prince of Orange, afterwards king William III.—the acceptance of the crown by the ſaid prince and queen Mary—the convention-parliament, which had conferred the crown on their ſaid majeſties—and the bill of rights, including the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion: that he had endeavoured to repreſent, that theſe were reſpectively contrary to the rights and intereſt of the people; that our hereditary regal government was a tyranny; that our parliament was a wicked, corrupt, and unneceſſary eſtabliſhment; that the king, lords, and commons tyrannized over the people; and that thus he had endeavoured to infuſe groundleſs diſcontents againſt the king and parliament, as well as againſt our conſtitution, laws, and government.

The attorney general then roſe, and in the courſe of a long and able ſpeech, read ſeveral paſſages from the work in ſupport of the information, and contended that the whole was throughout malignant in the intention of the writer, and extremely miſchievous in its tendency. The publication, &c. being proved, Mr. Erſkine entered into a very long defence of the author, on the general grounds of the freedom of the preſs; contending, that his client had not gone beyond the bounds of fair and allowable diſcuſſion; that the topics on which he had animadverted, had been treated with ſtill greater force of expreſſion by the duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt, ſir George Saville, Mr. Burke, &c. illuſtrating his obſervations by various quotations from Locke, Hume, Milton, Paley, and others; and deprecating the ſpirit of prejudice that had gone forth againſt his client. When he had finiſhed, the attorney general roſe immediately to reply; but the foreman of the jury ſaid,—My lord, I am authorized by the jury here to inform the attorney general, that a reply is not neceſſary for them, unleſs the attorney general, wiſhes to make it, or your lordſhip. The attorney general ſat down, and the jury gave in their verdict—*Guilty.*

CHAP. III.

Reflections on War—Domeſtic Events—Turkiſh Ambaſſador—Treaties for Subſidies—Parliamentary Reform—Trial of Mr. Gerald—Lord Cornwallis is preſented with the Freedom of the City—Suſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act—Perſons committed to the Tower—Lord Macartney's reception at the Chineſe court.

THERE are certain calamities incident to mankind which, from the conſtancy of their operation, and the frequency of their occurrence, ſeem inſenſibly connected with the moral government of the univerſe. War makes the moſt conſpicuous figure in this claſs of human ills. Every attempt which has been made to check its progreſs or diminiſh its horrors, has only extended its influence, or increaſed its exceſſes. Principles which, in their nature, inſured the proſpect of general tranquillity, have been found in their propogation to terminate in the production of univerſal confuſion; and religion and liberty, the diſtinguiſhed gifts of Heaven to rational beings,

beings, and the primary ſources of happineſs to man, have filled the inhabitants of the earth with ſorrow, and deluged its ſoil with blood. The hoſtilities which have agitated the different nations in this quarter of the globe, may be attributed to the ſtruggles between the popiſh and proteſtant ſtates for the defence or extenſion of their peculiar religious tenets; the conteſts between ſovereigns and ſubjects for the exerciſe of prerogative, or the eſtabliſhment of liberty; and finally, the efforts of different communities to ſtop the progreſs of an ambitious neighbour, and prevent the deſtruction of that balance of power on which the general ſecurity is founded. The two former objects were the great cauſes of conteſt from the acceſſion of Charles the Fifth to the memorable treaty of Munſter. From thoſe ſources the bloody civil wars which deſolated Germany and France derived their origin; from them we may trace the obſtinate diſpute between Spain and Holland; the ſubjugation of Portugal by Philip the Second; and the execution of Charles the Firſt in England. And at that period of hiſtory, as well as at the preſent era, men were not contented with perpetrating deeds of open violence, but recurred to maſſacres and aſſaſſinations, to gratify their reſentments and aſſuage their angry paſſions. The inſtitution of the order of the Jeſuits bears no ſmall analogy to the formation of the Jacobin club; in the character of Mirabeau we may diſcover many features of reſemblance to that of Ignatius Loyola. Can the moſt ſuperficial obſerver forbear from drawing a compariſon between the horrors of St. Bartholomew, and thoſe of the 2nd of September; or from aſſigning as diſtinguiſhed places in the temple of infamy to Marat, and Ankarſtroem, as to the murderers of William of Orange, and Henry the Third and Fourth of France? Enthuſiaſm, however produced, will commonly betray into ſimilar acts of wickedneſs; thoſe who are under its influence will only vary their means to effectuate the ſame ends; the miſguided diſciple of licentiouſneſs, as well as the deluded votary of ſuperſtition, will think he does God ſervice in deſtroying his fellow-creatures; and happy would it be for the world if repeated experience would finally teach us, that vice is always in extremes, and that all virtue conſiſts in moderation.

It had been long evident, that the court of London viewed the revolution in France with jealouſy, concern, and diſguſt; although the commercial intereſts of the nation reſtrained the Britiſh government from taking an open and active part for its ſuppreſſion. But it is not always by motives of intereſt that nations, any more than individuals, are guided in their councils, and determined in their actions. Sympathy with ſuffering innocence, and indignation againſt cruelty and in-

juſtice, have often rouſed individuals to make exertions in favour of others that they would not have had the courage of making for themſelves. And there are atrocities capable of exciting, for a time, the general ſympathies and antipathies of nations. The murder of the late king of France, Jan. 21, 1793. the amiable Louis XVI. and thouſands of other victims, ſtruck the nations around, but none more than the generous people of England, with horror. Sorrow for the dead was mingled with apprehenſion for the ſafety of the living. Britain, therefore, joined the confederacy againſt France. Upon the melancholy report of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's death reaching this country, the court was immediately ordered into mourning. M. Chauvelin was, by an order of the king in council, directed to depart this realm on or before the firſt of February; and a meſſage was ſent by his majeſty to both houſes of parliament, directing the correſpondence between M. Chauvelin and the ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, together with the order of council in conſequence of the atrocious act lately committed at Paris, to be laid before them; and intimating that his majeſty in the preſent ſituation of affairs thought it indiſpenſably neceſſary to make a further augmentation to his forces by ſea and land, for maintaining the ſecurities and rights of his own dominions, for ſupporting his allies, and for oppoſing the views of aggrandiſement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general intereſts of Europe, but are peculiarly ſo when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the moſt ſacred duties, and are utterly ſubverſive of the peace and order of all civil ſociety. Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Tuſcany, followed the example of Britain; Venice, Genoa, Geneva, and Hamburgh, reſolved to remain in a ſtate of neutrality; Sweden and Denmark, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of our court, furniſhed ſupplies to the French: but theſe very circumſtances, in all probability, have had their influence in determining the empreſs of Ruſſia to make thoſe mighty preparations, now on foot, for action next ſummer, and which are generally ſuppoſed to be deſtined, collaterally, for the humiliation of France; though their ultimate object, if we may judge from the uniform ambition of that great princeſs, is, in ſome ſhape or other, her own aggrandiſement.

As the tranſactions of Europe are, from this period, ſo much connected with thoſe of France, I ſhall here cloſe this ſhort view of Engliſh hiſtory with an account of ſome of the moſt remarkable domeſtic occurrences.

On the 22nd of January a treaſury board was held at Carlton Houſe, when the reduction of his royal highneſs the

prince of Wales's eſtabliſhment took place. The domeſtics diſcharged are to be paid their arrears up to laſt quarter, and then to be eſtabliſhed on a penſion of half their ſalary during their diſmiſſal. On the 29th of the ſame month, lord George Gordon was brought before the court of King's Bench, in order to give ſecurity for his future good behaviour, the term of his impriſonment being at an end; when, the two perſons who had offered not being accepted, the judges remanded him back to Newgate; to which he was immediately conducted by the proper officers, until he can find ſufficient ſureties.

The miniſtry endeavoured to oppoſe the introduction of French principles by means of an act for reſtraining all intercourſe with them, called, an act for the prevention of traiterous correſpondence; and of a ſtrict proſecution of every thing that tended to ſedition. Lloyd, the attorney, who advertiſed the Fleet Priſon to let, "in the firſt year of Engliſh liberty," enjoyed an hour of *notoriety* in the pillory oppoſite to the Royal Exchange. During the firſt quarter of an hour the engine was ſo looſely placed, that he ſimply leaned through it at his comparative eaſe; an alteration however was made by order of the ſheriff, that it ſhould be ſhut cloſe. The concourſe of people was very great; and by the aſſiſtance of about two hundred conſtables, good order was preſerved during the whole time.—One Carter, who was indicted and found guilty of having unlawfully publiſhed a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, entitled "An Addreſs from the London Correſponding Society to the other Societies in Great Britain, united for the purpoſe of obtaining a reform in parliament." The addreſs was an anſwer to that of Mr. Reeves's Aſſociation; and Carter was ſentenced to ſix months impriſonment for having paſted up the addreſs at the corner of St. Giles. The next example was Daniel Crichton for uttering treaſonable words againſt the king. He was proved to have ſaid, when looking at the *Regalia* in the Tower of London that *he would have no king here, they had no king in Scotland.* He had come up the night before from Scotland to be bound as an apprentice to a tallow chandler: honourable teſtimony was made in court by a reſpectable clergyman of his general good character, and he himſelf expreſſed the moſt ſincere compunction for having in an unguarded moment of intoxication uttered words which in his full reflection he would not ever have ſpoken. He was ſentenced however to three months impriſonment.

On the 12th of February, being the laſt day of Term, the ſolicitor general prayed the judgment of the court of King's Bench upon the Rev. Richard Burgh, James Davis, J. Cum-

J. Cummins, Thomas Townly M'Can, and John Bourne, who had been tried and convicted for a conſpiracy to effect their own, and the eſcape of the other priſoners legally confined for debt, and for that purpoſe ſetting fire to, and attempting to deſtroy the walls of the King's Bench Priſon; when they were ſeverally ſentenced to three years impriſonment, at the expiration of which they are to find ſecurity for their good behaviour for three years: Burgh in two hundred pounds, and two ſureties in one hundred pounds each; and the other priſoners in one hundred pounds each, and two ſureties in fifty pounds each.—On the 25th at half paſt ſix, the three battalions of guards deſtined for foreign ſervice were drawn up on the parade before the Horſe guards. At ſeven the king, attended by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and ſeveral general and other officers, came down the Mall from Buckingham Houſe. His majeſty was mounted upon a beautiful white charger, and wore a general's uniform. After his majeſty had been about half an hour on the parade, the battalions paſſed him by companies, moving to ſlow time, the officers ſaluting as they paſſed. They then went off by Storey's-gate, and took the road to Greenwich. When the whole had paſſed, his majeſty, with his ſuite, fell in the rear of the battalions, and accompanied them to the place of their embarkation. The march was honoured with the preſence of the queen and the three eldeſt princeſſes. The duke of Clarence, in a coach and ſix, likewiſe accompanied the march of the battalions. The embarkation took place immediately on their arrival at Greenwich. On the 11th of March, between ſeven and eight o'clock, a detachment of the Guards, commanded by Col. St. Leger, marched from the parade, in St. James's Park, to the Tower wharf, where they embarked, accompanied with Brook Watſon, eſq. commiſſary general for Holland. The privates are all artificers of ability; the non-commiſſioned have moſt of them been upon recruiting parties, and are picked men, returned ſince the departure of his royal highneſs the duke of York. This detachment completes the number of Guards originally ordered for ſervice in Holland.

Much about the ſame time, his majeſty's attorney general directed an attachment to be laid on a ſum of money lying in the Bank, to the amount of 100,000l. ſterling, in the name of Meſſrs Bourdieu and Chollet, agents for the French Republic.

On the ninth of April, the following diſagreeable information, was received at the ſecretary of ſtates office, from Nootka Sound. Mr. Hergeſt, a lieutenant in the Britiſh Navy, accompanied by Mr. Gooch, the aſtronomer, went on ſhore among the natives (who are deſcribed by Mr. Mears

as

as a very quiet inoffenſive people), and from that deſcription having a confidence in them, they went unarmed; the ſavages, however, had no ſooner got them in their poſſeſſion, than they fell upon them, and moſt inhumanly murdered them. An armed party were ſent from the ſhip *, but too late to be of any ſervice, as the two unfortunate gentlemen were already murdered, and the horrid ſavages were preparing to broil and eat them.

On the 13th of May Robert Mackreth, eſq. M. P. was brought into the court of King's Bench, purſuant to order, to receive judgment for giving a challenge to ſir John Scott, his majeſty's then ſolicitor general. After reprobating in general terms the practice of duelling, and animadverting on the circumſtances of this cauſe, the court ſentenced Mr. Mackreth to be fined in the ſum of 100l. and to be impriſoned for the ſpace of ſix weeks in the King's Bench Priſon.

On the 27th of the ſame month came on before lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury, in the court of King's Bench, the trial of Mr. Froſt, the attorney, for ſeditious words ſpoken at the Percy coffee-houſe. The attorney general addreſſed the court on the part of the proſecution; he then called Meſſrs. Tate, Savilliac, Yateman, and Bullock, as evidence for the crown. Mr. Erſkine addreſſed the jury in a ſpeech of great eloquence, on the part of the defendant. The jury retired for about an hour and a half, and brought in their verdict—Guilty. The indictment againſt Mr. Froſt ſtated, that he, on the 6th of November laſt, at the Percy coffee-houſe, Rathbone Place, made uſe of theſe ſeditious words: "I am for Equality; I ſee no reaſon why one man "ſhould be greater than another; I would have no king; "and the conſtitution of this country is a bad one." On the 19th of June, judge Aſhurſt pronounced the ſentence of the court againſt Mr. Froſt. After commenting on the heinouſneſs of his offence he ſentenced the defendant to be impriſoned in Newgate for the ſpace of ſix months, and within that time to ſtand in and upon the pillory at Charing Croſs, between the hours of twelve and two; and after the expiration of that time, to enter into ſecurity for five years, himſelf in 500l. and two ſureties in 250l. each. Lord Kenyon ordered the defendant to be ſtruck off the Roll.

The ſettlement at New South Wales, it would appear, is in a very flouriſhing ſtate. Governor Philips has brought home with him very minute and particular accounts of the actual ſituation of the colony. By theſe we are informed, that the ſettlers were making very conſiderable progreſs in

* The Dædalus.

the cultivation of their land, and in rearing of live ſtock. Every ſettler had at leaſt one breeding ſow, with ſheep, goats, and other cattle. The paſturage is uncommonly fine, and in great plenty; and ſuch progreſs had been made in clearing and cultivating the government lands, that nearly two thouſand acres were in corn when the governor left the ſettlement, with every appearance of a luxuriant crop. The celebrated Barrington is likely to become a man of ſome conſequence at laſt. His natural talents entitle him to a more reſpectable diſtinction than that which he enjoyed, and we hope he has taſted enough of the bad effects of vicious courſes to abandon them entirely. Major Groſe commandant of the New South Wales corps, and lieutenant governor of the ſettlement, commands at New South Wales, in the abſence of governor Philips. Captain Nepean is ſecond in command. Governor Philips tells many curious ſtories of his majeſty's ſubjects in Botany Bay. Barrington is high-conſtable of the ſettlement, and adminiſters juſtice with a moſt impartial hand. There is no ſeverity that will operate to the prevention of the natives ſtealing one another's cabbages. One of the convicts has built a comfortable houſe, and has cultivated his ſhare of ground to great advantage. His time is expired, but he refuſes to return to England, and actually gives his ſhare of the government proviſion to his neighbours, as he is able to live with his family on his farm.

During the month of July, died at Hopetown-hall, near Edinburgh, a man of the name of Robertſon, at the ſurpriſing age of 137. This *modern patriarch* had always lived in the family of the lords of that place, whom he ſerved in the quality of inſpector of the lead works, four complete generations, beſides the time elapſed ſince the birth of the preſent poſſeſſor. The funeral was celebrated with a decency that does honour to his noble patron, who immediately beſpoke an elegant monument, with an inſcription expreſſive of the zeal and fidelity of an old and worthy ſervant, for the ſpace of 110 years.

On the 30th of Auguſt, came on the trial of Mr. Thomas Muir, younger, of Hunterſhill, before the High Court of Juſticiary, Edinburgh. He was accuſed of exciting, at different meetings, denominated *Societies* for *Reform*, by means of ſeditious ſpeeches and harangues, a ſpirit of diſloyalty and diſaffection to the king and the eſtabliſhed government—of adviſing and exhorting perſons to purchaſe and peruſe ſeditious publications and writings*, calculated to promote a ſpirit

* Paine's works, A Declaration of Rights, The Patriot, &c.

of

of diſloyalty and diſaffection among his majeſty's ſubjects—of diſtributing or circulating a ſeditious writing or publication of the tendency aforeſaid, or cauſing to diſtribute or circulate ſuch ſeditious writing or publication—of producing and reading aloud, in a public meeting or convocation of perſons, a ſeditious and inflammatory writing, entitled "An Addreſs from the Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin to the delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland," tending to produce in the minds of the people a ſpirit of inſurrection, and of oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed government; and publicly approving of, and recommending, in the ſaid meeting, this ſeditious, inflammatory writing.—To theſe charges Mr. Muir pleaded *Not Guilty.* He ſaid he had nothing to obſerve on the relevancy; he would truſt himſelf to the jury. He had given in, when laſt before the court, a written defence, in which he declared the libel to be falſe, and that he would *prove* that he had all along *ſupported the conſtitution.* Being aſked if he had any other defence, he ſaid he reſted upon his own written defence. He had uniformly adviſed the people to purſue legal and conſtitutional meaſures, as well as to read all books written upon the great national queſtion of reform.—The jury being named, Mr. Muir *objected* to every one of them. He ſaid, that as the gentlemen, however reſpectable, were all ſubſcribers of the Goldſmith's Hall Aſſociation, and had offered a reward for diſcovering thoſe who circulated what they deemed ſeditious writings, they had already *prejudged* him, and were therefore improper perſons to paſs upon his aſſize.—The ſolicitor general, in reply, ſaid their lordſhips were equally precluded, as both they, and every friend to the conſtitution, had condemned the writings of Paine.—After examining many witneſſes in behalf of the proſecution, and others on the part of the defendant, the lord juſtice Clerk ſummed up the evidence, and commented with much ſtrength of language on the different parts of it, but left it to the jury to draw their own concluſions; who finding him guilty of the crimes charged, the court ſentenced him to be tranſported beyond the ſeas (to ſuch place as his majeſty, with the advice of his privy council, ſhall judge proper) for the ſpace of fourteen years.—Mr. Muir obſerved, that though ſome in the court might think the ſentence too lenient, and others too ſevere, yet had he been carried from the bar to the ſcaffold, he would have met his fate with equal coolneſs, ſo convinced was he of the juſtice of his conduct.

At Perth too, the Rev. Fiſche Palmer was found guilty of writing a ſeditious hand bill; and his ſentence was ſeven years tranſportation.

On

On the 13th of September, at night, prince Adolphus arrived *incog.* at the Hanoverian Office, Bury-ſtreet, from the Britiſh Camp before Dunkirk. His royal highneſs ſlept at Mr. Beſt's, in Thatched-court, and next morning ſet off to ſee his royal parents at Kew palace. He came up with his helmet on, through which he was cut. One of his eyes was hurt by a blow which he received in the engagement. His coat alſo bore the marks of the ſabre.

On the 23rd of October the peace of Birmingham was again diſturbed, as follows:—Mr. Barrs, linen-draper, one of the conſtables, called on a perſon named Wood, who keeps a little huckſter's ſhop in Lichfield-ſteet, for payment of the quota he had been aſſeſſed towards the rate for reimburſing the ſufferers by the riots in 1791. He pleaded his poverty, but, on the conſtable telling him he knew he was able to pay, and that if he perſiſted in his refuſal, he muſt diſtrain his goods; Wood ſwore an horrible oath, that if he touched a ſtick of his property, he would murder him, drawing at the ſame time a long carving knife. The conſtable, alarmed for his ſafety, prudently retired for further ſuccour. In the mean time, Wood, to inflame and exaſperate a large mob, which had now aſſembled about his door, repreſented the rate as a grievous impoſition, and the conſtable as exceſſively cruel and arbitrary in collecting it. The incenſed mob, after parading the ſtreet with ſhouts and hazzas, proceeded to Mr. Barr's houſe, in Temple-row, where they began to throw ſtones, &c. at the doors and windows, the latter of which they totally demoliſhed. An order was ſent to the barracks for the troops, on whoſe arrival the mob took ſhelter in the church-yard adjacent, from whence, with ſtones and other things, they inſulted and greatly annoyed the troops. The church-yard gates being thrown open, the military rode in amongſt the mob; and though the horſes were much incommoded, and ſome a good deal injured by the tomb ſtones, they diſperſed the mob about four o'clock in the morning, many of whom, in the affray, were dangerouſly wounded; one was killed, and about thirty taken into cuſtody, and lodged in the dungeon. Next morning an expreſs was diſpatched to Wolverhampton for two troops of dragoons quartered there. They arrived very opportunely about ſeven in the evening, juſt as the mob were proceeding to the dungeon to enlarge their confederates. The priſon was aſſailed with great fury, with large ſtones, brickbats, &c. but the keeper and his aſſiſtants within made a vigorous defence, by firing on the mob, one of whom was killed, and ſeveral dangerouſly wounded. A party of the military, however, arriving,

riving, the mob took to flight immediately, and the town was again reſtored to peace and ſecurity.

It is much to be regretted, that ſo bad a ſpirit, for ſome time paſt, has diſplayed itſelf at Birmingham. Their keen and laſting animoſities may do their town and common intereſt an irreparable injury. The papiſts of France were ſo blinded by bigotry, that they did not ſee that the proteſtants, whom, by repealing the edict of Nantes, they drove from the country, would carry their manufactures with them: but this has long ſince been realiſed; and it ſhould ſerve for a leſſon to every country under heaven. It is "devoutly to be wiſhed" that all commercial men would remember, that it is their intereſt to preſerve harmony and peace; and that quarrels only injure their common concerns. They may feel pleaſure at ſeeing a rival go away; but beſides the conſiderations already adduced, it would be uſeful for them to reflect for a moment, that the man who leaves England, and carries with him his fortune and his ſkill, takes away neither the *taxes* nor the *poor*; and that thoſe who remain behind muſt pay the one and maintain the other.

The melancholy intelligence reſpecting the plague, which raged in Philadelphia, was confirmed by official notice, ſigned by governor Clinton. By a private letter there was information, that Philadelphia was nearly depopulated. Upwards of five thouſand of the inhabitants had fled from thence, to avoid the plague, which raged with ſuch violence, ſubſequent to the 27th of laſt September, that upwards of four hundred perſons died in the courſe of three days. All buſineſs had ſubſided when the laſt accounts left Philadelphia.

On the 27th of November the Rev. William Winterbotton, found guilty of preaching two ſeditious ſermons, was ſentenced for the firſt offence to pay a fine of 100l. to the king, and to be impriſoned in the New Priſon in Clerkenwell, in the county of Middleſex, for the term of two years; for the ſecond offence to pay a fine of 100l. to the king, and to be impriſoned in the New Priſon in Clerkenwell for the term of two years, to be computed after the expiration of the firſt impriſonment; and at the end of his impriſonment to give ſecurity for his good behaviour for the term of five years, himſelf in 500l. and two ſureties in 250l. each.

In addition to the other calamities inflicted on mankind, at this awful period, a peſtilential fever, which is ſaid firſt to have appeared at Bulam in Africa, and to have been from thence tranſmitted to the French Weſt Indies, made the greateſt havoc at Philadelphia. Upwards of five thouſand of the inhabitants fled from thence to avoid the plague, which raged with ſuch violence ſubſequent to the 27th of laſt September

tember, that upwards of five hundred perſons died in the courſe of three days. In the month of November, however, its violence was much abated: and by the cold of winter it may probably be entirely deſtroyed.

The arrival of a Turkiſh ambaſſador at our court, in the month of December, naturally excited public curioſity and attention. The political pride, or religious prejudices, of the Ottoman Porte, have hitherto prevented it from keeping up a regular intercourſe of this nature with the other European ſtates; but the creſcent of Mahomet has now been long on the wane, and the care we took to hinder its total extinction, may have humbled the arrogance, and awakened the gratitude, of the Grand Signior. Some important commercial regulations, it is hoped, may be the effect of this embaſſy; and thus a new inſtance will be furniſhed of the beneficial influence of trade in humanizing mankind.

During this year, the militia were called out; fortifications were ſtrengthened; and the apprehenſions of danger increaſed by preparations for ſafety. Thus political warmth, by ſtrengthening the hands of miniſtry for the preſent, has left an example that may palſy the hands of future adminiſtrations, and even ſhake the foundation of the Britiſh government.

The enormities committed by the French, who threatened to ſpread democritical licentiouſneſs all around them, continued in Britain a ſpirit of hoſtile indignation and reſiſtance. As the ſeaſon advanced, and the winter approached, a benevolent project was ſet on foot, intended, as has been ſuppoſed, to ſound the ſenſe of the nation on the ſubject of the war, and, by an artful addreſs to the generoſity of the people, to lead them into a notion that they were its genuine authors and patrons. A ſubſcription was opened by ſome agents of the miniſtry, for warm clothing to the Britiſh troops ſerving on the continent. Some called this elemoſynary manœurve, low cunning, and even, to a certain degree, unconſtitutional, as no armed force ought to be maintained without the expreſs conſent of parliament; and as it was the duty of government to provide all things neceſſary for the public ſervice at the public expence, and raiſed by equitable impoſts. Others conſidered it as an homage to the nation of the ſame kind with that paid by the emperor, and the king of Spain, to their ſubjects, when, inſtead of impoſing taxes, they graciouſly accepted benevolences or voluntary contributions.

A great failure happened in many of our great mercantile and manufacturing houſes; as appeared, at firſt ſight, on account of the war, which cut off our intercourſe with our neareſt and greateſt cuſtomer; but, as others more paradoxically affirmed, through the very extenſion of trade and mercantile

tantile adventure. Whatever was the cauſe of this failure, adminiſtration, very properly, endeavoured to obviate its worſt effects by diſtributing, in the way of loan on pledges, or depoſits of goods, ſix millions ſterling. This plan had the double effect of preventing much of that calamity which muſt otherwiſe have enſued, and of conciliating the attachment of numbers to the preſent government.

The following treaties for ſubſidies, were entered into, during this year between Great Britain and other countries. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, engages to keep in readineſs for ſervice, for the ſpace of three years, twelve thouſand men. By a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, a corps of three thouſand troops of that country is taken into the Britiſh pay. By a treaty with the margrave of Baden, a corps of troops including ſeven hundred and fifty-four men, is likewiſe taken into the Britiſh ſervice. The treaty with the king of Sardinia, grants to his Sardinian majeſty the ſum of 200,000l. ſterling annually, during the whole courſe of the war. The treaty with the king of the two Sicilies covenants, that his Sicilian majeſty "ſhall unite to the forces of his Britannic majeſty, in order that he may employ them in the Mediterranean, either conjunctly or in concert with his own military and naval forces, a body of ſix thouſand land troops, as well as four ſhips of the line, four frigates, and four ſhips of war." The ſubſiſtence and forage of the ſaid corps are to be ſupplied by this country, as ſoon as it ſhall have quitted the dominions of his Sicilian majeſty. His Britannic majeſty engages to "keep a reſpectable fleet of ſhips of the line in the Mediterranean, as long as the danger of the Two Sicilies and the operations which they ſhall undertake againſt the common enemy ſhall require: and his ſaid majeſty engages to take ſuch arrangements as ſhall be moſt proper for maintaining, either by his own forces, or in concert with the other maritime powers engaged in this war, a decided ſuperiority in that ſea, and to provide, by this means, for the ſecurity of his Sicilian majeſty's dominions."

During this year alſo, after many petitions had been preſented to the houſe of commons from various parts of the country, praying for a reform in the parliamentary repreſentation, Mr. Grey brought forward a petition from the *Friends of the People*, containing an ample detail of the miſchiefs which had originated from the corruptions of the legiſlative body, the baneful effects of miniſterial influence, and of the interpoſition of the peerage; and pledging themſelves to prove, by the moſt irrefragable teſtimony, the truth of every aſſertion contained in the body of this memorial. The part

which Mr. Pitt was called upon to act, on the preſent occaſion, was of a difficult nature. Stigmatiſed by his antagoniſts as a determined apoſtate, ſuſpected by many of his friends of ficklenefs and irreſolution, he was bound either to renounce the error in which he had perſiſted ſo long, or demonſtrate that the evils likely to enſue from a reform of repreſentation were of greater magnitude than any which could be expected from the continuance of the preſent eſtabliſhed mode of election. Without deviating, however, from the principles he had originally adopted, he diſplayed the impropriety of carrying them into execution at the preſent criſis; and though he did not pretend to queſtion the expediency of ſome reformation, yet he ſhewed the neceſſity of granting with caution, and denying with reſolution.

In whatever aſpect this complicated queſtion is viewed, the neceſſity of circumſpection will become more apparent. If arbitrary power is to be ſhunned on the one hand, licentiouſneſs and anarchy muſt be avoided on the other; and in endeavouring to remove the ill effects of an inadequate repreſentation, we ought to be careful to avoid the inſtitution of a repreſentative body without reſpectability, ſuperintended by an executive power deſtitute of any controling influence. The perpetual attempts which have been made to poſtpone a parliamentary reform furniſh the ſtrongeſt evidence of its neceſſity, and afford the happieſt omens of the beneficial conſequences with which it would be attended. While the members of *every adminiſtration* which has been formed ſince the revolution, have watched every opportunity to extend the power of the crown, they have ſeized with equal ardour every occaſion which offered for diminiſhing the authority of the people. And if, in conſequence of the ſucceſs of their machinations, meaſures have been carried into effect under the ſanction of the Houſe of Commons, contrary to the intereſts, and adverſe to the wiſhes, of the nation, it muſt inevitably follow, that that body can no longer be deemed the organ by which the general will is conveyed; and inſtead of being regarded as the unbiaſſed directors of ſovereign authority, muſt be conſidered as the paſſive tools of miniſterial deſpotiſm. So perfectly well perſuaded are the enemies of reform of this dilemma, that, without endeavouring to give it an anſwer, they have conſtantly aimed at evading the queſtion by pleading the impropriety of entering upon the diſcuſſion, or boldly attempting to cut the knot which they cannot unlooſe, by denying the principles on which the enquiry is founded, though congenial to every maxim of Britiſh juriſprudence, and every enactment of Britiſh legiſlation. But though the latter of theſe objections might have come from

the mouth of Walpole, yet the ſuperior ſenſe of the nation would now turn with diſdain from the repetition, and the ſuperior virtue, or more conſummate modeſty of the preſent adminiſtration has taught them to reject it with equal contempt. But this conceſſion is attended with no beneficial influence; it only furniſhes the means of a more plauſible deception, by flattering the people with the proſpect of acquiring privileges which can never be reduced into poſſeſſion, or enjoyed in practice. The enjoyment of rights which are founded on the immutable principles of truth, are ſtill made to depend on the fluctuating prejudices and contracted views of intereſted individuals: but impriſoned violence will at laſt have vent, and, unleſs its fury is diverted, muſt burſt in thunder on the head of the oppreſſor. In anſwer to all theſe arguments in favour of a reform, it may, however, be urged, that its advocates conſtantly refer to an ideal era of perfection to which the conſtitution never attained, and which never exiſted but in the conceptions of theſe projectors. They complain of the miſchiefs which the preſent ſyſtem produces, but have they duly conſidered whether theſe inconveniencies are not rather to be aſcribed to the neceſſary imperfection of every human inſtitution, than to the corruption of miniſters, or the prerogatives of the crown? Can they produce any form of political inſtitution which can be experimentally ſhewn to have produced ſo much good, with ſo ſmall a portion of evil, as the conſtitution at preſent eſtabliſhed?—The neceſſity of a reform is generally allowed; and in order to juſtify a claim of relief, the nature of the grievance ought to be diſtinctly propoſed, and the remedy to be applied ſpecifically ſtated.

On the 13th of January, Mr. Margarot, accuſed of different ſeditious practices, was tried A. D. 1794. before the High Court of Juſticiary, at Edinburgh. After a long trial, the jury found him guilty, and he was ſentenced to fourteen years tranſportation beyond the ſeas. Before he went to be tried, a great crowd aſſembled at his lodgings in Leith-ſtreet about ten o'clock, and he was conducted with a wreath or arch held over him, with inſcriptions of *Reaſon*, *Liberty*, *Parliamentary Reform*, and the like. About the middle of the North Bridge, however, the cavalcade was met by the lord provoſt, ſheriff, conſtables, peace-officers, &c. and immediately diſperſed. The arch was demoliſhed, and its ſupporters were taken into cuſtody. A preſſgang attended to aſſiſt the peace officers. Mr. Margarot then walked to the court, eſcorted by the lord provoſt and ſheriffs, and no diſturbance enſued.

On the 9th of February, the arrival of the Swallow Packet at Torbay, with the moſt noble marquis Cornwallis and part of his ſuite, was announced at the India Houſe. The Swallow left Madras the 10th of October, when all the preſidencies and poſſeſſions of the company were in an unexampled ſtate of proſperity; five lacks of Pagodas had been ſent to Bengal from Madras, and there were ſtill five lacks remaining in the treaſury of Fort St. George. Tippoo Saib had made all his payments.

On the 10th of March, came on, before the High Court of Juſticiary, the trial of Joſeph Gerald, eſquire, late of Bloomſbury ſquare, London. The accuſation, at the inſtance of the lord advocate of Scotland, charged him with being a member of a ſeditious aſſociation, called "*The Britiſh Convention*," which met at Edinburgh in November and December laſt; and that on the 21ſt and 28th of November he made addreſſes of a ſeditious nature to the members of the ſaid convention. The indictment alſo charged Mr. Gerald with being preſent in the convention, when the magiſtrates and ſheriff went to diſperſe the members. The libel was reſtricted to an arbitrary puniſhment. When the court met, before the libel was read over, Mr. Gerald objected to the lord juſtice Clerk ſitting on the bench. Upon this his lordſhip roſe, and lord Henderland took the chair. Mr. Gerald then preſented a written minute, containing the ſpecific objections to his lordſhip's ſitting on the bench, and the facts which he offered to prove in ſupport of theſe objections. They were, that his lordſhip had prejudged his cauſe; inaſmuch as, ſome time ſince, when in the houſe of Mr. Rochead of Inverleith, he ſaid, "What would they think of ſending "Margarot to Botany Bay, and giving him a whipping alſo?" He deſired that this minute might be entered in the records of the court.—Their lordſhips, in general, were of opinion, that the objection was not well founded, for the words alluded to were merely part of a converſation at table; and could any man ſuppoſe, that ſuch language could have any influence upon a judicial procedure? Would it be proper to give force to ſuch a charge, founded on a few looſe words, and not at all connected with the buſineſs of the writ, nor delivered in the capacity of a judge? If ſuch objections were to be tolerated, they might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences. It was throwing an indignity upon the court, and was intended as a foul aſperſion upon the character of that reſpectable and learned judge, who was vice preſident of the court, and who added honour to the bench. Suppoſe that ſuch words really had been ſpoken, how could they tend

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to prejudice the cauſe of Mr. Gerald, when it remained with a jury to try him? One of their lordſhips remarked, that the charge againſt the defendant, if true, was highly aggravated by the ill-founded charge he had now made upon that reſpectable judge; and, if a verdict were found againſt him by the jury, *he would not ſay but he might conſider fourteen years tranſportation* as too ſmall a puniſhment to be inflicted. In the caſe of Mr. Margarot, he heſitated much whether fourteen years ought to be the puniſhment, or whether one more ſevere ſhould be impoſed; for, he conſidered the conduct of that perſon, in the courſe of his trial, as highly reprehenſible. The accuſation which the defendant now made might originate in malice. Their lordſhips reſumed the conſideration of the objection, and were of opinion that it was irrelevant, and ought to be rejected. Upon this the lord chief juſtice Clerk was called to the chair. The indictment was then read over, to which the defendant pleaded *Not Guilty*. Mr. Gillies then addreſſed the court in defence of Mr. Gerald. The pleadings on both ſides continued till eleven o'clock at night, when the jury withdrew, and brought in a verdict next morning at eleven o'clock, unanimouſly finding the *Pannel Guilty*, when the lords paſſed ſentence of baniſhment beyond the ſeas for the ſpace of *fourteen years* *.

On the 5th of April, lord Cornwallis was preſented with the freedom of the city of London, which the court of mayor, aldermen, and common council, had unanimouſly voted to his lordſhip, on the happy concluſion of the late war in India. After the uſual oath was adminiſtered at the Manſion Houſe, Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes addreſſed the noble marquis on his meritorious conduct in the Eaſt. A very magnificent entertainment was provided by the lord mayor. The tables were decorated with a number of emblematical ornaments. From triumphal arches, warlike trophies, and different figures were ſuſpended. At the principal table were two hiſtorical pictures in variegated ſanding, of the delivery of the hoſtages from the Sultan to marquis Cornwallis, and in the key ſtone of an ornamental and very elegant arch, the arms of his lordſhip united with the arms and ſupporters of London. The front of the Manſion Houſe was illuminated in a ſuperior ſtyle; and on the centre, between the two columns, was introduced

* Mr. Gerald was born in the Weſt Indies, where he inherited conſiderable property. His firſt reſidence in this country was under the roof of Dr. Parr, with whom he remained for a number of years. When he left the care of his learned inſtructor, he returned to the Weſt Indies, where he married, and where his wife now reſides. By this lady he had two children, who are now alive, and at ſchool in this country. Mr. Gerald is at this time no more than thirty-four years of age.

troduced a very large and exquiſitely well painted tranſparency, of the delivering the two ſons of the Sultan, by the ambaſſador to the *noble marquis Cornwallis*, with ſeveral figures as large as life, executed by Mr. Singleton, under the direction of Mr. Powell.

On the 2nd of May, Mr. Stone, a coal-merchant, of Rutland-ſtreet, Thames-ſtreet, was taken up on a charge of high treaſon; and, after various examinations was committed to Newgate for trial.

On the 12th of May, the following meſſage from his majeſty was preſented to the houſe of commons. "His majeſty having received information that the ſeditious practices which have been ſome time carried on by certain ſocieties in London, in correſpondence with ſocieties in different parts of the country, have lately been purſued with increaſed activity and boldneſs, and have been avowedly directed to the object of aſſembling a pretended general convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, and on principles ſubverſive of the exiſting laws and conſtitution, and directly tending to the introduction of that ſyſtem of anarchy and confuſion which has fatally prevailed in France, has given directions for ſeizing the books and papers of the ſaid ſocieties in London, which have been ſeized accordingly; and theſe books and papers appearing to contain matter of the greateſt importance to the public intereſt, his majeſty has given orders for laying them before the houſe of Commons; and his majeſty recommends it to the houſe to conſider the ſame, and to take ſuch meaſures thereupon as may appear to be neceſſary for effectually guarding againſt the further proſecution of theſe dangerous deſigns, and for preſerving to his majeſty's ſubjects the enjoyment of the bleſſings derived to them by the conſtitution happily eſtabliſhed in theſe kingdoms."

In conſequence of this meſſage, Mr. Pitt, on the 16th, deſcanted on the danger which threatened the conſtitution of this country, and the meditated deſtruction of laws, liberty, and property. It called, he ſaid, for the immediate interference of parliament; and he was ſorry to ſay, that the exigency of the caſe appeared to be ſo urgent, as to require one of the ſtrongeſt meaſures which it was in the power of that houſe to adopt; a meaſure, which for a while deprived the ſubject of one of his deareſt rights; but a right which, for the ſafety of the whole, would, he truſted, for a ſhort time be cheerfully reſigned. What he alluded to were the benefits of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, the ſuſpenſion of which he then, in effect, propoſed, by moving for leave to bring in a bill "to empower his majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons

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as his majeſty may ſuſpect of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government." Mr. Fox and ſeveral other members oppoſed the motion at great length, on the ground that the neceſſity of the caſe did not call for ſuch a meaſure. "From the revolution," ſaid they "to the complete defeat of the pretenſions of the houſe of *Stuart*, the wiſdom of our anceſtors did not deem the exiſtence of a zealous, powerful, and indefatigable jacobite party a ſufficient reaſon, without overt acts of rebellion, or actual exiſting conſpiracy, for ſubjecting the perſonal liberty of the whole kingdom to the will of a few individuals." The neceſſity and expediency of the meaſure were warmly defended by Mr. Burke, and other able ſpeakers. The bill therefore, in a few days, paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

In the mean time Mr. D. Adams, formerly clerk in the Auditor's office, and ſecretary to the ſociety for Conſtitutional Information, and Mr. Hardy, ſecretary to the London Correſponding Society, were taken into cuſtody. The Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private ſecretary to lord Stanhope, and tutor to lord Mahon, was alſo ſecured; and ſoon after, Mr. Thelwall, the *political lecturer*, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Richter, Mr. Lovatt, and Mr. Horne Tooke. On the 19th of May, after examinations before the privy council, theſe ſix were committed to the Tower, charged with high treaſon. The priſoners were conducted to ſeparate apartments. The Rev. Mr. Joyce was put into the houſe of the head gaoler, Grauz, guarded by two wardens, and two ſoldiers outſide the door; and no perſon on any account was permitted to have acceſs to him. Citizen Tooke was conducted to the houſe of the head gaoler, Kinghorn, with the ſame guard. Thelwall, whoſe reſtleſs conduct cauſed great uneaſineſs in the mind of Timms, the meſſenger, was ſent to the apartments formerly occupied by the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots. Lovatt and Richter were put into different ſtrong apartments in the White Tower. Bonney was conducted to an apartment in the eaſt wing, with the ſame orders and guard. Tooke was in high ſpirits, and expreſſed his thanks to the executive government, for the care they took of the health of him and his companions, in providing them with *country lodgings*. Bonney was alſo in good ſpirits. Joyce and Richter were ſeverely and ſenſibly affected, and wept bitterly. Thelwall was particularly riotous and impertinent, bravadoing every thing, and treating every perſon with contempt.

About this time accounts were received of lord Macartney's ſafe arrival, and moſt honourable reception, at the court of Pekin. His lordſhip arrived on board the *Lion* man of war, accompanied by the *Jackall* brig, and company's ſhip,

Hindoſtan, at Macao, about the middle of June. His lordſhip did not immediately land; but ſir *George Staunton* and his ſon, a remarkably accompliſhed young man, and eminently converſant in the Chineſe language, went on ſhore, with *Mr. Brown*, *Mr. Irwine*, and *Mr. Jackſon*. Lord Macartney afterwards proceeded on his embaſſy, and reached Limpo, on the coaſt of China, a little to the ſouthward of the Yellow River. Two mandarins of the higheſt order went off, to pay him the firſt writ, and communicate the imperial welcome. His lordſhip returned their viſit, on ſhore. He then proceeded with his ſtaff and ſuite, civil and military, in boats, up the Yellow River, on his way to Pekin. The forms of audience being adjuſted in the moſt honourable manner for the Britiſh embaſſy, his lordſhip was received by the emperor with the higheſt marks of diſtinction and reſpect; and had the honour of being ſeated on the left hand of his *majeſty*. The preſents, which are ſuperior in value and variety to any that have ever been known on ſimilar occaſions, were moſt graciouſly received; and the buſineſs of the embaſſy was commenced, with the faireſt appearance of the moſt favourable iſſue, and the eſtabliſhment of ſolid and extenſive advantages to Great Britain. The *lion* and *jackall* had returned to Macao; and the Hindoſtan was daily expected from the iſland of Chuſan. Lord Macartney was to come by land from Pekin to Canton, where a moſt magnificent houſe was preparing for his reception. What an intereſting journey---one thouſand miles through China!

CHAP. IV.

Literature, Arts, and Sciences.

ENGLAND may be looked upon as another word for the ſeat of learning and the muſes. Her great Alfred cultivated both, in the time of the Saxons, when barbariſm and ignorance overſpread the reſt of Europe; nor has there ſince his time been wanting a continual ſucceſſion of learned men, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their writings or ſtudies. In the dark ages, Roger Bacon was a prodigy of learning, and natural philoſophy. He was a forerunner in ſcience to the great Bacon, lord Verulam, as the latter was to Sir Iſaac Newton. He lived under Henry III. and died at Oxford about the year 1204. Chaucer, the father of Engliſh poetry, was

was the brighteſt ornament of the court of Edward III. His *Canterbury Tales* abound with much true humour, and pleaſantry. He had, however, many diſadvantages to ſtruggle with, from which his contemporaries were in a great meaſure free. William the Conqueror had attempted to extirpate the Engliſh tongue. The Norman language was ordered to be uſed in all public writings, and taught in all public ſchools. It was alſo the dialect of the court. That badge of ſlavery was only aboliſhed by Edward III. It had continued almoſt three hundred years. Chaucer had therefore to create, or at leaſt to form a new dialect. This circumſtance ought always to be attended to in contemplating the writings of our venerable bard; as it alone can account for that prodigious difference obſervable, after all his diligence, between the progreſs of Engliſh manners, and of the Engliſh language. Had things continued to proceed in their natural order, Chaucer's ſtyle would now have been nearly as intelligible as that of Shakſpeare.

Since the reformation, England reſembles a galaxy of literature, and it is but doing juſtice to the memory of Cardinal Wolſey, though otherwiſe a dangerous and profligate miniſter, to acknowledge that both his example and encouragement laid the foundation of the polite arts, and greatly contributed to the revival of claſſical learning in England. Queen Elizabeth advanced many perſons of conſummate abilities to high ranks, both in church and ſtate; but ſhe ſeems to have conſidered their literary accompliſhments to have been only ſecondary to their civil. In this ſhe ſhewed herſelf a great politician, but ſhe would have been a more amiable queen had ſhe raiſed genius from obſcurity; for though ſhe was no ſtranger to Spencer's muſe, ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be ſo much impoſed upon by a t ſteleſs miniſter, that the poet languiſhed to death in obſcurity. Though ſhe taſted the beauties of the divine Shakſpeare, yet we know not that they were diſtinguiſhed by any particular acts of her munificence; but her parſimony was nobly ſupplied by her favourite the earl of Eſſex, the politeſt ſcholar of the age, and his friend the earl of Southampton, who were liberal patrons of genius.

Queen Elizabeth herſelf was truly and ſubſtantially learned, having ſtudied the beſt ancient as well as modern authors, and being an uncommon miſtreſs of the Greek and Roman tongues. The confinement and perſecutions of her youth afforded ſcope for the acquiſition of eminent intellectual attainments; and Roger Aſcham was one of her preceptors. How well ſkilled ſhe was in the Greek language, was manifeſt from her writing a comment on Plato, and from her tranſlating into Latin a dialogue of Xenophon, two orations

of Iſocrates, and a play of Euripides. Into Engliſh ſhe tranſlated Plutarch de Curioſitate. Her verſions from Latin authors into her own tongue were Boethius's Conſolation of Philoſophy, Salluſt's Jugurthine war, and part of Horace's Art of Poetry. With her general learning, Queen Elizabeth united an uncommon readineſs in ſpeaking the Latin language; a talent which ſome very good ſcholars do not poſſeſs; though it was more frequent in that age than it is in the preſent. This talent ſhe diſplayed in three orations; one delivered in the univerſity of Cambridge, and two in the univerſity of Oxford. An extraordinary inſtance of her ability in this way was exhibited in a rapid piece of eloquence with which ſhe interrupted an inſolent ambaſſador from Poland. "Having ended her oration, ſhe lion-like riſing," ſay the hiſtorians, "daunted the malapert orator no leſs with her ſtately port and majeſtic departure, than with the tartneſs of her princely cheeks;" and turning to the train of her attendants, ſaid, "God's death! my lords, I have been forced this day to ſcoure "up my old Latin that hath long lain ruſting." By her contemporaries Elizabeth has been highly extolled for her poetry; but this muſt be ſet down to the flattery of the age.

The reign of James I. was diſtinguiſhed by the labours of many eminent authors, both in proſe and verſe, but moſtly in a bad taſte. That propenſity to falſe wit and ſuperfluous ornament, which we have ſo frequently occaſion to regret in the writings of Shakſpeare, and which ſeems as inſeparably connected with the revival, as ſimplicity is with the origin of letters, infected the whole nation. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, however, Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Raleigh's *Hiſtory of the World*, and the tranſlation of the bible now in uſe, are ſtriking proofs of the improvement of our language, and of the progreſs of Engliſh proſe. Upon the whole, therefore, it cannot be denied, that Engliſh learning is under obligation to James I. though, as he had a very pedantic taſte himſelf, he was the means of diffuſing a ſimilar taſte among his ſubjects. His ſon Charles I. had a taſte for the polite arts, eſpecially ſculpture, painting, and architecture. He was the patron of Rubens, Vandyke, Inigo Jones, and other eminent artiſts; ſo that, had it not been for the civil wars, he would probably have converted his court and capital into a ſecond Athens; and the collections he made for that purpoſe, conſidering his pecuniary difficulties, were ſtupendous. Charles and his court had little or no reliſh for poetry; but ſuch was his generoſity in encouraging genius and merit of every kind, that he increaſed the ſalary of his poet laureat, the famous Ben Jonſon, from 100 marks

to

to 100*l.* per annum, and a tierce of Spaniſh wine; which ſalary is continued to this day.

The reign of Charles II. was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by the great proficiency to which it carried natural knowledge, eſpecially by the inſtitution of the Royal Society. The king was a good judge of thoſe ſtudies, and though irreligious himſelf, England never more abounded with learning and able divines than in his reign. He loved painting and poetry, but was far more munificent to the former than the latter. The incomparable Paradiſe Loſt by Milton, was publiſhed in his reign, but was not read or attended to in proportion to its merit; though it was far from being diſregarded ſo much as has been commonly apprehended. The reign of Charles II. notwithſtanding the bad taſte of his court in ſeveral of the polite arts, by ſome is reckoned the Auguſtan age in England, and is dignified with the names of Boyle, Halley, Hooke, Sydenham, Harvey, Temple, Tillotſon, Barrow, Butler, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Wycherley, and Otway. Sir Chriſtopher Wren introduced a more general regularity, than had ever been known before in architecture. Nor was ſir Chriſtopher Wren merely diſtinguiſhed by his ſkill as an architect. His knowledge was very extenſive, and his diſcoveries in philoſophy and mechanics, contributed much to the reputation of the new eſtabliſhed Royal Society. "A variety of knowledge," ſays a judicious writer, "proclaims the "univerſality, a multiplicity of works the abundance, and St. "Paul's the greatneſs of Sir Chriſtopher's genius. So many "great architects as were employed on St. Peter's have not "left upon the whole a more perfect edifice than this work of "a ſingle mind. The nobleſt temple, the largeſt palace, and "the moſt ſumptuous hoſpital, in ſuch a kingdom as Britain, "are all the works of the ſame hand. He reſtored London, "and recorded its fall. He built about fifty pariſh churches, "and deſigned the monument*."

The names of Newton and Locke adorned the reign of William III. Newton, leaving behind all former aſtronomers, ſurveyed more fully, and eſtabliſhed by demonſtration that *harmonious* ſyſtem of the univerſe, which had been diſcovered by Copernicus; and Locke, no leſs wonderful in his walk, untwiſted the chain of human ideas, and opened a viſta into the myſterious regions of the mind. To him we owe the diſcovery that *all our ideas are acquired by ſenſation and reflection*, and conſequently that we *brought none into the world with us*. The philoſophy of Newton, all founded on experiment and demonſtration, can never be ſufficiently admired;

* Walpole.

and

and it particularly merits the attention of every gentleman, as an acquaintance with the principle of *gravitation*, or with the theory of *light* and *colours*, would be ſufficient to ſtamp an indelible mark of ignorance on the moſt reſpectable character.

Under the auſpices of queen Anne, learning and the polite arts were much improved. Many of the great men, who had figured in the reigns of the Stuarts and William, were ſtill alive and in the full exerciſe of their faculties, when a new race ſprung up, in the republic of learning and the arts. Addiſon, Prior, Pope, Swift, Bolingbroke, Shafteſbury, Arbuthnot, Congreve, Steel, Rowe, and many other excellent writers both in verſe and proſe, need but to be mentioned to be admired; and the Engliſh were as triumphant in literature as in war. To the ſweetneſs of Waller, and the ſtrength of Denham, Pope has added a compaſs of verſe, and an energy that is entirely his own. He made the verſification of Dryden his model. And if his compoſitions have not all the fire of the *Alexander's feaſt*, the eaſy vigour of the *Abſalom and Achitophel*, or the animated flow of the fables of his maſter, the collected force and finer poliſh of his numbers, a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and juſt, though leſs bold imagery, entitle them to all the praiſe that can poſſibly belong to an emulous imitator. The *Rape of the Lock*, the *Eloiſe to Abelard*, the *Meſſiah*, and the *Eſſay on Man*, are the fineſt poems of their kind in any modern language.

Swift had given perſpicuity and conciſeneſs to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactneſs to the looſe, though harmonious periods of Temple; but it was left to Addiſon to furniſh elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. He wrote the moſt admired papers in the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, and other publications of the ſame kind. In thoſe papers he has diſcuſſed an infinite variety of ſubjects, both comic and ſerious, and has treated each ſo happily, that one would think he had ſtudied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him, not only for words and phraſes, but for images, than to any other writer in proſe. If his ſtile has any fault, it is want of force. This defect in our proſe compoſition was ſupplied by lord Bolinbroke, who has united ſtrength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. It is not poſſible to carry farther the beauty and force of our multifarious tongue, without endangering the one or the other. The earl of Cheſterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and graceſully eaſy, but he wants the ſinews of his maſter; and if Johnſon, on ſome ſubjects, appears to have more force than Bolingbroke, he is often deſtitute of eaſe. His periods are too artificially arranged, and his words

ſometimes

ſometimes too remote from common uſe. Sterne excels as a ſentimental writer; and the *Adventurer* of Doctor Hawkeſworth is not inferior to the *Rambler* of Dr. Johnſon. I ſhall conclude this chapter with the following ſonnet on the progreſs of the Engliſh language.

"When firſt the infant left the Saxon ſhore,
"Rude was her voice and homely her array,
"Till Chaucer to the wanton court her bore,
"Where jeſts and wiles ſhe learnt and am'rous play.
"Then Spencer's cell the damſel did explore,
"Who deck'd her locks with Latian flowrets gay;
"And taught to chaunt the viſionary lay,
"With fancy's treaſures fraught and wiſdom's lore.
"What dreams of fancy ſooth'd her youthful breſt,
"When Shakſpeare led her to th' impaſſion'd ſcene!
"She hoped no more: till in her Milton bleſt,
"Who ſtrength and beauty gave her to convene,
"In heavenly arms and heavenly ſplendor dreſt,
"She roſe a cherub thro' the blue ſerene*."

CHAP. V.

SCOTLAND.

Caledonians—Picts—Scots—Baliol and Bruce—Conduct of Edward I. of England—The Scots invade England—Edward defeats the Scots, and takes the caſtles of Dunbar, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh.

THE Caledonians, who probably derived their origin from the adjacent country of Gaul, were the firſt inhabitants of Scotland. The Picts undoubtedly were the Britons, who were forced northwards by the Belgic Gauls, above fourſcore years before the deſcent of Julius Cæſar; and who ſettling in Scotland were joined by great numbers of their countrymen, that were driven northwards by the Romans. The Scots, moſt probably, were a nation of adventurers from the ancient Scythia, who had ſerved in the armies on the continent, and, after conquering the other inhabitants, gave their own name to the country. The Scots and Picts long continued ſeparate, and the hand of nature had contributed to mark the diſtinction. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter thoſe of the plains†. At length Kenneth II. about the

* Pinkerton. † Buchanan.

mid-

middle of the ninth century, completely ſubdued the Picts, and united into one monarchy the whole country, from the wall of Adrian to the northern ocean, when his kingdom became known by its preſent name.

The hiſtory of Scotland may properly be divided into four periods. The firſt reaches from the origin of monarchy, to the reign of Kenneth II. The ſecond from Kenneth's conqueſt of the Picts, to the death of Alexander III. The third extends to the death of James V. The laſt, from thence to the acceſſion of James VI. to the crown of England. The firſt period is the region of pure fable and conjecture, and ought to be totally neglected, or abandoned to the induſtry and credulity of antiquaries. Truth begins to dawn in the ſecond period, with a light, feeble at firſt, but gradually increaſing. In the third period, the hiſtory of Scotland, chiefly by means of records preſerved in England, becomes more authentic: not only are events related, but their cauſes and effects explained; the characters of the actors are diſplayed; the manners of the age deſcribed; the revolutions in the conſtitution pointed out: and here every Scotſman ſhould begin not to read only, but to ſtudy the hiſtory of his country.

A. D. 883. After Kenneth II. the ſixty-ninth Scottiſh king, according to tradition, had obtained, as I have already obſerved, a complete victory over the Picts, and united into one monarchy the whole country at preſent known by the name of North Britain, the Scots became more formidable. Having leſs buſineſs on their hands at home, they were always ready to join the Engliſh malecontents, and made frequent incurſions into the bordering counties. In one of theſe excurſions, William, king of Scotland, was taken priſoner; and Henry II. as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him an exorbitant ranſom, and a promiſe to ſurrender the places of greateſt ſtrength in his dominions, but compelled him to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I. a more generous but leſs politic prince than his father, ſolemnly renounced his claim of homage, and abſolved William from the other hard conditions which Henry had impoſed. The crown of Scotland was therefore again rendered independent, and the northern potentate only did homage for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England, (a circumſtance which has occaſioned many miſtakes, and much diſpute among hiſtorians) in the ſame manner as the king of England himſelf ſwore fealty to the French monarch, for the fiefs which he inherited in France. But on the

A. D. 1286. death of Alexander III. near a century after the captivity of William, Edward I. availing himſelf

of the ſituation of affairs in Scotland, revived the claim of ſovereignty which had been renounced by Richard.

This is the real ſtate of the controverſy concerning the indepency of Scotland, which took its riſe about this time, and in the following manner. As Alexander left no male iſſue, nor any deſcendant except Margaret of Norway, his granddaughter, who did not long ſurvive him, the right of ſucceſſion belonged to the deſcendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, third ſon of king David I. Of that line two illuſtrious competitors for the crown appeared. Robert Bruce, ſon of Iſabel, earl David's ſecond daughter; and John Baliol, grandſon of Margaret, the eldeſt daughter. According to the rules of ſucceſſion now eſtabliſhed, Baliol's right was preferable: he would ſucceed as the repreſentative of his mother and grand-mother; and Bruce's plea of being one degree nearer the common ſtock, would be diſregarded. But in that age the queſtion appeared no leſs intricate than important: the ſentiments of men were divided: each claim was ſupported by a powerful faction; and arms alone, it was feared, muſt terminate a diſpute too weighty for the laws to decide.

In this critical ſituation the parliament of Scotland, in order to avoid the miſeries of civil war, embraced the dangerous reſolution of appealing to Edward I. He was accordingly choſen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquieſce in his decree. Now it was that this ambitious and enterpriſing prince, already maſter of Wales, reſolved more determinedly to make himſelf lord of the whole iſland of Britain, by reviving his obſcure claim of feudal ſuperiority over Scotland. Under pretence of examining the queſtion with the utmoſt ſolemnity, he ſummoned all the Scottiſh ba- A. D. 1291.
rons to attend him in the caſtle of Norham, a place ſituated on the ſouthern bank of the Tweed; and having gained ſome, and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were preſent, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the two competitors for the ſucceſſion, to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the Engliſh crown, and ſwear fealty to him as their ſovereign or liege lord.*

Notwithſtanding all the arts and power of Edward, there is great reaſon to believe that he did not carry his point without ſtrong oppoſition. We are told that the biſhop of Glaſgow, particularly, in one of the meetings, made a diſtinction between Edward's quality as umpire, which he was ready to acknowledge, and that of being lord paramount of Scotland, which, he ſaid, was an unjuſt, abſurd, and new-invented claim. We know not what effect this prelate's boldneſs pro-

* Rymer.

duced,

duced, farther than that Edward grew very cautious in his proceedings. Though the deciſion lay in his own breaſt, yet he thought proper to proceed by commiſſioners; and he promiſed to grant letters-patent, declaring that ſentence ſhould be given in Scotland. It had been all along foreſeen, that the great diſpute would lie between Baliol and Bruce. Though the plea of Cumming was thought frivolous, yet he was a party of too much conſideration to be entirely diſregarded; and he agreed tacitly to reſign it in favour of Baliol. Edward accordingly made him the compliment of joining him with Baliol, in nominating forty commiſſioners. Bruce was to name forty more, and the names of the fourſcore were to be given to Edward in three days; upon which he was to add to them twenty-four of his own nomination. Thus the whole board of commiſſioners, or, as they are called, tryers, was to conſiſt of an hundred and four perſons, whoſe names were given to Edward on the fifth of June. He left the place, and time of meeting, to their own option. They unanimouſly pitched upon Berwic, becauſe it lay within the confines of Scotland; but diſagreeing as to the time, Edward fixed their meeting to the ſecond of Auguſt following. On the eleventh of June, the regents of Scotland, who ſeem hitherto to have acted in conſequence of their original appointment by the ſtates, upon the death of Alexander the Third, reſigned their commiſſions to the king; but he returned them, with powers to act in his name, and nominated the biſhop of Caithneſs to be chancellor of Scotland, but joined with him in commiſſion Walter de Hamondeſham, an Engliſhman, one of his own ſecretaries. The twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth of June were ſpent in the chancellor, the regents, the chief nobility, the magiſtrates, the governors of forts in Scotland, and other Scotchmen, taking an oath of allegiance to Edward.

When we conſider the impetuous temper of that prince, it is eaſy to perceive, that this proceſs did not go entirely to his mind. Many of his own great men, the earl of Glouceſter in particular, were, by no means, fond of ſeeing his power already too great, increaſed by the acquiſition of Scotland, at which they knew he ultimately aimed. He diſliked the promiſe he had made for pronouncing ſentence in Scotland; nor were the letters-patent for that purpoſe made out till the twelfth of June, which was ſix days after the congreſs at Berwic was agreed on. He thought this was a matter of ſo much importance, that, after having buried his mother, who died in the intermediate time, he removed, together with the commiſſioners, on the third of July, to Berwic, where he made a proteſtation, in which he declared, "That though "he

he had granted that the affair of the ſucceſſion ſhould be tried in Scotland, yet he did not thereby intend to prejudice the right which he had in the like, or any other caſe, to exerciſe juſtice in England hereafter, touching affairs which might relate to Scotland." This proteſtation being made, we are told by the Engliſh hiſtorians, that Edward made a tour to the principal towns and cities in the ſouth of Scotland, where he courted popularity among the inhabitants; and on the 3d of Auguſt he met the commiſſioners at Berwic.

By this time the candidates, chiefly through Edward's intrigues, amounted to twelve; and each preſented to the board his petition, ſetting forth the grounds of his claim. The truth is, the pleas of moſt of the claimants were ſo falſe and frivolous, that they muſt have had unuſual encouragement before they could venture to enter them. I ſhall not, therefore, repeat them, farther than putting the reader in mind, that the mother of Bruce, daughter to David, earl of Huntingdon, had a younger ſiſter, Ada, who, had been married to Henry Haſtings, an Engliſh nobleman, lord of Abergravenny. If the crown of Scotland, therefore, was a diviſible fee, like that of England, Haſtings might very plauſibly urge that he was, in right of his mother, entitled to one third of the kingdom, as ſhe ought to be joint-heireſs with her two ſiſters. All the claimants having delivered in their reſpective pretenſions, Edward alledged, that they were ſo various and perplexing, that there was a neceſſity for adjourning the farther conſideration of the cauſe to the 2d of June. This adjournment was neceſſary for Edward's views. He had not A. D. 1292. been yet able to fix the point he had at heart, which was, whether the queſtion relating to Scotland was to be determined as thoſe regarding the great fees in England? The better to ſmooth his way, and to give an irretrievable blow to the independency of Scotland, he iſſued a writ, declaring the two kingdoms, by virtue of his ſuperiority, to be united.

The commiſſioners having met on the 2d of June, ambaſſadors from Norway preſented themſelves in the aſſembly, demanding that their maſter ſhould be admitted into the number of the claimants, as father, and next heir to the late queen. This demand too was admitted by Edward, after the ambaſſadors had acknowledged his ſuperiority over Scot[illegible] multiplying, Edward propoſed [illegible] ſhould be previouſly [illegible] to thoſe of the oth[illegible] ordered the co[illegible] to proceed in

in forming their report. The diſcuſſion of this queſtion was attended with ſuch difficulty, and the opinions upon it were ſo various, that Edward adjourned the aſſembly to the twelfth of October following, to give the members farther time to deliberate, and himſelf an opportunity of conſulting foreign lawyers.

The aſſembly being held to its prorogation, Edward, on the 14th of October, required the members to give their opinions on the two following points: Firſt, by what laws and cuſtoms they ought to proceed to judgment; and ſuppoſing there could be no law or precedent found in the two kingdoms, in what manner? Secondly, whether the kingdom of Scotland ought to be taken in the ſame view as all other fiefs, and to be awarded in the ſame manner as earldoms and baronies? The anſwer of the commiſſioners to the firſt was, That Edward ought to give juſtice conformable to the uſage of the two kingdoms; but that if no certain laws or precedents could be found, he might, by the advice of his great men, enact a new law. In anſwer to the ſecond queſtion they ſaid, That the ſucceſſion to the kingdom might be awarded in the ſame manner as to other eſtates and baronies.

No ſooner had the commiſſioners made their deciſions on thoſe points, than Edward ordered Baliol and Bruce to be called before him; and he demanded whether they had any thing farther to offer in ſupport of their claims. Bruce urged the indiviſibility of the crown of Scotland, and that it was not ſubject to the common law of inheritance eſtabliſhed in England. He proved, from the hiſtory of Scotland, that collaterals in the neareſt degree had been commonly preferred to the crown; and he maintained, that ſtanding as he did in the ſame degree as Dervegild did from the earl of Huntingdon, he was to be preferred to her, as being the male deſcendent. Baliol, on the other hand, inſiſted upon his mother's right of primogeniture, and appealed to what had been done by William Rufus, who placed Edgar on the throne of Scotland, and had dethroned Donald Bane, brother to Malcolm Canmore. Such, and many more, were the arguments urged by theſe two competitors, each to make good his claim. Edward, all this time, acted with the greateſt ſeeming impartiality and caution; and at laſt he brought the queſtion under the following heads: Firſt, whether the more remote by one degree in ſucceſſion, coming from the eldeſt ſiſter, ought, according to the laws and cuſtoms of both kingdoms, to exclude the nearer by one degree, coming from the ſecond ſiſter? Secondly, whether the nearer by one degree, deſcending from the ſecond ſiſter, ought, by the laws and cuſtoms of theſe kingdoms, to exclude

the more remote by a degree, coming from the eldeſt ſiſter?

Edward recommended the greateſt deliberation to the commiſſioners before they returned their anſwer to the above queſtions. The proceſs was again reviewed, and ſolemn debates were held; but at laſt, the commiſſioners pronounced, that, according to the laws and cuſtoms of both kingdoms, the deſcendants of the eldeſt daughter were to be preferred. This deciſion plainly gave the priority to Baliol; but Edward refuſed to pronounce ſentence till the 6th of November following, when he gave it directly againſt Bruce. But though Bruce was thus excluded from the crown, the conteſt was far from being finiſhed. Edward pretended, that the ſetting aſide the claims of Bruce was far from eſtabliſhing thoſe of Baliol, till ſuch time as the titles of the other competitors were diſcuſſed likewiſe; but the whole affair ſoon took a new turn.

Bruce, finding himſelf precluded from the ſovereignty, in the manner above expreſſed, declared that he had another plea to offer, which was, that Scotland ought not to be conſidered as an indiviſible fee. Though this was directly in oppoſition to the arguments he had formerly urged, yet he certainly had a right to make uſe of it, nor is it very eaſy to conceive how Edward could evade it, but by ſuppoſing that he could not bring the commiſſioners to eſpouſe that opinion. Bruce was ſupported in his plea by Haſtings, whoſe pretenſions, ſuppoſing the diviſibility of the fee, were the ſame with his. Edward, to keep up his character of moderation and impartiality, ordered the commiſſioners to examine whether the kingdom of Scotland was a diviſible fee: but their anſwer was in the negative; and the indiviſibility of it was eſtabliſhed accordingly. The commiſſioners found likewiſe, that the acquiſitions made in that country by the king ceaſed, the moment they came into his hands, to be diviſible. This peremptory opinion entirely cut off the claims of Bruce and Haſtings; and thoſe of the other competitors were ſo ill ſupported, that they were withdrawn by themſelves. Cumming was not preſent at the time of this deciſion, and his claim was annulled likewiſe.

Baliol may be now ſaid to be without a competitor; and Edward fixed the 19th of November, 1292, to pronounce final judgment in his favour. It was as follows: "The "king of England, as ſuperior and direct lord of Scotland, "adjudged that the ſaid John Baliol ſhould recover and have "ſeiſin of that kingdom, with all its appurtenances, accord-"ing to the form of his petition, upon condition that he "ſhould rightly and juſtly govern the people ſubject to him, "that none might have occaſion to complain for want of

" juſtice; nor the king, as ſuperior lord of the kingdom " upon the ſuit of the parties, be hindered to interpoſe his " authority and direction; a right which the king of England " and his heirs always reſerved in ſuch caſes, when he would " make uſe of it." According to the Engliſh hiſtorians * the earl of Glouceſter was ſo ſhocked at the proceedings and diſſimulation of Edward, in the whole of this affair, that he could not ſtifle his indignation, but exclaimed againſt him in a very bitter manner; though I cannot ſee with what propriety, admitting the deciſion to have been conformable to the laws and ſucceſſion of England. The Scots on the other hand, have at all times endeavoured to invalidate the principle upon which the deciſion was founded; for they tell that that mode of ſucceſſion was not then eſtabliſhed in Scotland; and they urge, with much better reaſon, that Edward was fundamentally wrong in all the proofs he brought of his ſupremacy over the kingdom of Scotland. Edward accompanied his deciſion with ſome words, addreſſed to the new king, importing, that if he did not behave well in the truſt he had conferred on him, he ſhould feel that he had a ſuperior to whom his people might apply. He then appointed the 20th of November for Baliol's taking the oath of allegiance at Norham, and the 26th of December for his performing homage for the kingdom of Scotland at Newcaſtle. The Engliſh records take notice, that Edward's chamberlain could bring no precedent for aſcertaining the fees he was to take of Baliol; upon which they were fixed by Edward himſelf in parliament, at twenty pounds, which is double thoſe that were paid by an earl. The writ of ſeiſin, which put Baliol in poſſeſſion of the Scotch crown, was dated the 19th of November, and directed to William and Robert, biſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſgow; John Cumming, James high-ſteward of Scotland; and Bryan Fitz-Allan, guardian of the realm.

The behaviour of Bruce, during this competition, has been differently repreſented. It is certain that he urged in his favour the repeated declarations of Alexander the Third that he intended to leave him his crown, if he ſhould die without iſſue of his own; but ſuch repreſentations can be ſuppoſed to have had no weight with Edward; and Bruce being the firſt of the Scotch competitors who offered to ſacrifice the independency of his country, we can have no high idea of his patriotiſm.

As to Baliol, he went directly to Scone, where he received the crown, and was recognized by all the nobility, except

* Hollingſhed.

in

ing Bruce, who was abſent. He then returned to Newcaſtle, and performed his homage to Edward for the crown, of Scotland in the moſt ample terms; which Edward took care ſhould be recorded by letters-patent, and properly atteſted * by the greateſt ſubject of the two kingdoms. Baliol ſoon found that Edward's real deſign was to render him a cypher, and to engroſs even the executive power of his nominal kingdom. He ſaw that he had forfeited the hearts of his own ſubjects, even of thoſe who had followed his example in his ſhameful ſubmiſſions, and that they durſt not truſt him; yet he hoped to regain their confidence by a more ſpirited behaviour; but he found himſelf miſtaken. Edward reſerved a power in his own breaſt, of explaining his paramount rights in what ſenſe he pleaſed, and carrying them even into a claim of property. He renewed the diſtinction between his engagements as umpire, and his rights of ſuperiority; and that all his promiſes, relating to the former, were now ceaſed, while thoſe of the latter remained in full force.

As being direct lord of Scotland, Edward had appointed certain officers of his own to reſide there, and ſuperintend his affairs. Some of them had injured one Roger Bartholomew, a burgeſs of Berwic, who complained to Edward of the behaviour of his officers; and the king and nobility of Scotland reſolved to make his complaint a common cauſe. Edward, as uſual, referred the complaint to his judges, of whom Brabanzon, the profeſſed enemy of Scotland, was chief juſtice of the king's bench; but with a peremptory order, that the matter ſhould be determined according to the laws of England, which in reality ſuperſeded the operations of the laws of Scotland, where the facts complained of were committed. This reference being intimated to Baliol, he ordered the biſhop of St. Andrew's, the earl of Buchan, Patrick de Graham, Thomas Randolph, and others of his nobility, to preſent a petition in his name to the Engliſh judges, complaining of their king's procedure, and ſetting forth his engagements to obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of Scotland, and that the pleas concerning things done there, ſhould not be drawn out of that realm; praying withal that Edward would obſerve his promiſes, and enjoin his officers to conform themſelves to the ſame.

* "My lord Edward, king of England, ſuperior lord of the kingdom "of Scotland, I John de Baliol, king of Scotland, being your liegeman "for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with its appurtenances which "kingdom I claim and hold, and of right ought to hold, for me and my "heirs kings of Scotland hereditary of you and your heirs kings of "England, of life and limb, and terrene honour, againſt all men that "may live and die."

So tame a method of proceeding, as that by petition, was no favourable omen of ſucceſs. Brabanzon's anſwer was full of haughtineſs. He ſaid, that Edward's officers were repreſentatives of his own perſon, and that, therefore, the cognizance of every thing relating to their conduct, belonged only to him and his laws. Edward, in full parliament, juſtified Brabanzon's doctrine; declared that all the promiſes he had made with regard to Scotland, were to be conſidered only as temporary and determinable with the occaſion; that they could not affect his rights of ſuperiority and direct dominion, which entitled him (if he pleaſed) to judge of the complaints of all its inhabitants, of whatever nature they were. Soon after, Edward confirmed this declaration in his own council-chamber, before Baliol, and ſome of the chief nobility of both kingdoms, adding, that if he thought proper, he would oblige even the king of Scotland to anſwer in perſon at the bar of his tribunal. Baliol thought it neither proper nor ſafe to reply to Edward; but he had a more bitter draught ſtill to ſwallow. Edward was not inſenſible that after the ſolemn promiſes and engagements he had made, his conduct would bear a very odious aſpect even to his own ſubjects. He knew that the ſtate to which he wanted to reduce Scotland, as a fee, was not warranted by the feudal law, either of England or France, where the holders of great fees never ſuffered cauſes, excepting in caſes of forfeiture or the like, to be carried out of their own courts into thoſe of their ſuperiors. Even the dukes of Brittany, though a fee to Normandy, which was of itſelf a fee to the crown of France, did not ſuffer pleas to be carried out of their own courts; nor would Edward himſelf as duke of Normandy, ſuffer a cauſe belonging to his juriſdiction to be moved to the courts of his paramount, the king of France. Edward was ſenſible of all this; but he continued to alledge, that the fourth preliminary treaty of the intended marriage between his ſon and the queen of Scotland, importing that the laws and cuſtoms of Scotland ſhould remain entire, and that pleas of things done there might not be drawn out of it, had been made when there was a near proſpect of the union of the two crowns by marriage; that upon the failure of that marriage, the direct dominion of Scotland reverted to Edward; that he was at liberty to uſe it as he pleaſed; and that all his poſterior engagements had been fulfilled, and were determined. Upon the whole, he inſiſted upon John renouncing, by his letters patent, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, all the promiſes, conceſſions, agreements, and ratifications made by Edward, as king of England, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland; or, in other words, that he and his ſubjects ſhould give him a full acquittance and diſcharge of all his former promiſes.

promiſes. John and his nobility found it in vain to contend, and the releaſe was accordingly ſigned by them on the 2d of January. A. D. 1293.

The triumph of Edward over the Scots was not yet complete, for he had not yet brought John to the bar of his tribunal to anſwer as a delinquent; but he was ſoon gratified even in that. One Maſon, a Gaſcon merchant, claimed a debt of 2197l. 8s. ſterling, that had been contracted by Alexander the Third, and which Baliol had not paid. Edward laid hold of this complaint, (though we know not how far Baliol was obliged to pay Alexander the Third's debts) to ſend him a ſummons, dated March the 1ſt, for his appearance at Weſtminſter, the day following the Aſcenſion. But a more important cauſe ſucceeded.

During the time of the interregnum, Edward, by virtue of the powers granted him by the competitors and regents of Scotland, had ſent an order, commanding the biſhop of St. Andrew's, and the other guardians, to reſtore to Macduff, the young earl of Fife, certain lands of which he had been diſſeiſed by the regency. Macduff accordingly, during the time of Edward's progreſs in Scotland, re-entered into poſſeſſion of the lands. When the Scotch parliament met, Macduff's antagoniſts (according to Fordun) compelled him to appear before it; and Baliol was of opinion, that Macduff's proceeding had been irregular, as the diſpute was only cognizable before himſelf and his courts. Some have ſaid that Macduff was even impriſoned, after being again ſtript of his lands. It appears however, by records, that he brought a complaint before Edward, againſt the injuſtice done him by John. There is ſome reaſon for believing that Edward favoured Macduff, on purpoſe to have full ſatisfaction as to the great point he aimed at. He ordered Baliol to be ſummoned by the ſheriff of Northumberland, to appear before himſelf, in whatever part of England he might be, the day before Trinity. Baliol paid no regard to this ſummons; and another was iſſued, commanding him to appear at the parliament to be held at Weſtminſter, fifteen days after Michaelmas. He had not the ſpirit to withſtand this order, but took his ſeat in parliament, as king of Scotland. Macduff was preſent at the ſame time, and appeared as plaintiff; upon which Baliol was compelled to deſcend from his bench, and plead his own cauſe in court, as an ordinary party. In anſwer to the charge of contumacy againſt him, for not appearing to the firſt ſummons, he urged, that he was obliged to take the ſenſe of his people in all matters relating to the kingdom of Scotland. Edward, who does not ſeem to have expected ſuch an anſwer from Baliol, wanted to ſoothe him, and offered to give him

more time; but Baliol ſtill perſiſted in demurring to the juriſdiction of the court. Upon this he was pronounced to be contumacious; and it was adjudged that three of his caſtles, Berwic, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, ſhould be ſequeſtrated into Edward's hands, till he ſhould return to his duty.

From the oppoſition made by Baliol on this occaſion, it is probable, that he had promiſes of being ſupported: but every ſtep he took was either unſafe, or imprudent. He had put himſelf into Edward's power; and, after that he, in fact, retracted the conceſſions he had formerly made. He had not the reſolution to perſevere; for when Edward was about to have pronounced ſentence, Baliol attended him in council, and petitioned for farther time, till he could conſult with his nobles, promiſing to appear at the firſt Engliſh parliament held after Eaſter following. Edward, with the conſent of Macduff, granted Baliol this indulgence; but the latter was at this time ſerved with no fewer than eight ſummonſes to appear before Edward, on the like pleas. We are told by Fordun, that Baliol at firſt deſired to be heard by his attornies or counſel: but that favour was denied him by Edward, till ſuch time as he ſhould come to the bar, and plead in perſon; to which he was obliged to ſubmit.

After the indulgence granted to Baliol, he was to anſwer to the other complaints then depending againſt him. One was from a lady who claimed the Iſle of Man, in which Baliol had been inveſted by Edward; and meeting with a repulſe, ſhe appealed to Edward, who ordered Baliol to appear before him. The abbot of Reading claimed, by virtue of a donation from David king of Scotland, the ſmall iſland of May, which lies in the mouth of the Forth; and not receiving ſatisfaction, Baliol was in like manner ſummoned on that account.

Baliol muſt have been worſe than inſenſible, had he not felt ſo many repeated injuries and affronts; but he had now forfeited all his credit in both nations; and his parliament of Scotland, before he left England, had choſen a regency of twelve noblemen for managing the public affairs during their king's abſence. Though Baliol could not be pleaſed with this ſtep, yet he departed abruptly out of England; and when he appeared in Scotland, gave vent to all the indignation he had conceived at his treatment from Edward; but he had ſtill a reſource by which he hoped to recover all the credit and intereſt he had loſt.

Philip of Valois then filled the throne of France; and, for reaſons foreign to this hiſtory, was on very bad terms with Edward. Though Baliol had conſented to aſſiſt Edward vigorouſly in his war with France; yet Edward during his whole

whole reign, poſtponed all conſiderations that interfered with the proſecution of his claims upon Scotland. He again called upon Baliol to give in his anſwer to Macduff's complaints, in the parliament that was to meet at St. Edmund's-bury. Baliol, inſtead of appearing in perſon, ſent the abbot of Aberbrothwick, with ſome other noblemen of his party, not only to give his reaſons why he did not appear, but to demand ſatisfaction for the inſults and injuries he and his ſubjects had received from thoſe of Edward. The latter was not then in a ſituation to reſent this proceeding as he inclined, and ſeemed willing to make ſome condeſcenſions. He informed the deputies, that he was ſoon to viſit the northern parts, and that their maſter ſhould then have juſtice done him as to his complaints; but, in the mean time, he peremptorily inſiſted upon his appearing before him in perſon at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, to anſwer Macduff's complaints, with the other matters that had been urged againſt him.

Baliol's declining to appear before Edward in perſon, was owing to the determination of his ſtates, whom he conſulted, and who were of opinion, that he ought not to ſubmit to ſuch an indignity; neither could Edward charge him with a breach of faith, ſince all he promiſed was to conſult his people; and to obey the ſummons, if they thought proper. His perſevering in his refuſal to appear, and continuing to inſiſt on ſatisfaction, determined Edward to have recourſe to arms; but at the ſame time it gave Baliol ſome conſideration in the eyes of his ſubjects. Edward's growing power had produced a confederacy againſt him upon the continent of Europe, at the head of which was Philip king of France, who had for ſome time held a private correſpondence with Baliol, to know how far he was diſpoſed to enter into the meaſures againſt Edward. Baliol though heartily exaſperated, durſt not publicly declare himſelf, till he was ſure of being ſupported by his ſubjects; but, in the mean time, the confederacy againſt Edward went on proſperouſly. Among the other princes who entered into it was Eric king of Norway, who, (if we are to believe the French hiſtorians) received 30,000 l. ſterling from Philip; and by a treaty ſtill in their charters, obliged himſelf to aſſiſt Philip with a hundred gallies well manned, and fifty thouſand land troops. This treaty, however, never was executed. Another party was the duke of Auſtria and the dauphin of Vienne; and ſo intent was Edward upon the affairs of Scotland, that he ſuffered himſelf to be ſtript of great part of his French poſſeſſions, even while he and his brother, the duke of Cornwall, were negociating a definitive treaty, and were cajoled by the court of France. It muſt, however, be owned that the inſidious conduct of Philip was indefenſible;

ſible; and, when it came to be known, it raiſed a very high indignation among all Edward's Engliſh ſubjects, ſo that they reſolved to ſupport their ſovereign to the utmoſt. An embargo was laid upon all the ſhipping in England; and Edward by a mandate required, in virtue of his parliament authority, that the ſame ſhould be done in Scotland. Baliol, who was as yet in no condition to declare himſelf publicly, was obliged not only to agree to this ſhameful order, but to conſent that three year's rent of his great eſtate in England ſhould be applied to carry on the war againſt France. By this laſt conceſſion, it appears, that his Engliſh eſtate, though not forfeited, remained ſtill ſequeſtrated.

When Edward was ready to embark for France, at the head of a great army, he received undoubted intelligence of the private negotiation carrying on between Baliol and Philip de Valois. Upon this, he gave the command of his great army to his nephew the earl of Richmond, and remained in perſon in England to attend the motions of the Scots and the Welch, who, encouraged by the unfavourable ſituation of his affairs abroad, were already in arms. Baliol had now regained ſo much credit with his ſubjects, that a French ambaſſador appeared in Scotland, and openly demanded the renewal of the ancient leagues, between the two nations, and aſſiſtance againſt the king of England. Edward, at the ſame time, by his ambaſſador, as ſuperior lord of Scotland, required aid againſt the king of France. The reſpective demands of the ambaſſadors were debated before the ſtates of Scotland, and their determination went in favour of France; or, in other words, they were reſolved to ſhake off the yoke of Edward. Plenipotentiaries were accordingly named to repair to the French court, and a commiſſion for that purpoſe was made out at Stirling, on the 5th of July;
A. D. 1295. to William biſhop of St. Andrew's; Matthew, biſhop of Dunkeld; ſir John Soulis; and ſir Ingram Umfreville. Upon their arrival in France, a ſecret treaty, bearing date the 25th of October following, was concluded between them and that king. The contents were as follow: 1. That Baliol's ſon Edward ſhould marry the the daughter of the king of France's brother, Charles de Valois, earl of Anjou. 2. That Edward ſhall receive with the ſame lady, the ſum of 25,000 livres, of Tournay currency; that he ſhall have a jointure of 1,500 l. ſterling; 1000 l. thereof to be yearly paid out of king John's lands, at Dampetre, Helicourt, and de Harney in France; and 500 l. out of thoſe of Lanerk, Cadion, Cunningham, Haddington, and Caſtellany of Dundee, in Scotland. 3. That Baliol, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhould aſſiſt the king of France,

France, in the preſent war againſt the king of England, and all his confederates, particularly the emperor of Germany, both by ſea and land; and that he ſhould invade England, as often as the Engliſh ſhould attack France. 4. That the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty ſhould be ſolemnly ratified, by all the ſtates and communities in Scotland, and tranſmitted to France. 5. That the king of France ſhould reciprocally make a war of diverſion upon the Engliſh, whenever they ſhould invade Scotland; and, if required, ſend auxiliary troops to Scotland, at his own expence. That as ſoon as Edward ſhould head his army, or ſend it abroad, Baliol ſhould, with all his force, enter England, take its towns, and deſtroy the country. 7. That neither party ſhould make peace without conſent of the other. This treaty ſeems to have been the foundation of the many ruinous connections into which the Scots afterwards entered with France. It is true, they had, upon occaſions, acted in concert againſt England, but their engagements had not been ſo expreſs and preciſe; nor does it appear, that, before this time, the Scots had ever laid it down as an invariable maxim in their politics, to follow the fate of France in all events. It was with a ſenſible diſpleaſure that Edward received intelligence of thoſe engagements; but he diſſembled his reſentment with wonderful art. He ſent the abbot of New Minſter and Welbeck to acquaint Baliol of his having prorogued the meeting of his parliament, and of his intention to repair to the northern counties; but to demand likewiſe, that as he had entered into war with France, the caſtles of Berwic, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, ſhould be put into his hands during the continuance of the war. The Scotch and Engliſh hiſtorians are unanimous in ſaying, that this demand was not complied with, but a record publiſhed by a reſpectable hiſtorian * gives ſome reaſon to believe that Baliol would have given them up, partly through fear, and partly through a ſcruple of conſcience, on account of the oath he had taken to Edward, from which he was not yet abſolved. The laſt might have been the true motive for Baliol, at this time, reſigning up to the ſtates of Scotland the exerciſe of his power. We are told that they choſe twelve guardians, and formed a ſeal for the community of Scotland; that Baliol himſelf conſented to all this, and to ratify the late treaty with France. In this he was greatly aſſiſted by Philip, who prevailed upon pope Celeſtine to abſolve him from his oath of allegiance and fealty to Edward, which was no ſooner done than he reſolved to act without farther reſerve.

* Rymer.

Early

Early in the following year, Edward marched
A. D. 1296. northwards, at the head of a numerous army; and, on the firſt of March, he held his parliament at Newcaſtle upon Tyne. From thence he renewed his ſummons for Baliol to appear before him; but he was anſwered by the almoſt unanimous voice of the Scots, that neither their king nor they owed him farther allegiance; and to ſhew that they were in earneſt, they drove out of their country all Engliſhmen, eccleſiaſtics as well as laics, and appropriated their eſtates and effects for carrying on the war with England. A breach was now inevitable, and Edward marching to Bamborough, again ſummoned Baliol, by proclamation, to appear before him, but all in vain; and a very ſingular incident firſt lighted the flames of a war, in which Scotland was almoſt conſumed. The caſtle of Wark, in Northumberland, was then held by Robert de Roſs, for Edward. This nobleman was a ſubject of Scotland, and being deſperately enamoured of a Scotch lady, he abandoned Edward, and joined with his enemies. Intelligence of his revolt was brought to Edward by his brother William de Roſs, who undertook to ſecure the caſtle with a thouſand men, whom Edward immediately granted him. On his march to the caſtle, he quartered at a place called Preſtſen, where being ſurpriſed by his brother Robert, he and his party were cut off, and the Scots became maſters of the caſtle. Edward pretended that he was more pleaſed with the Scots beginning hoſtilities, than he was ſorry for the loſs of the place, and he ſet out to recover it; but in the mean time he received in a letter the renunciation of Baliol's allegiance.

Edward was preſented with this renunciation by the hands of the intrepid Henry, abbot of Aberbrothwick; and he no ſooner received it, than he broke out into an exclamation to the following purpoſe: "How fooliſhly does this ſtupid ſon of mine behave! Well, if he will not come to us, we will go "to him *." The abbot had been perſuaded by his enemies, of whom he had many in Scotland, to preſent this letter, in hopes that Edward would have put him to death; but he had addreſs enough to eſcape ſafe out of his hands, without receiving any other anſwer.

Edward ſaw all the plan which he had laid down, for making Baliol his lieutenant in Scotland, with a royal title, vaniſh into ſmoke; and he had now no other reſource for dividing the Scots among themſelves, than to gain over Bruce and his intereſt. This Bruce was the ſon of the original competitor of that name, who was now dead, and earl of Carric in his

* Fordun.

wife's

wife's right; and he had a ſon, the famous Robert Bruce, who afterwards proved the hero of his age and country, but was then no more than thirteen years of age. Edward ſent for the elder Bruce, and offered him the crown of Scotland on the ſame terms that he had given it to Baliol. Bruce readily accepted the offer; and, with his young ſon, performed homage to Edward, as did the earl of March and Dunbar, and Umfreville earl of Angus. The elder Bruce was a great favourite with Edward, and he was prevailed upon to write to all his party in Scotland, to be ready to declare for the king of England. Mean time, the earls of Menteith, Athol, Strathern, and Mar, had raiſed an army of four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, moſt of them Highlanders; and marching through Annandale, deſtroyed the Engliſh border to the very ſuburbs of Carliſle, which they burnt, and then laid ſiege to the town itſelf. One of their ſpies had been taken and impriſoned within the place; and after he had ſet fire to his priſon, he broke out of it, and running to the walls, called aloud to his countrymen to purſue their advantage. The flames had now alarmed the townſmen. Some of them ran to extinguiſh the fire, and others to repel the Scots, in which they were ſo vigorouſly aſſiſted by the women, that the flames were got under, and the ſiege was raiſed.

Notwithſtanding the late treaty between Scotland and France, Philip de Valois had made a truce with Edward, and left the Scots to bear all the brunt of his irreſiſtible armaments by ſea and land. Berwic was his great object; and the earl of Fife ſtill remaining in England, Baliol had raiſed the inhabitants of that country, who, with the people of Lothian, formed the chief ſtrength of the garriſon of Berwic. The defence they made was very brave; for we are told that they burnt eighteen of the Engliſh ſhips, and put all their crews to the ſword, in one aſſault which they made upon the town. Edward, who was as great a general as he was a politician, removed his lines to a conſiderable diſtance, and employed ſome of the Brucean party to inform their countrymen upon the walls, that Edward, deſpairing of taking the town, was reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, eſpecially as Baliol was advancing with a great army to the relief of the place. All this was believed by the beſieged, who, in a day or two, ſaw a large detachment of the Engliſh army, habited like their countrymen, and carrying the enſigns of Scotland, approach their walls. The credulous garriſon believed them to be Scots; and marching out to receive them, the Engliſh (or, rather the Scotch in the Engliſh army) getting between them and the walls, ſecured one of the gates, which had been thrown open. The main body of the Engliſh army immediately ruſhed

ruſhed in, and an indiſcriminate carnage followed. Engliſh writers have, to the reproach of their own country, mounted the number ſlain on this occaſion to ſixteen thouſand. Fordun himſelf admits of ſeven thouſand five hundred; and he ſays, that the Fife nobility, were, that day, almoſt exterminated. Edward's barbarity even by the accounts moſt favourable to his memory, was inexcuſable, for he ſpared neither age nor ſex. Some Engliſh hiſtorians endeavour to palliate his barbarity, by pretending that the town was taken by ſtorm; but the relations of the Scotch ſeem to be more authentic. Edward, being maſter of the place, annexed it for ever to the realm of England, and drew round it a large paliſaded ditch.

Whatever Edward's views might have been hitherto, he proceeded, after the taking of Berwic, as if he had been determined to conquer Scotland. The caſtle of Berwic ſurrendered on the firſt of May, at which time a ſtrong detachment of Edward's army had inveſted the caſtle of Dunbar. The earl of that title had, as we have already ſeen, ſubmitted to Edward; but his wife, to make an atonement for her huſband's defection from his duty, had put the caſtle into the hands of her coutrymen. As Dunbar, next to Berwic, was the greateſt bulwark of Scotland towards England, Baliol reſolved to riſk every thing to relieve it. A party of the Scots, under the earls of Caſſilis and Menteith, had juſt then returned, with great booty, from an irruption they had made into Northumberland, and had joined the Scotch army under Baliol; but it was no way comparable, in point of diſcipline, to that of Edward, who ſtill remained at Berwic, and had committed the conduct of the ſiege to the earls of Surry and Warwic. Thoſe noblemen drew their army out of their trenches, and a bloody battle was fought in ſight of the caſtle. The event was fatal to the Scots, who there loſt above ten thouſand men (the Engliſh authors ſay twenty thouſand); upon which the caſtle of Dunbar was ſurrendered by its governor, Stewart. It appears, from the beſt authorities, that Edward was not preſent in this battle; but a number of Scotch noblemen, particularly William earl of Roſs, who had eſcaped out of the battle of Berwic, being found in the caſtle of Dunbar, they were delivered up like ſheep to be butchered by the king of England. From Dunbar the Engliſh army advanced to Roxburgh, the caſtle of which was held by the high-ſteward of Scotland, who capitulated, upon the lives, liberties, and eſtates of the garriſon being ſafe, and himſelf recognizing Edward's paramount power.

The two ſevere blows which the Scots had received at Berwic and Dunbar, the reduction of thoſe places, the ſubmiſſion

miſſion of the great ſteward of Scotland, the defection, of Bruce and his party, with Edward's other ſucceſſes, rendered it more than probable, that he would have little difficulty in reducing the reſt of that kingdom. He had appointed Engliſhmen to the government of the three caſtles he had taken; and all his ſteps indicated, that he was reſolved to hold what he ſhould conquer. Bruce, apprehenſive of this, after the ſiege of Dunbar, put Edward in mind of his promiſe to make him king; but he was peeviſhly anſwered by that prince, "Have we nothing to do but to win kingdoms for thee *." Bruce was too well acquainted with the character of Edward to preſs him farther; and, without ſhewing any reſentment, he retired to his Engliſh eſtate, not daring to appear in Scotland. From Roxburgh Edward proceeded to Edinburgh, and laid ſiege to its caſtle, which, by its ſituation was then deemed to be impregnable; but the water of the garriſon failing, it was abandoned by the Scots, and Edward took poſſeſſion of it, after a ſiege of eight days, leaving the government of it to Walter de Huntercumb. The ſtrong caſtle of Stirling ſhared the ſame fate, being likewiſe deſerted by its garriſon.

Baliol, by this time, had retired to the north of the Tay with the remains of his army, and Edward ſoon ſtript him of thoſe of his mock-royalty, by reducing Perth, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montroſe; after which he prepared to march againſt Baliol, who was then at Forfar. Cumming, lord of Strabolgy, though attached to Baliol, had always behaved ſo, that he ſtood fair with Edward, and Baliol now employed him to make his peace with that conqueror. According to Fordun, whoſe authority is equal to that of the Engliſh hiſtorians, who relate the tranſaction with a few trifling variations, Baliol and his ſon Edward had fled as far north as Aberdeen; and it is probable that Edward ſent the biſhop of Durham thither, to preſcribe to him the terms of his pardon, with the manner in which he was to appear before his ſovereign. Theſe were mortifying to the laſt degree, but they were accepted of by the mean ſpirited Baliol. Here he ſtript himſelf of all his regal ornaments, and being mounted upon a ſorry nag, with a white rod in his hand, as one of Edward's ſub-officers he was carried to Montroſe, (ſome ſay to Strickathroe) where Edward was; and in the open church-yard he acknowledged himſelf deeply penitent for the unlawful confederacies he had entered into with Philip king of France, which, in his own and his ſon Edward's name, and in that of the whole community of Scotland, he abſolutely renounced,

* Fordun.

as

as being contrary to his oaths of homage and fealty to the crown of England.

This abject ceremony was publicly performed by Baliol in other places, and at laſt, the particulars of it were engroſſed in an inſtrument ſigned by the biſhops of Durham and Hereford, the earl of Buchan, Hugh de Spencer, and Cumming the elder, earl of Badenock and Strabolgy. All thoſe mortifications were not ſufficient to ſatisfy Edward. He dragged his captive at the wheels of his triumphal car round the country; he commanded the great ſeal of Scotland to be broken, and that none ſhould be uſed for Scotch affairs but that of England.

The terror of Edward's arms made him imagine, that little was now wanting to the permanent ſubjection of Scotland. Meeting with no oppoſition in his tour to Elgin, he returned to Scone, which he conſidered as the ſanctuary of the Scotch monarchy; and there be began his deſtructive operations, by ſeizing upon their coronation chair, which had, even in thoſe days, obtained the name of fatal. The crown, the regalia, the royal jewels and plate, were ſeized at the ſame time, as was the diamond croſs, which belonged to Edgar Atheling: and all were ſent off to England, where the fatal chair is ſtill to be ſeen in the Abbey of Weſtminſter. After that, he ordered all the nobility and freeholders of the kingdom to attend him at Berwick, where they renewed their homage and fealty.

CHAP. VI.

Achievements and Character of Wallace—The celebrated Robert Bruce—Battle of Bannockburn—Death and character of Robert—Univerſal prevalence of the Feudal Syſtem at this period.

UPON Edward's return to England, after thoſe arrangements, the Scotch diſcovered ſymptoms of impatience under the yoke. Creſſingham and Ormeſby proved to be tyrants. The former was a prieſt and the latter a lawyer, who proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity all the Scots who refuſed to ſwear fealty to Edward. The natives of Scotland, at this time, may be conſidered as taking leave of their independency with a parting ſigh, when a "patriotic hero ſtept forth to reunite them."

His name was William Wallace *. Some ſay he was the ſon of ſir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerſlie, and others of ſir Andrew Wallace of Craigie. The difference may be intereſting to the two families, but it never can be ſo to the public, as Wallace could derive no luſtre from them, however they might be ennobled by him. According to the beſt accounts, he was the ſecond ſon of ſir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerſlie, deſcended from an old family in Kyle; and thus he had the glory of owing his fame to no pre-eminence of fortune, but his own virtue and valour. The circumſtances of his country ſufficiently vindicate his conduct. Scotland was then without a king and without laws; at leaſt ſhe had none, that a free-born Scotchman could recognize. Wallace ſeems to have conſidered himſelf as having no relation but to his country, and as being bound to no duty but to reſtore her independency. Robuſt, active, and brave, he connected himſelf with a few friends who diſdained the claims of England; and by a ſelf-delegated authority, he and his party took every opportunity of deſtroying the Engliſh, as vermin that were preying on the vitals of their country. Frequent exploits of that kind ſoon rendered the name of Wallace conſpicuous, and the ſpirit of liberty reanimated the youth of Scotland.

Wallace and his patriotic friends, in undertaking the deliverance of Scotland, knew that if they were not ſucceſsful, they muſt die the death of traitors; and that the exerciſe of humanity would not alleviate their puniſhment. They therefore gave no quarter to the enſlavers of their country who reſiſted them; and their exploits ſoon rouſed the attention of their tyrants. The Engliſh garriſons were on all hands attacked and put to the ſword; and, at laſt, Lanerk, a principal town of Clydeſdale, was recovered from Edward, its governor being killed. The reputation of the Scotch arms was now revived under Wallace, who was deemed to be invincible from the great exploits he performed in his own perſon. He went to the northwards of the Frith of Forth, the ancient ſeat of the Scotch monarchy, where he found the inhabitants well affected to the cauſe of liberty; and there he recovered the caſtles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montroſe, with as much facility as Edward had taken them. The caſtle of Dunotter, which at that time was deemed to be impregnable from its ſituation, received a Scotch garriſon; and the Engliſh deſpairing to hold Aberdeen, ſet it on flames at the time that Wallace entered it. It was then he heard that

* His true name was William Walays; and from the country where he was born, he appears to have been deſcended from the Welch or ancient Britons. He is ſaid to have left a daughter, who was married to Baillie of Hoprig, one of the anceſtors of the Baillies of Lamington.

the Engliſh army was preparing to take poſſeſſion of the
of Stirling, which Wallace reſolved to prevent. The rapi
of his victories and the frequency of his exploits, have
ordered the chronology of his hiſtory. There is even re
to believe, that many of his nobleſt actions were perfor
ſome years before his reputation found acceſs to the hiſtor
his country.

The earl of Surry, the only man of virtue, or indee
capacity, who had been appointed to the government of Sc
land, was forced, on account of his health, to reſide in E
land, while Creſſingham and Ormeſby were rendering the
ſelves deteſtable by their oppreſſions. Edward was at t
time in France, and by no means ſuſpected an inſurrectior
Scotland. When he heard of it, he ordered the earl of Su
his lieutenant there, to ſuppreſs it; but that nobleman's he
not permitting him to take the field, he reſigned his co
mand to his nephew the lord Henry Percy. That yo
nobleman aſſembled a great army, ſaid to conſiſt of fo
thouſand men, and marched againſt Wallace, who had,
this time, returned to the weſtern parts of Scotland.
found the Scots encamped at Irwin, with a lake in their fro
and their flanks ſecured by entrenchments; ſo that t
could not be attacked without great hazard; but the Engl
were befriended by the diſſenſions of the Scots.

Wallace, a private gentleman, of little or no fortune, l
gained reputation, and was on the point of acquiring pow
which created a jealouſy among his fellow-patriots. It v
ſuggeſted, that an oppoſition to the Engliſh could only be p
ductive of farther national deſtruction; and Lundie, a m
of great rank in Wallace's army, perceiving that he could
be a general, reſolved to be a ſlave; for he formed a pa
againſt Wallace, who offered to ſubmit to the Engli
their being indemnified for all that had paſſed, and ſecu
in their lives and eſtates. Wallace and his little band of fi
Scotchmen were ſo far from agreeing to thoſe terms, t
they ſent an open defiance to Percy, and declared that th
would never lay down their arms till their country was
ſtored to her liberty and independency. They were ſo d
termined in this reſolution, that they attacked the rear of t
Engliſh army, and plundred their baggage; but were oblig
to retire with the loſs of a thouſand men. This check ſerv
only to reanimate Wallace and his friends, who were nc
deſerted by almoſt all the men of property and eminence
their country; but their loſs was amply ſupplied by th
middling rank of people, who conſidered liberty as their mo
precious birth right*. It was then towards the end of autum

* Guthrie.

and the earl of Surry had returned to Scotland, but was forced to order his army into winter-quarters. All ſeaſons were alike to the brave Wallace and his friends, who took that opportunity to retaliate upon the partizans of England ſome part of the miſeries which Scotland had ſuffered. The biſhop of Glaſgow's houſe was plundered, and the Engliſh writers have exclaimed againſt Wallace for his cruelties; yet it is certain that during all the war he carried on againſt the enemies of his country, he neither put woman nor child to death, nor any other perſon who was not found in arms to oppoſe him.

The hiſtory of no country, perhaps, can exhibit ſuch a ſcene as that of Scotland now preſents. Her great noblemen, intimidated, overawed, or corrupted, had loſt all feeling for their country. Baliol, her mock king, had been ſent by Edward, in chains, to remain a priſoner in the Tower of London. Bruce, more degenerated ſtill than Baliol, who had made a ſpirited effort againſt Edward, lived upon his Engliſh eſtate, deſpiſed and unnoticed. The leading nobility were glad of an opportunity of ſafely tyrannizing over their inferiors, through their abſence from the ſeat of government; and many of the loweſt rank of the Scots were indifferent under what maſter they ſerved, as nothing could be more diſmal than their feudal dependence. The Scots, therefore, very properly conſidered themſelves as a people deſtitute of any bond of union with government, and that nature had given them a right to provide for their ſelf-preſervation, without regard to any other conſideration.

The earl of Surry now advanced towards Stirling, where the paſs over the Forth was no better than a wooden bridge; but acroſs it he ſaw the Scotch army, encamped in excellent order on the oppoſite bank, under Wallace. The hiſtories and traditions of Scotland here mention a circumſtance which, when we conſider the times, is far from being improbable; for they tell us, that Wallace, foreſeeing the Engliſh would paſs the bridge to encounter him, had ſawed the poſts which ſupported it ſo artfully that it gave way after the enemy had paſſed it. Lundie, a Scotch knight, who knew the abilities of Wallace, endeavoured to diſſuade the earl of Surry from paſſing the bridge to attack him; but the treaſurer, Creſſingham, being of a different opinion, ſir Marmaduke Twenge, one of the boldeſt of the Engliſh officers, put himſelf at the head of the Engliſh army, and paſſed the bridge. We are told that at this time the high ſteward of Scotland, and Matthew earl of Lenox, had ſecretly joined the friends of liberty, and had formed a kind of an army of obſervation in the rear of the Engliſh troops. A. D. 1297.

Twenge paſſed the bridge with half the Engliſh army, and Wallace ſeemed to retire in ſome confuſion. This encouraged the Engliſh, and they continued their purſuit; when a detachment of the Scots got between them and the bridge, juſt at the time when it gave way, under the crowds of Engliſh ſoldiers who were paſſing it. Wallace upon this faced about, and defeated all his enemies who were to the northward of the bridge, while the great ſteward of Scotland and the earl of Lenox attacked and beat the earl of Surry, who with difficulty eſcaped to Berwic. Creſſingham, though a clergyman, was killed in this encounter, and his body was found caſed in armour*. The Scots attributed to him great part of the miſeries they ſuffered; but they were befriended by his avarice, for he left the garriſon of Berwic and Roxburgh ſo deſtitute of all the means of defence, that they fell immediately into the hands of Wallace, together with many other places ſouth of the Forth.

Edward was, at this time, in foreign parts, while Wallace reaped immortal glory, by being the deliverer of his country. We are not, however, with ſome writers to imagine, that all the Scots of thoſe days were heroes and patriots. The greateſt part of them, perhaps, were over-awed or corrupted by Edward; but the few who remained firm to the cauſe of liberty, not only ſupported themſelves on the defenſive, but, in the beginning of winter made ſeveral inroads into England, from whence they carried off a large booty. They even attacked Carliſle and Newcaſtle; but though they were repulſed from both, they never loſt their ſpirits, and Wallace, at laſt, formed them into excellent ſoldiers. Particular mention is made, in our old hiſtorians, of his having carried fire and ſword, for twenty-three days, through the northern counties of England. Senſible of the diſadvantage he was under for want of a due ſubordination in his army, where every man was a volunteer, he formed a plan of a regulated militia, which had wonderful effects. His numbers were too few to ſuffer him to garriſon the caſtles he took: he therefore diſmantled Roxburgh and other places in the ſouth; but he put a garriſon into Couper, which he took ſoon after the action at Stirling-bridge.

All the glorious exploits of Wallace could not preſerve his countrymen from ſcarcity. Their perpetual wars with England had occaſioned a total ceſſation of agriculture, and a famine then raged in the bowels of their country, which Wallace could relieve only by the corn and cattle which his followers carried off from England. An inroad made by the garriſon of Carliſle into Annandale was the only check the

* Fordun.

Scots

Scots met with during that remarkable winter; and the loſs of Wallace, in the whole campaign, was ſo trifling, that it is ſcarcely mentioned. Edward, who continued ſtill abroad, hearing of the exploits of Wallace, gladly liſtened to the propoſal made by the pope for a two years truce with the king of France, that he might return to gratify his ruling paſſion of humbling the Scots. He had written in the moſt earneſt manner to all his great ſubjects to join the earl of Surry againſt thoſe rebels, as he affected to call them; and he ordered the prince his ſon to ſummon his military tenants to York, in the beginning of the year. The meeting was very full; but the members demanded a confirmation of the liberties they were entitled to by Magna Charta, as the price of their ſervices againſt the Scots. Edward granted all they required; and in the ſpring of the year an army of above an hundred thouſand Engliſh was aſſembled, of whom above two thouſand were horſemen, and completely caſed in ſteel, which, in thoſe days, was the privilege of barons and knights alone *. All this happened while Edward was ſtill abroad; but he gave a ſanction to whatever was required, and ordered the earl of Surry not to proceed againſt Wallace till he ſhould arrive to head his own army in perſon. A D. 1298.

The main body of the Engliſh army, under the earl of Surry, was then lying in the neighbourhood of Berwic, but their numbers were too great to be ſupported; and Edward, who was then upon his return to England with an army of veterans, ordered them to be diſbanded, reſerving twenty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, all of them choice troops. On the 14th of March he arrived in England, and loſt no time in marching northwards to take upon him the command of his army.

By this time, the ſtates of Scotland had choſen Wallace for their protector, under Baliol. There was, it is true, no precedent for ſuch a ſtep, but neceſſity warranted the meaſure. In a parliament which he convoked at Perth, he was confirmed in his authority; and Patrick, earl of Dunbar, was declared to be a traitor, for ſiding with the Engliſh. It is with ſome reluctance that I muſt acknowledge the envy and meanneſs of the Scotch nobility towards their brave protector Wallace. Baliol, being freed from his impriſonment in England, was then living upon his French eſtate; Bruce was the declared partizan of the Engliſh, and was daily endeavouring to form a party againſt Wallace. Cumming had the ſame ambitious views; ſo that Wallace had no friends but thoſe of liberty and independency. He bore up againſt all

* Dr. Henry.

ments; and, the nobility failing him, he again found reſources in the middling rank of his countrymen*. It is here proper to obſerve, that, before Wallace was choſen protector, twelve guardians of the kingdom, all of them noblemen, had been elected at a parliament in Perth, and Wallace had been probably ſubſtituted in their places. Edward, in the mean time, was making vaſt preparations for another expedition into Scotland; and had, with little credit to his own reputation, not only extricated himſelf out of his French and Flemiſh wars, but had made all the conceſſions to his Engliſh ſubjects which the moſt turbulent of them could require, that he might meet with no obſtruction in giving a final blow to the Scotch name and nation. His views, probably, were to deprive them even of that ſhadow of royalty in which he had indulged them, when he had appointed Baliol to be their king, and to cut off every Scotchman who ſhould dare to reſiſt him.

In this he was but too well ſeconded by the heads of the great Scotch families, Bruce, Cumming, and Steuart. The former ſtill flattered himſelf, that Edward would pay ſome regard to his pretenſions; and the two latter, though they did not ſide with the Engliſh, hated Wallace.

Edward, upon his laſt arrival in England, had made uncommon efforts to raiſe money for carrying on the war againſt Scotland, and writs of ſummonſes were iſſued for a two-fold rendezvous; one of all the militia of the kingdom to meet the king at Carliſle on Whitſun-eve; and another for a parliament to aſſemble at York. At the ſame time, he ſent letters to Wallace, upbraiding him for the hoſtilities he had committed againſt England, which, he ſaid, he durſt not have attempted, had he (Edward) been in his own dominions. Wallace treated the meſſengers he ſent with theſe letters (which it is more than probable contained offers of pardon) with great ſtatelineſs, and, in turn, reproached Edward with his having taken advantage of the diviſions of a free people to enſlave them; and thus that negociation ended.

England had never before ſeen ſo complete an army, as that which Edward muſtered before he entered upon this expedition to Scotland. It conſiſted of eighty thouſand foot, three thouſand horſemen, completely armed, and four thouſand armed. This vaſt body was attended by a fleet to ſupply it with proviſions (the erection of magazines being then unknown in Europe); but the tempeſtuous weather, and unfavourable winds, put Edward under vaſt difficulties. Beſides this army he had detached bodies in Scotland. The earl of Pembroke was defeated in Fife, with the loſs of about fifteen hundred men; and ſir John Witherington was

* Guthrie.

cut

cut off with another ſeparate body near Perth. The Galloway men, among or near whom the great eſtates of Bruce and Baliol lay, were not only influenced by thoſe chiefs, but ſtill retaining ideas of their former independency (the loſs of which they attributed to the Scots) had joined Edward's generals, to whom they had been very inſtrumental in preſerving their footing in Scotland. According to the Scots, the two laſt-mentioned defeats were owing to Wallace, who knowing the difficulties of Edward for want of ſubſiſtance, encamped in front of his army at Stanmore with ſo martial an appearance, that Edward did not think proper to advance; which is the more probable, as he had as yet drawn no benefit from his fleet. When he came to a place called Templeton, he received ſome ſupplies from his ſhips, which determined him to march through a cultivated country to Falkirk, where he knew his enemies would make their great ſtand.

The nearer the Scots were to deſtruction, the more they courted it, by the animoſities which were hourly prevailing among their leaders. It unfortunately happened, that the feudal law gave each chief a kind of an independent command over his followers. Bruce, as we have already ſeen, had joined Edward; and Cumming and Stuart, while the Engliſh were advancing to attack them, were diſputing with Wallace about the poſt of honour; but we are not certain in what manner the difference was ended. All that we know is, that it was not decreed to Cumming. It is allowed on all hands, that the Scotch army did not exceed thirty thouſand men, while that of Edward conſiſted of forty thouſand of his beſt troops, and that Wallace made a moſt excellent diſpoſition. He drew up his men in three diviſions, ſo as that they could not be out-flanked by the enemy, with his horſe in the rear, and the front ranks intermixed with archers. The army under Edward was commanded by Bohun earl of Hereford, high-conſtable of England, Bigod, earl-marſhal, and the earl of Lincoln. Edward had intelligence of the alterations among the Scotch leaders; and ſcarcely were they ended (if they ended at all) when he gave the ſignal for the charge. This was anſwered by a ſhout from the Scots, ſo terrible, that it frightened Edward's horſe; and, falling to the ground, two of his ribs were broken. He diſſembled his anguiſh, and ordered his Welch ſoldiers to begin the attack; but they diſliked the ſervice, and Edward, forgetting his pain, put himſelf on foot at the head of a battalion, who plucked up the palliſades with which the Scots had guarded their front, and broke in upon them with irreſiſtible fury. Wallace had juſt time to make a very ſhort ſpeech to his ſoldiers: "There," ſaid he, "is Edward; run

if you dare;" but he had ſcarcely ſpoken, when he had the mortification to ſee Cumming, with his diviſion, which was the ſtrongeſt of the army, quit the field without a ſtroke, and leave the brigade under Stuart to be cut in pieces with their gallant leader. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, Wallace kept his ground with amazing intrepidity, till Bruce and his followers made a circuit round a hill, attacked him in the rear, and obliged him to retreat, which he did in good order and with a conſiderable body under his command, towards the river Carron, which he paſſed.

This battle was fought on the 22d of July, and the loſs of the Scots could not fall ſhort of ten thouſand men, though, by Engliſh writers, it is raiſed to a far greater number. The chief among the Scots who fell were Macduff, earl of Fife, and John de Graham, a man ſo brave that he may be ſtiled the right hand of Wallace. The loſs of the Engliſh is too inconſiderable to be mentioned, none among them of note being killed but the great maſter of the templars. It appears that Bruce continued his purſuit of Wallace; but that both leaders agreed to a private parley on the banks of the Carron, by which they were ſeparated. Bruce reproached the other with madneſs for taking arms againſt ſo powerful a king as Edward, and inſinuated that Wallace himſelf had a view upon the crown. The anſwer of Wallace was that of a hero and a patriot. He warmly diſclaimed having any ambitious thoughts, which, he ſaid, he had neither a right nor an inclination to entertain; but put Bruce in mind of his degeneracy, and his indolence in not ſupporting his high-born claim to the crown. "To you (ſaid he) the miſeries of your country "are owing. You left her overwhelmed with woes, and "I undertook the cauſe which you betrayed; a cauſe which "I ſhall eſpouſe as long as I breathe, while you live with "ignominy, and court the chains of a foreign tyrant*." Such was the ſubſtance of a declaration as ſpirited and virtuous, perhaps, as any that hiſtory can produce. The words of Wallace ſunk deep into the mind of Bruce, and afterwards were attended by the nobleſt effects. It is thought that they opened his eyes, but concurred with his reflections upon his own conduct to ſhorten his life, though not before he had animated his ſon with the ſpirit of the brave knight. That Bruce died ſoon after this battle is beyond doubt; and the hiſtorians who lived neareſt thoſe times agree, that his death was owing to remorſe and grief for his paſt meanneſs.

The ſituation of Wallace after the battle of Falkirk was ſingular, and his behaviour in it more than juſtifies the warmeſt praiſes which the free and the brave of all countries,

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

as well as Scotland, have poured upon his memory. His patriotiſm was proof againſt all the ingratitude and inſolence he had encountered; and his own greatneſs can ſcarcely be ſaid to have a place in his thoughts, ſo entirely were they devoted to the ſervice of his country. Without repining, he heard that the ſtates of Scotland intended to raiſe his capital enemy, John Cumming, earl of Buchan, to the protectorſhip. This made no impreſſion upon Wallace, who by this time was reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of reſigning that invidious diſtinction. Having collected all the remains of the Scotch army after its defeat at Falkirk, he was in a condition once more to take the field; and after burning the town of Stirling, he croſſed the Forth, and entrenched himſelf at Perth, waiting for the approach of the victorious Engliſh. Their hiſtorians have in vain endeavoured to throw a veil over Edward's hiſtory at this period, for it is certain Wallace ſtopt the progreſs of the Engliſh monarch, irreſiſtible as he appeared.

Some of the Scotch hiſtorians with unpardonable malevolence * have ſaid, that immediately before the battle of Falkirk, an altercation happening between Stuart and Wallace, the latter withdrew his diviſion, and ſuffered Stuart and his troops to be cut in pieces. The ſubſequent conduct of Wallace is an effectual refutation of this calumny. The ſons of Freedom continued to flock to his ſtandards, and ſcarcely an hour paſſed in which he did not attack and defeat ſtraggling parties of the Engliſh army. The truth is, Edward's deſire to ſubdue Scotland, and his unmanly reſentment againſt its inhabitants, led him into errors that were unpardonable in ſo great a general. He had advanced with a great army into an exhauſted impoveriſhed country, which obliged him to have his quarters and poſts at conſiderable diſtances from each other. He had depended upon precarious ſupplies from his fleet; but they had failed him through the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather. Wallace was ſenſible of his ſituation, and availed himſelf of it with ſuch ſucceſs, that Edward, in the career of all his victories, was forced to come to the reſolution of returning to England. Previous to this, he proceeded againſt his Scotch priſoners, and all who diſclaimed his authority, with unrelenting cruelty; for, performing homage or ſuffering death, was all the option he left to the wretched inhabitants. When he began his march ſouthward, Wallace and his friends hovered on his rear, and made ſevere repriſals upon numbers of the Engliſh, who fell into their hands; ſo that Edward was forced, in order to regain Carliſle, to ſtrike through the inhoſpitable foreſt of Selkirk.

* Mackenzie's Lives of the Scotch Writers.

There

There is the greateſt reaſon to believe that Wallace, while he was performing thoſe noble exploits, had no other character than that of a volunteer in the ſervice of his country; for it is agreed by all hiſtorians, that he had before that time reſigned the protectorſhip, in an aſſembly of the nobles. We are therefore now to behold him in the light of a private individual at the head of a body of friends, whom his virtue had formed, and his courage had animated, for the deliverance of their country; or, in other words, Wallace was an illuſtrious rebel to the cauſe of ſlavery. Cumming appears to have been now the legal governor of Scotland under Baliol, but the part he acted was ſpiritleſs and puſillanimous. He pretended to hold his authority from the ſtates; but he did nothing to aſſiſt their independency, though a favourable opportunity then preſented, by the differences which had broken out afreſh between Edward and his Engliſh nobility. The wiſeſt meaſure which Cumming purſued, was his applying firſt to Philip de Valois, the king of France, and then to pope Boniface VIII. for a truce in favour of Scotland. Edward's affairs on the continent of Europe, at that time, were in a very indifferent ſituation; and though Baliol was ſtill his priſoner, yet the court of Rome treated him as a ſovereign independent prince.

This was far from being agreeable to Edward, as it ſtruck at his claim of ſuperiority over Scotland; and the reſpect with which Philip acted towards Baliol gave him ſtill greater diſquiet. He had, partly through the diſaffection that continued to reign among his nobility, and partly to be at hand to curb the Scots, paſſed the winter of the year 1298, in the north of England; and at Durham he called a great council of his nobility, in which he gave away to his own party the eſtates of the principal Scotchmen who followed either Cumming or Wallace. But, according to Buchanan, though he had, at the interceſſion of Philip, conſented to a truce of ſeven months, yet he impriſoned the Scotch ambaſſadors as they were proceeding to the pope's court. The Scots ſeem to have conſidered Edward's agreeing to a truce as ariſing from the neceſſity of his own affairs; and, without regarding it, they reſumed their arms, with a greater ſhew of reſolution than before. We are to obſerve, that they were divided, at this time, into three claſſes; thoſe who perſevered in their allegiance to Edward; thoſe who looked upon Baliol as their king, and Cumming as his ſubſtitute or lieutenant; and thoſe under Wallace, who renounced all connections with, or dependence upon England, and acted ſingly for the liberties of his country. The two latter claſſes differed in principle, but agreed in meaſures; for they joined in expelling

the Engliſh out of Scotland, in which they were ſo ſucceſsful, that the enemy, in a ſhort time, were driven out of all the chief ſtrong holds, except Edinburgh, Stirling, and Berwic.

While Edward was at Berwic, he appointed John de St. John, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced of his officers, to be his head commiſſioner for the government of Scotland; and, returning to London about the beginning of February, he there not only confirmed the great charter of the Engliſh liberties, but offered to increaſe them, if his nobility thought they were defective. All this was to ſooth them into the meaſures he was carrying on againſt Scotland. After the 10th of May he ſet out for the north, and ordered his military tenants to attend him at York on Midſummer-day. Towards the end of June he entered Scotland with a great army, which the regent durſt not face, took the caſtles of Lochmaber and Caerlaverock in Annandale, and continued his march into Galloway, where his party was again revived, and where he put all to the ſword who reſiſted him. A. D. 1300.

While Edward was in this career of ſucceſs he gave audience to the biſhop of Galloway, and the heads of the Cumming family, who came to him with propoſals of peace. Theſe were, that the Scots ſhould live under Baliol as their king; that all grants made by Edward of Scotch eſtates ſhould be annulled, and that they ſhould revert to their firſt owners; and that Baliol and his family ſhould be re-ſettled in Scotland. While the Cummings were delivering theſe terms (which undoubtedly had been dictated by the court of Rome), ſome mention was made of the interpoſition of the papal authority, if they were not complied with. This intimation drew an indignant ſmile from Edward. "Am I "(ſays he) to whom you have ſworn as the ſuperior lord of "Scotland, to be terrified by pretences? Have I not power "ſufficient to guard my own right? If I hear more of this, "by all that is holy, I will lay Scotland waſte, with fire and "ſword, from ſea to ſea!" Notwithſtanding this tremendous menace, the Cummings (who are ſaid to have been the earl of Buchan and the lord of Badenoch) anſwered with an undaunted air, "That they were reſolved to ſhed the laſt drop "of their blood in the defence of their country;" and then they took their leave of the monarch. This interview ſeems to have been brought about by Edward's friends in Galloway; and proving ineffectual, it put an end to all farther negociation. Edward, advancing to a river which hiſtorians call Swyney, diſcovered the Scotch army on the oppoſite banks. He ſent a body of archers (the moſt formidable troops then in Europe) to diſlodge them; and the Scots, unable

unable to ſtand the terrible diſcharge of arrows, retired; but Edward, fearing that they were drawing his men into an ambuſh, diſpatched the earl of Warwic to ſtop the purſuit. The archers, perceiving the earl advance, attended with ſome troops, imagining he was coming to ſupport them, followed the Scots, and made a halt; ſo that the battle became general. This being perceived by Edward, he ſent his ſon the prince of Wales, at the head of his ſhining battalion (as he uſed to call it, by way of preference to all his other troops) to ſupport the earl and his archers, while he himſelf advanced with the main body of the army. The Scots, who had not intended to ſtand a general engagement, were unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, and retiring to their woods and faſtneſſes, their loſs of men was not conſiderable. It is remarkable, that in this engagement the Welch again refuſed to act againſt the Scots, or at leaſt to purſue them. The Engliſh hiſtorian Walſingham ſays, that the fate of Scotland would have been decided that day, had the purſuit been continued.

The advantage gained by Edward was, however, of the utmoſt importance in his favour, as nothing now ſtood in his way to Stirling, the caſtle of which he immediately beſieged. It was defended by William Oliphant, with great reſolution, for three months. Edward at laſt declared, that he would hang every man of the garriſon, if it was not ſurrendered by a certain day; and the place being now deſtitute of proviſions, Oliphant made an honourable capitulation, which Edward did not punctually obſerve.

The Scots ſtill maintained the conteſt for liberty. They were again victorious, and again ſubdued. Wallace alone maintained his independency amidſt the univerſal ſlavery of his countrymen. But he was at length betrayed to the Engliſh by his friend ſir John Monteith: and Edward, whoſe natural bravery and magnanimity ſhould have led him to reſpect like qualities in an enemy, ordered this illuſtrious patriot to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made ſubmiſſion nor ſworn fealty to England, and to be executed on
A. D. 1305. Tower-hill. He could not think his favourite conqueſt ſecure whilſt Wallace was alive. Hence the unworthy fate of a man, who had defended for many years, with ſignal valour and perſeverence, the liberties of his native country. Portions of his body were afterwards diſperſed through different cities of Scotland and England. Such was the treatment of one of the beſt patriots and greateſt heroes any age can boaſt of. His memory had the ſingular good fortune, even in thoſe unpoliſhed times, to be celebrated in an ode, which, for elegance of ſtyle and beauty

of compoſition, would do honour to the Auguſtan age, and if equalled, it never yet has been ſurpaſſed. Some have thought it to have been written by his chaplain, John or Arnold Blair; but the other works of that author leave little room for ſuch a conjecture.

In obitum clariſſimi ducis Gulielmi Wallace quem Edvardus primus Anglorum rex, ſibi proditum, ſupplicio Londini affecit, Carmen.

Quæ cuncta tollit, ſuſtulit.
Et tanto pro cive, cinis; pro finibus urna eſt:
Friguſque pro lorica obit.
Ille quidem terras, loca ſe inferiora, reliquit.
At fata factis, ſupprimens.
Parte ſui meliore ſolum, cœlumque pererrat,
Hoc ſpiritu, illud gloria.
At ſibi ſi inſcriptum generoſo pectus honeſto
Fuiſſet, hoſtis proditi
Artibus Angle tuis, in pœnas parcior iſſes·
Nec oppidatim ſpargeres
Membra viri ſacranda adytis. Sed ſcin' quid in iſta
Immanitate viceris?
Ut vallæ in cunctas oras ſpargentur & horas
Laudes; tuumque dedecus.

Thus done into Engliſh by the author of the hiſtory of the Douglaſſes, with an elegance equally admirable, when we conſider the age in which he lived, though far inferior to the beauty of the original.

Envious death, who ruins all,
Hath wrought the ſad lamented fall
Of Wallace, and no more remains
Of him than what this urn contains.
Aſhes for our hero we have,
He for his armour a cold grave.
He left the earth, too low a ſtate,
And by his worth o'ercame his fate.
His ſoul death had not pow'r to kill;
His noble deeds the world do fill,
With laſting trophies of his name.
O, hadſt thou virtue lov'd or fame,
Thou couldſt not have inſulted ſo
Over a brave, betray'd, dead foe,
Edward, nor ſeen thoſe limbs expos'd,
To public ſhame, fit to be clos'd,
As reliques, in a holy ſhrine;
But now the infamy is thine:
His end crowns him with glorious bays,
And ſtains the brighteſt of thy praiſe.

Wallace is, by the Scotch hiſtorians, ſaid to have been of a gigantic ſtature, remarkably ſtrong in his perſon, pleaſing in

in his aſpect, compaſſionate, juſt, bountiful, and placable towards all but the Engliſh, who held his country in ſlavery. He was taken priſoner on the 7th of September, 1305, and ſuffered ſoon after.

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpoſe to which it was directed. The cruelty and injuſtice exerciſed upon Wallace, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit, only rouſed more effectually the reſentment, of the Scots. All the envy which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant chieftain, being now buried in his grave, he was univerſally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and equally lamented by all ranks of men. The people were every where diſpoſed to riſe againſt the Engliſh government: and a new and more fortunate leader ſoon preſented himſelf, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

Robert Bruce, ſon of that Robert, who had been one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, had ſucceeded, in conſequence of his father's death, to all his pretenſions; and the death of John Baliol, which happened about A. D. 1306. the ſame time in France, ſeemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He had formerly ſerved in the Engliſh army; but in a private conference held with Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, the flame of patriotiſm was ſuddenly conveyed from the breaſt of one hero to that of another. Bruce regretted his engagements with Edward, and ſecretly determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of reſcuing from ſlavery his oppreſſed country. The time of deliverance ſeemed now come. He hoped that the Scots, without a leader and without a king, would unanimouſly repair to his ſtandard, and ſeat him on the vacant throne. Inflamed with the ardour of youth, and buoyed up by native courage, his aſpiring ſpirit ſaw alone the glory of the enterprize, or regarded the difficulties that muſt attend it as the ſource only of greater glory. The miſeries and oppreſſions which he had beheld his countrymen ſuffer in their unequal conteſt for independency, the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone in the ſtruggle, proved but ſo many incentives to bring them relief, and to lead them fired with revenge againſt the haughty victors.

In conſequence of this reſolution, and ſome ſuſpicions that Edward was appriſed of, Bruce ſuddenly left the Engliſh court, and arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief ſeat of his family intereſt. There a number of the nobility were happily aſſembled, and among the reſt John Cummin, to whom he had formerly communicated his deſigns, and who had baſely revealed them to Edward. The noblemen

noblemen were aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Bruce, and ſtill more when he told them, that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their aſſiſtance, to redeem the Scottiſh name from all the indignities which it had ſo long ſuffered from the tyranny of their imperious maſters. It were better, he ſaid, if Heaven ſhould ſo decree it, to periſh at once like brave men, with ſwords in their hands, than to dread long, and at laſt undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace.

The ſpirit with which this diſcourſe was delivered, the bold ſentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, aſſiſted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impreſſion on the minds of the nobles, and rouſed all thoſe principles of indignation and revenge, with which they had long been ſecretly actuated. They declared their unanimous reſolution to uſe the utmoſt efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to ſecond the courage of Bruce, in aſſerting his and their undoubted rights againſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin alone, who had privately taken his meaſures with Edward, oppoſed the general determination, by repreſenting the great power of the Engliſh nation; and Bruce, already informed of his treachery, followed him out of the aſſembly, and, running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends aſked him, on his return, if the traitor was ſlain. "I believe ſo," replied Bruce: "and is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left to conjecture—I will ſecure "him." He accordingly drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and ſtabbed him to the heart *.

This deed of Bruce and his aſſociates, which contains circumſtances juſtly condemned by our preſent manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and juſt policy. Hence the family of Kirkpatrick took for the creſt of their arms a hand with a bloody dagger; and, as a motto, the words employed by their anceſtor, when he executed that violent action: "I will ſecure him!"

The murder of Cummin affixed the ſeal to the conſpiracy of the Scotch nobles. They had now no reſource left, but to ſhake off the yoke of England or periſh in the attempt. The genius of the nation rouſed itſelf from its long dejection; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partizans every where to arms. He ſucceſsfully attacked the diſperſed bodies of the Engliſh; got poſſeſſion of many caſtles; and having made his authority to be acknowledged in moſt parts of the kingdom, was ſolemnly crowned at Scone, by the biſhop

* G. Buchanan.

of

of St. Andrews, who had zealouſly embraced his cauſe. The Engliſh were again driven out of the kingdom, except ſuch as took ſhelter in the fortreſſes ſtill in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, already twice conquered by his valour, were yet to ſubdue!

Conſcious however of his ſuperior power, as well as ſuperior ſkill in arms, this great monarch made light of his antagoniſt: he thought of nothing but victory and vengeance. He ſent a body of troops into Scotland under Aymar de Valence, his general, who falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, threw his army into diſaſter, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the Weſtern Iſles. Edward himſelf was advancing with a mighty force, determined to make the now defenceleſs Scots the victims of his ſeverity, when he unexpectedly ſickened and died at Carliſle; enjoining, with his
A. D. 1307. lateſt breath, his ſon and ſucceſſor to proſecute the war, and never to deſiſt till he had finally ſubdued the kingdom of Scotland*. But that the ſecond Edward was little able to accompliſh.

Inſtead of proſecuting the conqueſt of Scotland, according to the deſire of his father, he returned into England, after a few feeble efforts, and immediately diſbanded his forces; although Robert Bruce was become ſufficiently formidable to make more vigorous meaſures neceſſary.

Soon after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Bruce made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, except a few fortreſſes. He daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion. He enliſted under his ſtandard every bold ſpirit, and he enriched his followers with the ſpoils of the enemy. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatneſs and renown of that warlike family, ſeconded Robert in all his enterprizes. Edward Bruce, the king's brother, alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour; and the dread of the Engliſh power being now abated by the feeble conduct of Edward, even the leaſt ſanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independency. They obtained a truce, which was of ſhort duration, and ill obſerved on both ſides. But ſhort as it was, it ſerved to conſolidate the power of the king, and introduced order into the civil govern-
A. D. 1312. ment. War was renewed with greater fury than ever. Not content with defending himſelf, Robert made ſucceſsful inroads into England; ſupported his needy followers by the plunder of the country, and taught them to deſpiſe the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror.

* T. Walſingham.

Edward

Edward, at length roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risk too much against a superior force, had again retired into his mountains. The English monarch advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being destitute of provisions, and ill supported by his nobility, he was obliged to return home, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. The seeming union, however, of all parties in England, after the death of Gaveston, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and the passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

Edward assembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finishing at one blow this important enterprize. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony: he enlisted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish, as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of Welch, who were actuated by like motives: he collected the whole military force of England, and entered Scotland at the head of an army of near one hundred thousand men. The Scottish army did not exceed thirty thousand A. D. 1314. combatants; but being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader as Bruce, be esteemed equal to a far more numerous body. Robert, however, left as little as possible to the superior gallantry of his troops. He posted himself strongly at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, and which was on the point of surrendering. He had a rivulet on front, a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. In this situation he waited the approach of Edward.

The English army arrived in sight towards evening, and a smart combat immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry. Robert, who was at the head of the Scots engaged in a single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his antagonist to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body, and night prevented any further hostilities. Meanwhile the Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the prowess of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the contest of the ensuing day; and the English, [illegible] in their numbers, and elated by past successes, longed [illegible] opportunity of revenge. The darkness, though but of [illegible] hour,

hours, was born with impatience: and Edward, as ſoon as light appeared, drew up his forces, and advanced againſt the Scots. Both armies engaged with great ardour, and the diſpute was fierce and bloody. Sir James Douglas had broken the Engliſh cavalry; but their line of infantry was ſtill firm, when a ſtratagem decided the fortune of the field. Bruce had collected a number of waggoners and ſumpterboys, and furniſhed them with ſtandards. They appeared upon the heights toward the left. The Engliſh miſtook them for a freſh army coming to ſurround them: a panic ſeized them; they threw down their arms, and fled. The Scots purſued with great ſlaughter as far as Berwic; and beſides an ineſtimable booty, took many perſons of quality priſoners, with above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whoſe ranſom was a new acceſſion of wealth to the victorious army. Edward himſelf narrowly eſcaped, by taking ſhelter in Dunbar, whence he paſſed by ſea to Berwic*.

Such was the great and deciſive battle of Bannockburn, which ſecured the independency of Scotland, fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the moſt ſignal blow that the Engliſh monarchy has received ſince the Norman invaſion. The number of ſlain is not certainly known, but it muſt have been very great; for the impreſſion of this defeat in the minds of the Engliſh was ſo ſtrong, that no ſuperiority of force could encourage them to keep the field againſt the Scots for ſome years.

That the Scots of thoſe days were better acquainted with Mars than the Muſes, may be ſeen from a ſcoffing ballad made on this victory, which begins thus:

" Maydens of England ſore may ye mourn
" For zour lemmons zou have loſt at Bannockburn.
With heve a low!

" What ho! ween'd the king of England
" So ſoon to have won all Scotland.
With a rumby low!

In order to avail himſelf of his preſent ſucceſs, Robert entered England; ravaged all the northern counties without oppoſition; and, elated by his continued proſperity, now entertained hopes of making the moſt important conqueſt at the expence of the Engliſh. He ſent over his brother Edward with an army of ſix thouſand men into Ireland, and he himſelf followed ſoon after with a more numerous body of troops. But a grievous famine, which at that time deſolated

* Mon. Malms.

be

both Britain and Ireland, reduced the Scottiſh army to the greateſt extremity; ſo that Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminiſhed, into his own country. His brother, who aſſumed the title of king of Ireland, after experiencing a variety of hardſhips, was defeated and ſlain by the Engliſh near Dundalk, and Robert became ſenſible that he had attempted projects too extenſive for the force of his narrow kingdom.

That Robert's civil were not inferior to his military virtues, appears by his introducing into his parliament a new eſtate, I mean repreſentatives from the communities of burghs, which diſtinguiſh the latter from villages. He obtained a bull from pope John the Seventh, enjoining the ceremony of unction at the coronation of the Scotch kings, together with the form of an oath before that ceremony was performed. Theſe are circumſtances that fully evidence Robert's affection for the liberties of his people, and that he thought they were too looſely guarded by the form obſerved at the coronation of Alexander the Third. A. D. 1328.

The prodigious toils and fatigues which Robert had undergone in his youth, affected him now with an univerſal rheumatiſm, which, according to ſome, was attended with a leproſy; he therefore ordered a parliament to meet at Perth, in order to confirm the ſucceſſion of the crown to his ſon David and his heirs, and, failing them, to his grandſon, the great ſteward of Scotland. Nothing was more common, during this period, than for the princes of the continent, thoſe of Spain particularly, to order their ſons, however young they might be, to be crowned in their life time. It was with peculiar propriety that Robert, who knew that the Baliol family was ſtill in being, inveſted his ſon with this mark of ſovereignty, becauſe it rendered the oaths of fidelity taken by his nobles the more ſolemn and ſacred. We are not, however, to imagine that, had Robert lived many years after this, the young prince would have looked upon himſelf as ſovereign of Scotland from this coronation, for the executive power muſt have ſtill remained with his father.

Finding death approach, Robert ordered himſelf to be carried to his caſtle of Cardroſs, lying on the weſtern ſide of the river Leven; and in his laſt hours, he ordered his chief officers of war and ſtate to aſſemble in his bed-chamber, to receive his dying commands. Theſe were, that in caſe of a war with England, they ſhould by all means avoid a general engagement, but ſhould haraſs the enemy by frequent ſkirmiſhes, or ſudden attacks; and that they ſhould never make a peace or truce with England that was to laſt above three

or four years, leſt the diſuſe of arms ſhould enervate the people. He then, in the manner of the times, told them, that as he often purpoſed to viſit the Holy Land, he was greatly deſirous his heart ſhould be carried thither; but he left to them the choice of the perſon to perform that commiſſion, deſiring them to retire immediately, and to report to him the reſult of their deliberation. His laſt requeſt was, that they never ſhould give the government of the Weſtern-Iſlands to one perſon *. His attendants were drowned in tears, while he delivered his orders concerning his heart †; and retiring from his preſence, they made choice of the lord Douglas to execute the melancholy office. This being reported to Robert, he ſaid, that they had pitched upon the very man whom he had long wiſhed to perform it; a compliment ſo agreeable to Douglas, that he fell upon his knees by the bed, and bedewed his dying maſter's hand with tears of gratitude and affection. The delicacy of Robert, in taking the advice of his nobles in an affair which he had ſo greatly at heart, is admirable, as it might have created ill blood among them, had he himſelf given the preference to any one; and their judicious compliance with what they knew to be their king's ſecret deſire, was equally noble, and no doubt ſoftened his dying moments; for he expired in a few hours
A. D. 1329. after in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

None was ever leſs indebted to chance than Robert was. If he was fortunate in any reſpect, it was in the courage, attachment and fidelity of that circle of friends, who attended him through his various, and almoſt inſupportable diſtreſſes. With regard to his civil virtues, even the Engliſh writers have not been able to fix a ſtain upon his conduct. His undertaking to place his brother on the throne of Ireland; his lending him a force that had almoſt effected it; and his aſſiſting him in perſon, at a time when a war was raging on the frontiers of his own dominions, ſhew an unexampled compaſs of genius, and demonſtrate how true a judgment he could make of mankind, in the choice of his friends and generals; for we know of no prejudice his dominions received by his abſence.

When Robert Bruce began his reign, the ſame form of government was eſtabliſhed in all the kingdoms of Europe.

* From this paſſage, and many others that muſt occur to the reader in the courſe of this hiſtory, he will be ſenſible that the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland were objects of far greater importance formerly than they are now. The decreaſe of population, and conſequently of agriculture, is viſible in many other parts of Europe.

† barbour.

The

The feudal ſyſtem univerſally prevailed; the kings who had formerly been elective, were indeed become hereditary; but their revenues were narrow, and the armies they led into the field were compoſed of their ſubjects, who held their lands by the ſimple tenure of arming in defence of the public cauſe. As they ſerved without pay, their obedience was precarious; and far from being an engine at the king's diſpoſal, they were often no leſs formidable to him than to his enemies.

In the ſame proportion that the king ſunk in power, the nobles roſe towards independence; not ſatisfied with obtaining an hereditary right to their *fiefs* or *landed poſſeſſions*, their ambition introduced entails, which, as far as human ingenuity could deviſe, rendered their eſtates unalienable, as they had full power to add to the inheritance tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors, but none to diminiſh it: marriages, legacies, and other accidents, brought continual acceſſions of wealth and dignity; a great family, like a river, became conſiderable from the length of its courſe; and, as it rolled on, new honours and new property ſucceſſively flowed into it.

Whatever influence is derived from titles of honour, the feudal barons poſſeſſed likewiſe, in an ample manner: the appellation by which the virtues of the father had been diſtinguiſhed, deſcended to the ſon, however unworthy; and the preſumption of the nobles ſoon aſpired to annex to their poſterity the chief offices of the ſtate. In Scotland the important truſts of lord juſtice general, great chamberlain, high ſteward, high conſtable, earl marſhal, and high admiral, were all hereditary; and in many counties, the office of ſheriff was held in the ſame manner.

Nobles whoſe power was ſo great, and whoſe property was ſo extenſive, could not fail of being turbulent and formidable; nor did they want inſtruments for executing their boldeſt deſigns. That portion of their lands which they parcelled out among their followers, ſupplied them with a numerous band of faithful and determined vaſſals, while that which they retained in their own hands, enabled them to live with a princely ſplendour. The great hall of an ambitious baron was often more crouded than the court of his ſovereign; the ſtrong caſtles in which they reſided, afforded a ſecure retreat to the diſcontented and ſeditious; and a great part of their revenue was ſpent upon multitudes of indigent, but bold retainers. Even in times of peace, they were accompained by a vaſt train of armed followers; and the uſual retinue of William the ſixth earl of Douglas, conſiſted of two thouſand horſe *.

The nature of the country was one cauſe of the power and independence of the Scottiſh nobility: mountains, and

* Guthrie.

ſens, and rivers, ſet bounds to deſpotic power; and in ſuch places did the barons of Scotland uſually fix their reſidence. The ſovereign found it almoſt impracticable to lead an army through a barren country, to places difficult of acceſs to a ſingle man. The ſame cauſe which had checked the progreſs of the Roman arms, and rendered all the efforts of Edward the Firſt abortive, protected the Scottiſh nobles from the vengeance of their ſovereign, and fortified their perſonal independence.

The want of great cities in Scotland, contributed not a little to increaſe the power of the nobility, and to weaken that of the prince. Laws and ſubordinations take riſe in cities; and where there are few cities, there are few or no traces of a well-arranged police. The nobles, under a feudal government, ſeldom appeared at court where they found a ſuperior, or dwelt in cities where they met with equals. The vaſſals of every baron occupied a diſtinct portion of the kingdom, and formed a ſeparate and almoſt independent ſociety. Inſtead of joining to reduce the ſeditious chieftain, they were all in arms for his defence: and the prince was obliged to connive at criminals, who, conſcious of their advantages, multiplied their offences in aſſured impunity.

The diviſion of the country into clans, had no ſmall effect in rendering the nobles conſiderable. The nations which over-ran Europe were originally divided into many ſmall tribes; and when they came to parcel out the lands that they had conquered, it was natural for every chieftain to beſtow a portion, in the firſt place, upon thoſe of his own tribe or family. Theſe all held their lands of him, were cloſely united together, and were diſtinguiſhed by ſome general appellation: when that became common, the deſcendants and relations of every chieftain aſſumed the ſame name and arms with him: other vaſſals were proud to imitate their example; and by degrees they were communicated to all thoſe who held of the ſame ſuperior. Thus clanſhips were formed; and in a generation or two, that conſanguinity which was at firſt, in a great meaſure imaginary, was believed to be real. An artificial union was converted into a natural one. Men willingly followed a leader whom they regarded both as the ſuperior of their lands, and the chief of their blood; and ſerved him not only with the fidelity of vaſſals, but with the affection of friends *.

The ſmallneſs of their number may be mentioned among the cauſes of the grandeur of the Scottiſh nobles. Scotland, a kingdom neither extenſive nor rich, could not contain many over-grown proprietors; but the power of an ariſtocracy always diminiſhed in proportion to the increaſe of its

* Stuart.

numbers.

numbers. When nobles are numerous, their operations nearly reſemble thoſe of the people; they are rouſed only by what they feel, not by what they apprehend; and ſubmit to many arbitrary and oppreſſive acts before they take arms againſt their ſovereign. A ſmall body, on the contrary, is more ſenſible and more impatient, quick in diſcerning, and prompt in repelling danger. Hence proceeded the extreme jealouſy of the Scottiſh nobles, and the fierceneſs with which they oppoſed the incroachments of the crown: beſides this, the near alliance of the great families by frequent intermarriages, was the natural conſequence of their ſmall number; and as conſanguinity was, in thoſe ages, a powerful bond of union, all the kindred of noblemen intereſted themſelves in his quarrel, as a common cauſe; and every conteſt the king had, though with a ſingle baron, drew upon him the arms of a whole confederacy.

Theſe natural connexions the Scottiſh nobles ſtrengthened by numerous aſſociations, which, when formed with their equals were called *leagues* of mutual defence; and when with their inferiors, *bonds of manrent*. By the former, the contracting parties bound themſelves mutually to aſſiſt each other in all cauſes, and againſt all perſons; by the latter, protection was ſtipulated on the one hand, and fidelity and perſonal ſervice promiſed on the other. By degrees theſe aſſociations became ſo many alliances, offenſive and defenſive, againſt the throne; and as their obligation was held more ſacred than any tie whatever, they contributed not a little to the power and independence of the nobility.

That power was alſo augmented by the frequent wars between England and Scotland. Nature has placed no barrier between the two kingdoms: a river almoſt every where fordable, divides them towards the eaſt; on the weſt they are ſeparated by an imaginary line. The ſlender revenues of our kings prevented them from fortifying, or placing garriſons in the towns on the frontiers; nor would the jealouſy of their ſubjects have permitted ſuch a mode of defence. The barons, whoſe eſtates lay on the borders, were generally entruſted with the wardenſhips of the different marches. This gained them the leading of the warlike counties in the South; and as their vaſſals were inured to a ſtate of perpetual hoſtility, the Scottiſh monarchs always found it impracticable to ſubdue the mutinous and ungovernable ſpirit of the borderers.

The calamities which befel the kings of Scotland, contributed more than any other cauſe to diminiſh the royal authority. Of ſix ſucceſſive princes, from Robert the Third, to James the Sixth, not one died a natural death; and the minorities, during that time, were longer and more frequent than

ever happened in any other kingdom. From Robert Bruce to James the Sixth we reckon ten princes; and ſeven of theſe were called to the throne while they were minors, and almoſt infants. The moſt regular governments muſt feel the effects of a minority; but to the imperfect ſyſtem of Scotland, thoſe effects were ſtill more fatal. The fierce and mutinous ſpirit of the nobles, unreſtrained by the authority of a king, ſcorned all ſubjection to the delegated juriſdiction of a regent, or to the feeble commands of a minor. The ariſtocratical power, during theſe periods, roſe upon the ruins of the monarchical; and when the king himſelf came to aſſume the reins of government, he found his revenues waſted or alienated, the crown lands ſeized or given away, and the nobles ſo accuſtomed to independence, that, after the ſtruggles of a whole reign, he was ſeldom able to reduce them to the ſame ſtate in which they had been at the beginning of his minority, or to wreſt from them what they had uſurped during that time.

CHAP. VII.

David Bruce—Robert II.—Robert III.—The Jameſes—Mary—Cardinal Beatoun—Marriage of Mary with the Dauphin of France—John Knox, the Reformer—Death of the Queen-regent—The Preſbyterian form of worſhip eſtabliſhed in Scotland—Death of Francis II.

THE wiſe and valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and fixed it by treaty, left David his ſon a minor, under the guardianſhip of Randolph earl of Murray, the companion of his victories. About this time Edward Baliol ſon of John, formerly crowned king of Scotland, was diſcovered in a French priſon by lord Beaumont, an Engliſh baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and deeming Baliol a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe, procured him his liberty, and induced him to revive his claim to the Scottiſh crown.

Many other Engliſh noblemen, who had obtained eſtates during the ſubjection of Scotland, were in the ſame ſituation with Beaumont. They alſo ſaw the utility of Baliol, and began to think of recovering their poſſeſſions by arms; and they

they applied to Edward for his concurrence and aſſiſtance. Edward was aſhamed to avow their enterprize. He was afraid that violence and injuſtice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with ſuperior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whoſe independent title had been ſo lately acknowledged by a ſolemn treaty; but he ſecretly encouraged Baliol in his claim, connived at his aſſembling forces in the North, and gave countenance to the nobles who were diſpoſed to join him. A force of near three thouſand men was aſſembled, with which Baliol and his adherents landed on the coaſt of Fife.

Scotland was now in a very different ſituation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Beſides the loſs of that great monarch, whoſe genius and authority preſerved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of reſt, had gone over to Spain in a cruſade againſt the Moors, and there periſhed in battle. The earl of Murray, long declining through years and infirmities, had lately died, and been ſucceeded in the regency by Donald earl of Mar, a man much inferior in talents; ſo that the military ſpirit of the Scots, though ſtill unbroken, was left without a guide. Baliol had valour and activity, and his followers being firmly united by their common object, drove back the Scots who oppoſed his landing. He marched into the heart of the country; and with his ſmall party defeated an army of forty thouſand men, under the earl of Mar, of whom twelve thouſand are ſaid to have been ſlain.

Baliol, ſoon after the victory, made himſelf maſter of Perth, and was crowned at Scone; while young Bruce, his competitor, was ſent over to France with his betrothed wife Jane, ſiſter to king Edward. Scotland was ſubdued by a handful of men; but Baliol loſt the kingdom by a revolution as ſudden as that by which he had acquired it. His imprudence or his neceſſities, making him diſmiſs part of his Engliſh followers, he was unexpectedly attacked near Annan by ſir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of Bruce's party. He was routed; his brother John Baliol was ſlain, and he himſelf was chaſed into England in a miſerable plight *.

In this extremity, Baliol had again recourſe to the Engliſh monarch, without whoſe aſſiſtance he was now become ſenſible he could neither recover nor keep poſſeſſion of his throne. He offered to acknowledge Edward's ſuperiority; to renew the homage for Scotland; and to eſpouſe the princeſs Jane, if the pope's con- A. D. 1333.

* Hemming. Fordun.

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ſent could be obtained for diſſolving her former marriage, which was not yet conſummated. Ambitious of retrieving that important ſuperiority relinquiſhed by Mortimer during his minority, Edward willingly accepted the offer, and put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, in order to reinſtate Baliol in his throne. The Scots met him with an army more numerous, but leſs united, and worſe ſupplied with arms and proviſions. A battle was fought at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwic; where about thirty thouſand of the Scots fell, and all the chief nobility were either killed or taken priſoners.

After this fatal blow, the Scottiſh nobles had no reſource but in ſubmiſſion. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh; the ſuperiority of England was again recognized: many of the Scottiſh nobility ſwore fealty to Edward; who, leaving a conſiderable body of troops with Baliol to complete the conqueſt of the kingdom, returned to England with the remainder of his
A. D. 1334. army. But the Engliſh forces were no ſooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted againſt Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Edward was again obliged to aſſemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and faſtneſſes. He deſtroyed the houſes, and ravaged the eſtates of thoſe whom he called rebels. But this ſeverity only confirmed them more in their obſtinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now
A. D. 1336. rendered deſperate, they ſoon re-conquered their country from the Engliſh. Edward again made his appearance in Scotland, and with like ſucceſs. He found every thing hoſtile in the kingdom, except the ſpot on which he was encamped; and although he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itſelf was farther than ever from being broken or ſubdued. Beſides being ſupported by their pride and anger, paſſions difficult to tame, the Scots were encouraged amid all their calamities, with daily promiſes of relief from France.

A ſmall body of Scottiſh nobles, faithful to their exiled prince, at laſt drove Baliol out of Scotland, and reſtored the crown to David. The gratitude of the king diſtributed among ſuch as had adhered to him, the beſt poſſeſſions which fell to the crown by the forfeiture of his enemies. The family of Douglas, which began to riſe above the other nobles, in the reign of his father, augmented both its power and property during his minority. David had the misfortune to be taken priſoner by the Engliſh at the battle of Durham: and after continuing above eleven years in captivity, he paid

1,000,000

1,000,000 marks for his ranſom, and died in peace without iſſue. Being at firſt an exile in France, afterwards a priſoner in England, and involved in continual wars with Edward the Third, David had not leiſure to attend to the internal police of his kingdom. A. D. 1371.

The crown of Scotland now devolved upon the family of Stewart, by its head having been married to Marjory Bruce, the daughter of Robert I. The firſt king of that name was Robert II. a wiſe and brave prince; he was ſucceeded by his ſon Robert III. during whoſe reign Richard II. croſſed the Tweed at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men. The Scots did not pretend to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a force: they abandoned, without ſcruple, their rugged territory to be pillaged and laid waſte by the enemy, and made an incurſion into the more fertile provinces of England, where they collected a rich booty, and returned in tranquillity to their own country. The Engliſh monarch, however, wandered over great part of the comparatively barren kingdom of Scotland, and led his army back into England, without taking vengeance on the enemy for their devaſtations *. His impatience to return, and enjoy his uſual pleaſures and amuſements, over-balanced every higher conſideration, and made even revenge a motive too feeble to detain him.

Robert III. though a prince of ſlender capacity, was extremely innocent and inoffenſive in his conduct. But Scotland, at that time, was ſtill leſs fitted than England for cheriſhing a ſovereign of ſuch a character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of a boiſterous and violent diſpoſition, aſſumed the government of the ſtate; and not ſatisfied with preſent authority, he entertained the criminal purpoſe of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw into priſon David, his eldeſt nephew, who there periſhed by hunger; A. D. 1401.

ſo that James, the younger brother of David, alone ſtood between the tyrant and the throne.

Robert, therefore, ſenſible of his ſon's danger, embarked him on board a ſhip, with a view of ſending him into France, and of truſting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, however, the veſſel was taken by the Engliſh; and although there ſubſiſted at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry IV. refuſed to reſtore the young prince to his liberty. But he made ſome amends for this want of generoſity, by beſtowing on James an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne,

* Walſingham.

to

to ... in ſome meaſure, the rude and barbarous manners of ... country.

... of Robert, the Scots were tempted by ... England to make incurſions into that coun... by deſirous of taking revenge upon them, con... an army as far north as Edinburgh. But finding that the Scots would neither ſubmit nor give him battle, he returned without effecting any thing of conſequence. Next ſeaſon, however, Archibald earl of Douglas, who, at the head of twelve thouſand men, attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, had made an irruption into the northern counties, was overtaken by the Percies of Northumberland on his return, at Homeldon, on the borders of England, where a fierce battle enſued, and the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himſelf was taken priſoner; as were the earls of Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry *.

When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ranſom his priſoners; a privilege which that nobleman regarded as his right, by the then received laws of war. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. But by this ſelfiſh policy he gave freſh diſguſt to the powerful family of Northumberland. The impatient ſpirit of Henry Percy commonly known by the name of Hotſpur, and the factious diſpoſition of the earl of Worceſter, younger brother of the earl of Northumberland, inflamed the diſcontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted Northumberland to ſeek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at firſt eſtabliſhed. He entered into a correſpondence with Glendour: he ſet the earl of Douglas at liberty, and made an alliance with that martial chieftain. But when war was ready to break out, the earl of Northumberland was unfortunately ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces with thoſe of Glendour.

The king had happily a ſmall army on foot, with which he intended to act againſt the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he inſtantly hurried down, in order to give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewſbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the

* Hall, Otterbourne.

other

other, made them haſten to a general engagement. The armies were nearly equal in number, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand men each; and we ſcarcely find any battle in thoſe ages, where the ſhock was more terrible or more conſtant. Henry expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight; and the prince of Wales, his gallant ſon, whoſe military atchievements became afterwards ſo famous, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, ſignalized himſelf in a remarkable manner. Percy ſupported that renown which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival amid the horror and confuſion of the fight. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almoſt incredible. He ſeemed determined the king of England ſhould fall that day by his arm. He fought him all over the field; and as Henry had accoutred ſeveral captains in the royal garb, in order to encourage his troops, the ſword of Douglas rendered that honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Hotſpur, accompliſhed by an unknown hand, decided the victory; the royaliſts prevailed. There are ſaid to have fallen on both ſides near two thouſand three hundred gentlemen.

The reign of James I. opens to our view the civil tranſactions in Scotland; and a complete ſeries of laws ſupplies the defects of our hiſtorians. During the many years he was detained in England, he had an opportunity of obſerving the feudal ſyſtem in a more advanced ſtate, and refined from many imperfections. He ſaw their nobles great, but not independent; a king powerful, though far from abſolute; a regular adminiſtration, wiſe laws, and a nation flouriſhing and happy, becauſe all ranks of men were accuſtomed to obey them. On his return to his native country, he found the regal authority contemptible, the ancient patrimony and revenues of the crown almoſt annihilated, and the nobles rendered independent by the licence of many years; in every corner ſome barbarous chieftain ruled at pleaſure, and neither feared the king, nor pitied the people. To correct theſe inveterate evils, James, inſtead of force, employed the gentler and leſs offenſive remedy of laws and ſtatutes. In a parliament held immediately after his return, he gained the confidence of the people by many wiſe laws, tending to re-eſtabliſh order, tranquillity, and juſtice. At the ſame time he obtained an act, by which he was empowered to ſummon ſuch as had aſſumed crown lands during the laſt reigns, to produce the rights by which they held them. In a ſubſequent parliament, another ſtatute was paſſed, that declared all leagues and combinations unlaw-

unlawful. Encouraged by theſe laws, James ſeized, during the ſitting of parliament, his couſin Murdo, duke of Albany, and his ſons; the earls of Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and above twenty other peers and barons of prime rank. To all of them, however, he was immediately reconciled, except to Albany and his ſons, and Lennox. Theſe were tried by their peers, and condemned; and while their execution ſtruck the whole order with terror, their forfeiture added vaſt poſſeſſions to the crown.

Encouraged by the facility with which he had hitherto advanced, the king next ventured upon a meaſure that irritated the whole body of the nobility. The father of George Dunbar, earl of March, had taken arms againſt Robert III., the king's father; but that crime had been pardoned, and his lands reſtored by Robert duke of Albany. James, on pretext that the regent had exceeded his power, obtained a ſentence, declaring the pardon to be void, and deprived Dunbar of the earldom. Such a deciſion occaſioned a general alarm; and the nobles dreaded leſt their titles to their poſſeſſions might be ſubjected to the review of courts of law, whoſe forms of proceeding, and juriſdiction, in a martial age, were little known and extremely odious. The common danger called on the whole order to unite; and the ſentiments of the nobles encouraged a few deſperate men to form a conſpiracy againſt the life of the king. The firſt intelligence was brought him while he lay in his camp before Roxburgh caſtle. He durſt not confide in nobles to whom he had given ſo many cauſes of diſguſt, but inſtantly diſmiſſed them and their vaſſals, and retiring to a monaſtery near Perth, was ſoon after murdered there in the moſt cruel manner.

A. D. 1437.

Crichton, who had been the miniſter of James I. aſſumed the direction of affairs during the minority of James II., and prompted that monarch to purſue the deſign of humbling the nobility. William VI. earl of Douglas, was the firſt victim of this barbarous policy: he was decoyed by many promiſes to an interview in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and was murdered, with his brother. The credulity of William the eighth, earl of Douglas, led him into the ſame ſnare as had proved fatal to his brother: after forming a powerful aſſociation againſt the crown, he ventured to meet the king, on the faith of a ſafe conduct under the great ſeal, at Stirling-caſtle. James urged him to diſſolve the dangerous confederacy he had entered into: the earl obſtinately refuſed: "if you will not," ſaid the enraged monarch, "this ſhall;"—and ſtabbed him to the heart. The earl's vaſſals, filled with horror at the deed

deed, ran to arms; a tranſient accommodation between James and the new earl was ſoon ſucceeded by open hoſtilities: both armies met near Abercorn; and a ſingle battle muſt have decided whether the houſe of Stuart, or of Douglas, was henceforth to poſſeſs the throne of Scotland. But when the troops of the latter impatiently waited the ſignal to engage, the earl ordered them to retire to their camp. The irreſolution of the commander was attended by the deſertion of his followers; and the earl, deſpiſed or forſaken by all, was ſoon driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to depend for his ſubſiſtence on the friendſhip of the king of England. The ruin of this great family ſecured the king for ſome time from oppoſition: he procured the conſent of parliament to ſeveral laws more advantageous to the prerogative; and as he wanted neither courage nor genius, he might probably have ſubverted the feudal ſyſtem in Scotland, had he not prematurely fallen by the ſplinter of a cannon, A. D. 1460. which burſt near him at the ſiege of Roxburgh.

James III., though far inferior to his father and grandfather in ability, was no leſs deſirous of humbling the nobility. While he kept them at an unuſual diſtance, he beſtowed every mark of confidence and affection upon a few mean perſons: ſhut up in the caſtle of Stirling, he ſeldom appeared in public, and amuſed himſelf with architecture, muſic, and other arts, which were then but little eſteemed. Alexander, duke of Albany, and John, earl of Mar, his brothers, entered deeply into the cabals of the nobility. But the king, detecting their deſigns, ſeized them both: the earl of Mar was murdered, and, if we may believe our hiſtorians, by the king's command: Albany, apprehenſive of the ſame fate, made his eſcape out of the kingdom, and fled into France; thence he paſſed over to England, and concluded a treaty with Edward IV. in which he aſſumed the name of Alexander, king of Scots. He promiſed, as ſoon as he was put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, to ſwear fealty and do homage to the Engliſh monarch, and to ſurrender ſome of the moſt valuable counties in Scotland; and he was conducted, in return for thoſe ſtipulations, by the duke of Glouceſter, with a powerful army towards Scotland. The danger of foreign invaſion obliged James to implore the aſſiſtance of thoſe nobles whom he had ſo long treated with contempt. Though they ſeemed to enter with zeal into the meaſures of their ſovereign, they took the field with a ſtronger diſpoſition to puniſh his unworthy favourites, than to annoy the enemy. In the camp near Lauder, the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Lennox, followed by almoſt all the barons of note in the army, entered the apart-

apartment of James, ſeized all his favourites except Ramſay, whom they could not tear from the arms of the king, and immediately executed them.

James had no reaſon to conſide in an army ſo little under his command, and diſmiſſing it, ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Edinburgh. After various intrigues, a reconciliation was effected between him and his brother; but Albany ſoon after, on pretext that an attempt had been made on his life by poiſon, fled from court, and retired to Dunbar. The death of Edward IV. prevented him from receiving the aid he expected from England, and croſſing over to France, he ſeems from that time to have taken no part in the affairs of his native country.

Emboldened by his retreat, the king and his miniſters multiplied the inſults which they had offered to the nobility. A ſtanding guard was raiſed for the defence of the royal perſon, and the command of it was given to Ramſay, lately created earl of Bothwell; while James, ſunk in indolence or ſuperſtition, devolved his whole authority on his favourites. The nobles, provoked by reiterated injuries, flew to arms; they perſuaded or obliged the duke of Rotheſay, the king's eldeſt ſon, a youth of fifteen, to ſet himſelf at
A. D. 1488. their head; when the royal army was defeated and James himſelf ſlain in the purſuit.

James IV. was the moſt accompliſhed prince of the age: he was naturally generous and brave; loved magnificence, delighted in war, and was eager to obtain fame. He encouraged and protected commerce, which greatly increaſed in his reign; and the court of James, at the time of his marriage with Henry the Seventh's daughter, was ſplendid and reſpectable. Even this alliance could not cure him of his family-diſtemper, a predilection for the French, which proved fatal to him. He aſſembled the whole force of his dominions, and croſſed the Tweed at the head of a brave, though tumultuous army of fifty thouſand men But inſtead of making uſe of the opportunity, which the abſence of Henry afforded him, to puſh his conqueſts, he waſted his time in the arms of a fair captive. His troops became diſſatisfied, and began to be pinched with hunger; and as the authority of the prince was yet feeble among the Scots, and military diſcipline extremely lax, many of them ſtole from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surry, having collected a body of twenty-ſix thouſand men, approached the enemy, who lay on ſome high ground near the hills of Cheviot. He drew them from their ſtation, by feigning to enter their country, and an obſtinate battle was fought in the field of Flouden,

Flouden, where the king of Scotland and the flower of his nobility were ſlain *.

The minority of his ſon, James V. was long and turbulent: and when he grew up, he married two French ladies; the firſt a daughter of the king of France, and the latter of the houſe of Guiſe. He inſtituted the court of ſeſſion, enacted many ſalutary laws, and greatly promoted the induſtry of Scotland, particularly the working of the mines. At this time the balance of power was ſo equally poiſed between the contending princes of Europe, that James's friendſhip was courted by the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and his uncle Henry VIII. of England, from all of whom he received magnificent preſents. But James took little ſhare in foreign affairs; he ſeemed rather to imitate his predeceſſors in their attempts to humble the nobility; and the doctrines of the reformation beginning to be propagated in Scotland, he gave way, at the inſtigation of the clergy, to a religious perſecution, though it is generally believed that, had he lived longer, he would have ſeized all the church revenues, in imitation of Henry. Having ſlighted ſome friendly overtures made to him by the king of England, and thereby given great umbrage to that prince, a war at length broke out between them. A large army, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, entered Scotland, and ravaged the country north of the Tweed. After this ſhort expedition, the Engliſh army retired to Berwic. Upon its retreat James ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway Firth; and he followed at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them. Soon after, he gave great offence to the nobility and the army, by imprudently depriving their general, lord Maxwell, of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman. The army were ſo much diſguſted with this alteration, that they were ready to diſband, when a ſmall body of Engliſh appeared, not exceeding five hundred. A panic ſeized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, ſuppoſing themſelves to be attacked by the whole Engliſh army. The Engliſh cavalry, ſeeing them fly with ſuch precipitation, cloſely purſued, and ſlew great numbers, taking priſoners ſeven lords, two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred ſoldiers, with twenty-four pieces of ordnance. This diſaſter ſo much affected king James, that it threw him into a fit of illneſs, of which he died. A. D. 1542.

Mary, his daughter and ſucceſſor, was born only eight days before her father's death. Her beauty, her miſconduct,

* Drummond. Herbert.

and her misfortunes, are alike famous in hiſtory *. The ſituation in which James left the kingdom, alarmed all ranks of men; many perſons of the firſt rank had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh in the unfortunate rout near the Firth of Solway, and ſtill remained priſoners to the victors. Among the reſt of the nobles there was little union; and the religious diſputes occaſioned by the doctrines of the reformed, growing every day more violent, added to the rage of thoſe factions which are natural to a form of government nearly ariſtocratical.

The government of a queen was unknown in Scotland; and the proſpect of a long and feeble minority invited to faction: James had left open the office of regent to every pretender; and cardinal Beatoun, who had for many years been conſidered as prime miniſter, claimed that high dignity. Though ſupported by the queen Dowager, he had enjoyed power too long to be a favourite of the nation; and, at the inſtigation of the nobles, who wiſhed for a reformation in religion, James Hamilton, earl of Arran, rouzed himſelf from his inactivity, and was, by the barons aſſembled, nominated regent, with the general applauſe of the people.

No two men differed more widely in diſpoſition and character than the earl of Arran and cardinal Beatoun; the former was timid and irreſolute, and the perpetual tool of thoſe who found their advantage in practiſing upon his fears; the latter, with acknowledged abilities and long experience, was immoderately ambitious; and as his own eminence was founded upon the power of the church of Rome, he was an avowed enemy to the reformers.

The firſt negociation of the regent gave birth to events of the moſt fatal conſequences to himſelf, and the kingdom. After the death of James, Henry VIII. conceived hopes of uniting the crowns of Scotland and England, by the marriage of Edward, his only ſon, with the queen of the Scots. On the promiſe of ſupporting his plan in parliament, he releaſed the priſoners he had taken at Solway, and theſe were joined by all who feared the cardinal, or who deſired a change in religion, and looked towards England for the protection of their perſons and principles.

A D. 1543. But Henry poſſeſſed not addreſs ſufficient to improve this favourable conjecture; impatient and imperious by nature, he demanded that the queen's perſon, ſhould be immediately committed to his cuſtody, and that the government of the kingdom ſhould be put into his hands during her minority. Though the regent

* Robertſon, Stuart, Whitaker, &c.

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ſecured himſelf from the oppoſition of the cardinal, by confining that prelate a priſoner, yet Henry was obliged to conſent that the queen ſhould reſide in Scotland, and himſelf remain excluded from any ſhare in the government of the kingdom: on the other hand, the Scots agreed to ſend their ſovereign to England, as ſoon as ſhe obtained the full age of ten years, and inſtantly to deliver ſix perſons of the firſt rank, to be kept as hoſtages by Henry, till the queen's arrival at his court.

The cardinal, on the recovery of his liberty, complained loudly that the regent had betrayed the kingdom. He foretold the extinction of the true catholic religion under the tyranny of an heretic; and he lamented the ignominy of an ancient kingdom, deſcending into the ſtation of a dependent province. His remonſtrances were ſeconded by the imprudence of Henry himſelf. Several ſhips, which the Scots had fitted out for France, were, by ſtreſs of weather, driven into the ports of England; and Henry, under pretext that they were carrying proviſions to a kingdom with which he was at war, ordered them to be ſeized, and condemned as lawful prizes. The Scots, at this inſult, expreſſed all the reſentment natural to a high ſpirited people. The cardinal, by ſeizing on the perſons of the young queen and her mother, added to his party the ſplendour of the royal name; he received a real acceſſion of ſtrength by the arrival of Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox, whoſe claims upon the regent, extended not only to exclude him from the ſucceſſion to the crown, but to deprive him of the poſſeſſion of his perſonal fortune.

The abbot of Paiſley, a natural brother of the regent, a warm partizan of France, and a zealous defender of the eſtabliſhed religion, had the addreſs at the ſame time to play upon the fears of that nobleman; yet the irreſolution of the earl of Arran continued to the laſt moment. On the 25th of Auguſt he ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the cardinal, who oppoſed it, an enemy to his country. On the 3d of September he ſecretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the cardinal at Callender, renounced the friendſhip of England, and declared for the intereſts of France.

Soon after this ſudden revolution in his political principles, the regent changed his ſentiments concerning religion. He had formerly been led to expreſs great eſteem for the writings of the reformers; and had entertained, in his own family, two of the moſt noted preachers of the proteſtant doctrine. But the cardinal repreſented to him the great imprudence in giving encouragement to opinions ſo favourable to the pretenſions of Lennox; and the timid diſpoſition of the regent, alarmed at the moſt diſtant proſpect of danger, publicly ab-

jured the doctrine of the reformers at Stirling; and declared, not only for the political, but the religious opinions of his new confidents.

The regent conſented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought neceſſary for the preſervation of the eſtabliſhed religion. The reformers were perſecuted with all the cruelty which ſuperſtition inſpires into a barbarous people; and they ſuffered with the fortitude of the primitive martyrs. But though the aſcendency of the cardinal over the regent was open and uncontrouled, he yet was embaraſſed by the pretenſions of the earl of Lennox. That nobleman, reſenting the duplicity of Beatoun, who had ſacrificed his intereſt to purchaſe the friendſhip of the earl of Arran, withdrew from court, and threw himſelf into the arms of the party at enmity with the cardinal.

Lennox, who now acted with the advocates for the Engliſh alliance, and a reformation in religion, got the ſtart of the cardinal. He ſurpriſed both him and the regent, by a ſudden march with a numerous army; but he was weak enough to liſten to terms of accommodation; theſe were artfully ſpun out to a conſiderable length: his army, diſguſted at the delay, gradually deſerted him; and inſtead of giving the law, he was obliged to receive it. A ſecond attempt to retrieve his affairs was yet more unfortunate: a body of his troops was cut to pieces, and he muſt have fled out of the kingdom, if an Engliſh army had not brought him relief.

A. D. 1544. Henry was not of a temper tamely to bear the indignity with which he had been treated by the regent and parliament of Scotland. In the ſpring an Engliſh army, under the earl of Hertford, was landed without oppoſition near Leith. That general occupied Edinburgh, and plundered the adjacent country; but, on the approach of the Scottiſh army, he retired towards England; and Henry, by this expedition, ſtill farther alienated the affections of the Scots from an union with England.

The earl of Lennox, after a few feeble and unſucceſsful attempts to diſturb the regent's adminiſtration, was obliged to fly for ſafety to the court of London; where Henry rewarded his ſervices by giving him in marriage his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas; and a languid and inactive war was ſoon after terminated by a peace, in which England, France, and Scotland were comprehended. Henry laboured to exclude the Scots from this treaty; but although a peace with England was of the utmoſt conſequence to Francis I. he refuſed to abandon allies who had ſerved him with fidelity; and by ſubmiſſion, flattery, and addreſs, he prevailed to have the Scots included in the treaty agreed upon.

The

The arrogance of cardinal Beatoun, a ſhort time before the peace, had precipitated his fate. His ſeverity to the reformers, and inſolence towards the nobles, had worn out the patience of a fierce age. He had treated Norman Lefly, the eldeſt ſon of the earl of Rothes, with injuſtice and contempt. It was not the temper of the man, nor the ſpirit of the times, quietly to digeſt an affront. The cardinal, at that time, reſided at the caſtle of St. Andrews, which he had fortified at a great expence; his retinue was numerous, the town at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependents. In this ſituation ſixteen perſons undertook to ſurpriſe his caſtle, and to aſſaſſinate himſelf; and their ſucceſs was equal to the boldneſs of the attempt. Early in the morning they ſeized on the gate of the caſtle, which was ſet open to the workmen, who were employed in finiſhing the fortifications; and having placed centinels at the door of the cardinal's apartment, they awakened his numerous domeſtics, one by one, and turning them out of the caſtle, they, without noiſe, or tumult, or violence to any other perſon, delivered their country, though by a moſt unjuſtifiable action, from an ambitious man, whoſe pride was inſupportable to the nobles, as his cruelty and cunning were the great checks to the reformation. A. D. 1546.

His death was fatal to the catholic religion, and to the French intereſt in Scotland; and though the regent ſecretly enjoyed an event which removed out of his way a rival, yet decency and the deſire of recovering his eldeſt ſon, who, together with the caſtle, had fallen into the hands of the conſpirators, induced him to take arms. Five months were ineffectually conſumed before the walls of the caſtle; and the tedious ſiege was concluded by a truce, which would probably have afforded the conſpirators the moſt deciſive advantage, had not their hopes from England been blaſted by the death of Henry VIII.

Francis I. king of France, did not long ſurvive the Engliſh monarch; but his ſucceſſor, Henry II. was not neglectful of the French intereſt in Scotland. He ſent a conſiderable body of men under the command of Leon Strozzi, to the aſſiſtance of the regent; that general ſoon compelled the conſpirators, on the promiſe of their lives, to ſurrender; they were accordingly tranſported to France; the caſtle itſelf, in obedience to the canon law, as ſtained with the blood of a cardinal, was demoliſhed; and the archbiſhopric of St. Andrews was beſtowed by the regent upon his natural brother, John Hamilton, abbot of Paiſley.

The conſpirators againſt cardinal Beatoun, found the regent's eldeſt ſon in the caſtle of St. Andrews. The preſumptive

ſumptive heir to the crown in the hands of the avowed enemies of the kingdom, was a dreadful proſpect; in order to avoid it, the parliament fell upon a ſingular expedient. By an act made on purpoſe, they excluded the regent's eldeſt ſon from all right of ſucceſſion, public, or private, ſo long as he ſhould be detained a priſoner; and ſubſtituted in his place his other brothers, according to their ſeniority; and in failure of them, the next heirs of the regent.

The delay of a few weeks would have ſaved the conſpirators. The miniſters of England conducted themſelves in regard to Scotland by the maxims of their late maſter. In the beginning of September, the earl of Hertford, now duke of Somerſet, and protector of England, entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thouſand men; but the Scots, poſted to advantage near the river Eſke, were almoſt double the number of the invaders. The duke of Somerſet ſaw his danger, and would have extricated himſelf out of it by conditions the moſt reaſonable, but his propoſals were rejected with ſcorn, and the Engliſh were only ſaved by the raſhneſs of their enemies. The Scots deſcended from their advantageous ſituation, and haſtened with tumultuous valour to encounter at Pinkey, the diſciplined courage of the Engliſh; the event was ſuch as might have been expected. The route of the Scottiſh army after a ſhort conteſt, became univerſal; few fell in the encounter, but the purſuit was fierce and bloody, and above ten thouſand Scots periſhed on that diſaſtrous day.

The protector had it now in his power to become maſter of the kingdom, but inſtead of reducing the fortified places acceſſible by ſea, he amuſed himſelf with waſting the open country; and the late battle had no other effect than to precipitate the Scots into new engagements with France. The duke of Somerſet ſoon after returned to Eng-
A. D. 1548. land to encounter the cabals of his domeſtic enemies; while a body of his troops ſeized and fortified Haddington, a place, which on account of its diſtance from the ſea and from any Engliſh garriſon, could not be defended without great expence and danger.

Meanwhile the French gained more by the defeat of their allies, than the Engliſh did by their victory. On the death of cardinal Beatoun, Mary of Guiſe, the queen dowager, took a conſiderable ſhare in the direction of affairs. She was warmly attached by blood and inclination to the French intereſt; and ſhe ſeized the favourable moment to repreſent to the Scots, whoſe ſpirits were depreſſed by the battle of Pinkey, that no aſſiſtance could be expected from Henry II. without extraordinary conceſſions in his favour. The prejudices of the nation powerfully ſeconded her repreſentations; the

the nobles, in the violence of their reſentment, forgot their zeal for the independence of Scotland, which had prompted them to reject the propoſals of Henry VIII. they voluntarily offered their young queen in marriage to the Dauphin, eldeſt ſon of Henry II. and propoſed to ſend her immediately into France to be educated at his court. Henry accepted eagerly the offer, and for the defence of his new acquiſition, embarked ſix thouſand veteran ſoldiers under the command of Monſieur Deſſé; theſe ſerved two campaigns in Scotland with a ſpirit equal to their former fame; but the jealouſy of the Scots prevented them from effecting any thing of more importance than compelling the Engliſh to evacuate Haddington, and ſeveral ſmall forts which they poſſeſſed in different parts of the kingdom.

The overtures which had been made to the French king, were confirmed in a parliament aſſembled in a camp before Haddington; in vain did a few patriots remonſtrate againſt ſuch extravagant ſucceſſions; the regent was gained by the offer of a penſion from France, and the title of duke of Chatelherault in that kingdom; and Mary, who was then but ſix years old, was conveyed to Calais by the fleet that had brought over the forces under Monſieur Deſſé.

The government of England had in the mean time undergone a great revolution; the duke of Somerſet had been compelled to reſign the power he had uſurped, to the earl of Warwick, who quickly found peace neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of his new authority. To acquire it, he ſcrupled at nothing which Henry pleaſed to dictate. England conſented to reſtore to France Boulogne with its dependencies; and gave up all pretenſions to a treaty of marriage with the queen of Scots, or to the conqueſt of her country; a few ſmall forts, of which the Engliſh troops had hitherto kept poſſeſſion, were raiſed; and peace between the two kingdoms was eſtabliſhed on its ancient foundation.

Immediately after the concluſion of the peace, the French forces left Scotland; as much to their own ſatisfaction as that of the nation. The Scots had early found the manners of their allies incompatible with their own; and naturally iraſcible and high-ſpirited, they had borne with impatience thoſe marks of contempt which a poliſhed people could not diſguiſe at their barbarous cuſtoms. A private ſoldier engaging in an idle quarrel, with a citizen of Edinburgh, both nations took arms: the provoſt of Edinburgh, his ſon, and ſeveral citizens of diſtinction were killed in the fray; the French were obliged to avoid the fury of the citizens by retiring out of the city; and from this time were regarded in Scotland

with an averſion, the effects of which were deeply felt, and operated powerfully through the ſubſequent period.

During the war with England, the clergy had no power to moleſt the proteſtants; and in that interval, the new doctrine advanced by large and rapid ſteps towards a full eſtabliſhment. Nothing was wanting to complete the ruin of ſuperſtition, but a daring and active leader to direct the attack. Such was the famous John Knox, who, with more extenſive views than any of his predeceſſors in Scotland, poſſeſſed a natural intrepidity of mind which ſet him above fear. Inſtead of amuſing himſelf with lopping the branches, he ſtruck directly at the root of popery, with a vehemence peculiar to himſelf. An adverſary ſo formidable could not eſcape the rage of the clergy: at firſt he retired for ſafety into the caſtle of St. Andrews; and while the conſpirators kept poſſeſſion of it, preached publicly under their protection.

The great revolution in England, which followed upon the death of Henry VIII. contributed towards demoliſhing the popiſh church in Scotland. The miniſters of his ſon Edward caſt off altogether the yoke of popery; while in Scotland ſeveral noblemen of the firſt diſtinction openly eſpouſed the principles of the reformers, and the ſpirit of innovation peculiar to that period, grew every day bolder, and more univerſal.

Meanwhile their cauſe received reinforcement from two different quarters, whence they never could have expected it. The ambition of the houſe of Guiſe, and the bigotry of Mary of England, haſtened the ſubverſion of the papal throne in Scotland; and by a ſingular diſpoſition of Providence, the perſons who oppoſed the reformation in every other part of Europe with the fierceſt zeal, were made inſtruments for advancing it in that kingdom.

Mary of Guiſe poſſeſſed the ſame bold and aſpiring ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed her family; but in her it was ſoftened by the female character, and accompanied with great temper and addreſs. She entertained the arduous deſign of acquiring the high dignity of regent; and the French king willingly concurred in a meaſure, which he hoped would in future bring Scotland entirely under his management.

But as the warlike diſpoſition of the Scots rendered it imprudent to attempt this enterprize by force; ſo alſo it appeared a chimerical project to perſuade a man to abdicate the ſupreme power: but the hopes of the queen dowager were inflamed by her knowledge of the regent's inconſtancy and irreſolution. She fomented the factious diſpoſition of the nobles; ſhe countenanced the favourers of the reformation; and ſhe had no ſooner formed a ſtrong party of adherents, than the overture was made to the regent, in the name of the French,

French king, enforced by proper threatenings of future vengeance if he oppoſed, and ſweetened by the promiſe of a conſiderable penſion, with the confirmation of his French title, if he acquieſced.

Had the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's been preſent to fortify the irreſolute ſpirit of the regent, he would in all probability have rejected the propoſal with diſdain; but that prelate was lying at the point of death; and the regent, abandoning himſelf to his fears, voluntarily conſented to ſurrender the ſupreme power.

The queen inſtantly returned to Scotland in full expectation of taking immediate poſſeſſion of her new dignity; but by this time the archbiſhop of St. Andrews had ſurmounted that diſtemper which the ignorance of the Scotch phyſicians had pronounced mortal; and together with his health, had recovered the entire government of the regent: he quickly perſuaded him to recal that diſhonourable promiſe which the artifices of the queen had prevailed on him to grant. A tedious negociation enſued; but even the firmneſs of the archbiſhop could not withſtand the univerſal defection of the nobility, the growing power of the proteſtants, who all adhered to the queen dowager, the reiterated ſolicitations of the French king, and, above all, the interpoſition of the young queen, who was now entering the twelfth year of her age, and claimed a right of nominating whom ſhe pleaſed to be regent.

It was in the parliament, which met on the tenth of April, that the earl of Arran executed this extraordinary reſignation; and at the ſame time Mary of Guiſe was raiſed to that dignity which had been ſo long the object of her wiſhes. Gratitude induced her to countenance the principles of the reformed; while Mary, who had aſcended the throne of England on the death of her brother Edward, and ſoon after married Philip II. of Spain, equalled in her perſecution of the proteſtants the deeds of thoſe tyrants who have been the greateſt reproach to human nature. A. D. 1554.

The cauſes which facilitated the introduction of the new doctrines into Scotland, merit a particular and careful inquiry. The reformation is one of the greateſt events in the hiſtory of mankind. The revival of learning in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries rouſed the world from that lethargy in which it had been ſunk for many ages: ſcience and philoſophy had laid open to many of the Italians the impoſture and abſurdity of the eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition; but it remained for Luther to erect the ſtandard of truth, and uphold it with an unconquer-

unconquerable intrepidity, which merits the admiration and gratitude of all ſucceeding ages.

The occaſion of Luther's being firſt diſguſted with the tenets of the Romiſh church, and how, from a ſmall rupture, the quarrel widened into an irreparable breach, is generally known. At that time, the power and wealth of the church in Scotland was immenſe; and the little learning which exiſted in that country was entirely engroſſed by the clergy: but the reſpect and influence which theſe advantages muſt have commanded, were diminiſhed by their licentious lives, and extreme indolence. According to the accounts of the reformers, confirmed by ſeveral popiſh writers, the moſt ſcandalous and diſſolute manners openly prevailed among them; and inſtead of being abaſhed by the public clamour, and reforming their lives, they affected to deſpiſe the cenſures of the people.

At the ſame time, in the place of mitigating the abſurdity of the eſtabliſhed doctrines, the fables of purgatory, the virtues of pilgrimage, and the merits of the ſaints, were the topics on which they inſiſted in their diſcourſes; the duty of preaching was left wholly to monks of the loweſt and moſt illiterate orders; and while the reformers were attended by crouded and admiring audiences, the popiſh preachers were either univerſally deſerted, or liſtened to with ſcorn.

The only device which they employed in order to recover their declining reputation, was equally imprudent and unſucceſsful. They endeavoured to call in the authority of falſe miracles to their aid; but the vigilance of the reformers defeated theſe impoſtures, and expoſed not only them, but the cauſe which needed the aid of ſuch artifices, to ridicule.

As the popiſh eccleſiaſtics became more and more the objects of hatred and contempt, the diſcourſes of the reformers were liſtened to as ſo many calls to liberty; the people hoped to ſhake off the yoke of eccleſiaſtical dominion, which they had long felt to be oppreſſive, and which they now diſcovered to be unchriſtian; and the ſpirit of averſion to the eſtabliſhed church, which ſpread faſt through the nation, at laſt burſt forth with irreſiſtible violence.

A. D. 1554. The queen's elevation to the office of regent, ſeems at firſt to have tranſported her beyond the known prudence and moderation of her character. By conferring upon foreigners ſeveral offices of truſt and dignity, ſhe excited the indignation of the Scots; and an incident which happened at that critical juncture, inflamed their averſion to French councils, to the higheſt degree. Henry II. having reſolved upon war with Philip II. and foreſeeing

ſeeing that the queen of England would take part in her huſband's quarrel, was extremely ſolicitous of ſecuring in Scotland the aſſiſtance of ſome troops which would be more at his command than an undiſciplined army, led by chieftains who were almoſt independent. Under pretence of relieving the nobles from the expence and danger of defending the borders, the queen-regent propoſed to impoſe a ſmall tax on land, for the conſtant maintenance of a body of regular troops: three hundred of the leſſer barons repreſented in a body their ſenſe of the intended indignity; and the queen prudently abandoned a ſcheme which ſhe found to be univerſally odious.

Soon after the French commenced hoſtilities againſt Spain, and Philip prevailed on his conſort to reinforce his army with a conſiderable body of Engliſh troops. But the nobles of Scotland liſtened with coldneſs to the ſolicitations of the French monarch, and declined engaging the kingdom in an unneceſſary war. What ſhe could not obtain by perſuaſion, the queen-regent brought about by ſtratagem. She commanded the French ſoldiers to rebuild a ſmall fort near Berwick, which was appointed by the laſt treaty to be raiſed: the garriſon of Berwick ſallied forth, interrupted the work, and ravaged the adjacent country; this inſult rouſed the fiery ſpirits of the Scots. War was determined on; but before their forces could aſſemble, their ardour cooled; and the nobles reſolved to ſtand on the defenſive. They marched to the banks of the Tweed; they prevented the incurſions of the enemy; and having done what they thought ſufficient for the ſafety and honour of their country, the queen could not perſuade them, either by her entreaties or her artifices, to advance another ſtep.

The queen having diſcovered the impotence of her own authority, diſmiſſed the army; and to counterbalance the influence of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, ſtill continued to favour the partizans of the reformation. Kirkaldy of Grange, and other ſurviving conſpirators againſt cardinal Beatoun, were about this time recalled from their baniſhment; and through her connivance the proteſtant preachers enjoyed an interval of tranquillity which was of great benefit to their cauſe.

As the queen-regent diſcovered how limited her authority was, ſhe endeavoured to eſtabliſh it on a more ſecure foundation, by haſtening the concluſion of her daughter's marriage with the Dauphin. To complete this, the French king applied to the parliament of Scotland, which appointed eight of its members to repreſent the whole body of the nation at the marriage of the queen; the inſtructions of the parliament to

thoſe

thoſe commiſſioners ſtill remain, and do honour to the wiſdom and integrity of that aſſembly; at the ſame time that they manifeſt, with reſpect to the articles of marriage, a laudable concern for the dignity and intereſt of their ſovereign, they employed every precaution, which prudence could dictate, for preſerving the liberty and independence of the nation.

A. D. 1558. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and in the treaty the commiſſioners had agreed that the Dauphin ſhould aſſume the name of King of Scotland: this they conſidered only as an honorary title; but the French laboured to annex to it ſome ſolid privileges and power. They inſiſted that the crown matrimonial ſhould be conferred on, and all the rights pertaining to the huſband of a queen ſhould be veſted in, the perſon of the Dauphin. By the laws of Scotland, a perſon who married an heireſs, kept poſſeſſion of her eſtate during his own life, if he happened to ſurvive her, and the children born in marriage: this was called the *courteſy of Scotland*; and the French aimed at applying this rule, which takes place in private inheritances to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. But the anſwer of the deputies was firm, though reſpectful; and they diſcovered a fixed reſolution of conſenting to nothing that tended to introduce any alteration in the order of ſucceſſion.

Notwithſtanding the cold reception which their propoſal concerning the *crown matrimonial* met with from the Scottiſh deputies, the French ventured to move it in parliament. The partizans of the houſe of Hamilton, ſuſpicious of their deſigns upon the ſucceſſion, oppoſed it with great zeal. But that party was little able to withſtand the influence of France, and the addreſs of the queen regent; that artful princeſs conſented to many new limitations; and the Scots were prevailed on to paſs an act which conferred the crown matrimonial on the Dauphin, and to truſt to the frail ſecurity of words and ſtatutes, againſt the dangerous encroachments of power.

The proteſtants had concurred with the queen-regent in promoting this meaſure, while the popiſh clergy, under the influence of the archbiſhop of St Andrews, violently oppoſed it. The former were by this time almoſt equal to the catholics both in power and number; and ſubmitted with impatience to that tyrannical authority with which the ancient laws armed the eccleſiaſtics againſt them. There were, however, only two ways of exonerating themſelves from the burthen. Either violence muſt extort the indulgence from the hand of the ſovereign; or, by prudent compliances, they might expect it from her favour and gratitude; the latter

method

method was preferred, and by their zeal in forwarding the queen's deſigns, they hoped to merit her protection.

The earl of Argyle, and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, one the moſt powerful, and the other the moſt popular, leader of the proteſtants, were appointed to carry the crown, and other enſigns of royalty to the Dauphin; while in England, Mary finiſhed her ſhort and inglorious reign, and was ſucceeded by her ſiſter Elizabeth, who once more eſtabliſhed, according to law, the proteſtant religion in that country.

In Scotland, the reformation advanced towards a full eſtabliſhment; all the low country was deeply tinctured with the proteſtant opinions; and ſome praiſe is due to the regular demeanor of ſo numerous a party, among a people bred to arms, and in an age when religious paſſions had taken ſuch ſtrong hold of the human mind. The queen-regent, willing to ſecure their favour, in order to enable her to maintain that authority which ſhe had found ſo much difficulty to acquire, connived at the progreſs of doctrines, which ſhe wanted power utterly to ſuppreſs. Too cautious, however, to truſt to this precarious indulgence for the ſafety of their religious principles, the proteſtant party in Scotland entered privately into a bond of aſſociation for their mutual protection and the propagation of their tenets, ſtyling themſelves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradiſtinction to the eſtabliſhed church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan* *. From the death of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, the firſt who ſuffered in Scotland for the proteſtant religion, thirty years had elapſed, during which the reformed had patiently ſubmitted to the moſt cruel exceſſes of eccleſiaſtical tyranny. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's had, indeed, by his temper and prudence, encouraged this pacific diſpoſition; but ſome time before the meeting of the laſt parliament he departed from his wonted humanity, and ſentenced to the flames an aged prieſt who had been convicted of embracing the proteſtant opinions.

This was the laſt barbarity of the kind that the catholics had the power to exerciſe in Scotland. The ſeverity of the archbiſhop rather rouſed than intimidated the reformers. The congregation now openly ſolicited ſubſcriptions to their league; and not ſatisfied with new and more ſolemn promiſes of the regent's protection, they preſented a petition to her, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, ſcandalous, and deteſtable lives of the clergy. They alſo framed a petition, which they intended to preſent to parlia-

* Keith. Knocx.

ment,

ment, ſoliciting ſome legal protection againſt the exorbitant and oppreſſive juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts. They even petitioned the convocation; and inſiſted that prayers ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, that biſhops ſhould be choſen by the gentry of the dioceſe, and prieſts with the conſent of the pariſhoners.

Inſtead of ſoothing the proteſtants, by any prudent conceſſions, the convocation rejected their demands with diſdain; and the queen-regent, who had hitherto wiſely
A. D. 1559. temporiſed between the parties, and whoſe humanity and ſagacity taught her moderation, having received, during the ſitting of the aſſembly, the violent commands of her brothers, prepared to carry their deſpotic plan into execution, contrary to her own judgment and experience. She publicly expreſſed her approbation of the decrees, by which the principles of the reformers were condemned in the convocation, and cited the moſt eminent proteſtant teachers to appear before the council at Stirling *.

The members of the congregation, alarmed but not overawed by this danger, aſſembled in great numbers, agreeable to the cuſtom of Scotland at that time, in order to attend their paſtors to the place of trial †, to protect and to countenance them: and the queen-regent, dreading the approach of ſo formidable a body, impowered Erſkine of Dun, a perſon of high authority with the reformers, to aſſure them that ſhe would put a ſtop to the intended proceedings provided they advanced no farther. They liſtened with pleaſure, and perhaps with too much credulity, to ſo pacific a propoſition; for men whoſe grievances obliged them to fly in the face of the civil power, under whatever plauſible pretext their purpoſe may be concealed, ſhould truſt to nothing leſs than the ſolemnity of a contract. The regent broke her promiſe, conformable to her maxim, that "the promiſes of princes ought "not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of "them exacted, unleſs it ſuits their own conveniency." She proceeded to call to trial the perſons formerly ſummoned, and
A. D. 1559. on their not appearing, though purpoſely prevented, they were pronounced outlaws.

By this ignoble artifice, the queen-regent forfeited the eſteem and confidence of the whole nation. The proteſtants boldly prepared for their own defence; and Erſkine, enraged

* Melvil.

† In conſequence of this cuſtom originally introduced by vaſſalage and clanſhip, and afterwards tolerated through the feebleneſs of government, any perſon of eminence accuſed of a crime, was accompanied to the place of trial by a body of his friends and adherents.

at

at being made the inſtrument of deceiving his party, inſtantly repaired to Perth, whither the leaders of the congregation had retired, and inflamed the zeal of his aſſociates, by his repreſentations of the regent's inflexible reſolution to ſuppreſs their religion. His ardour was powerfully ſeconded by the rhetoric of John Knox, a preacher, poſſeſſed of a bold and popular eloquence. Having been carried priſoner into France, together with other perſons taken in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, ſoon after the murder of cardinal Beatoun, Knox had made his eſcape out of that kingdom; and, after reſiding ſome time in Scotland, had found it neceſſary, in order to avoid the vengeance of the popiſh clergy, to retire to Geneva. There he imbibed all the enthuſiaſm, and heightened the natural ferocity of his own character by the ſevere doctrines of Calvin, who had ſucceeded Zuinglius in the apoſtleſhip of that republic, and completed its eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.

Invited home by the heads of the proteſtant party in Scotland, Knox had arrived in his native country a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling, and immediately joined his brethren, that he might ſhare with them in the common danger, as well as in the glory of promoting the common cauſe. In the preſent ferment of men's minds, occaſioned by the regent's deceitful conduct, and the ſenſe of their own danger, he mounted the pulpit, and declaimed with ſuch vehemence againſt the idolatry, and other abuſes of the church of Rome, that his audience was ſtrongly incited to attempt its utter ſubverſion. During thoſe movements of holy indignation, the indiſcreet bigotry of a prieſt, who immediately after that violent invective, was preparing to celebrate maſs, and had opened all his repoſitory of images and reliques, hurried the enthuſiaſtic populace into immediate action. They fell with fury upon the devout catholic, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and ſcattered about the ſacred vaſes. They next proceeded to the monaſteries, againſt which their zeal more particularly pointed its thunder. Not content with expelling the monks, and defacing every implement of idolatrous worſhip, as they termed it, they vented their rage upon the buildings which had been the receptacles of ſuch abominations; and in a few hours, thoſe ſuperb edifices were level with the ground*.

Provoked at theſe violences, and others of a like kind, the queen-regent aſſembled an army, compoſed chiefly of French troops; and being aſſiſted by ſuch of the nobility as ſtill adhered to her cauſe, ſhe determined to inflict the ſevereſt

* Spotſwood. Knox. Hume.

vengeance

vengeance on the whole proteſtant party. Intelligence of her preparations, as well as of the ſpirit by which ſhe was actuated, ſoon reached Perth; and the heads of the congregation, who had given no countenance to the late inſurrection in that city, would gladly have ſoothed her by the moſt dutiful and ſubmiſſive addreſſes; but finding her inexorable, they prepared for reſiſtance, and their adherents flocked to them in ſuch numbers that, within a few days, they were in a condition not only to defend the town, but to take the field with ſuperior forces. Neither party, however, diſcovered much inclination to hazard a battle, both being afraid of the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a trial of ſtrength; and through the mediation of the earl of Argyle, and of James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the young queen's natural brother, who, although cloſely connected with the reformers, had not yet openly deſerted the regent, a treaty was concluded with the congregation.

In this treaty it was ſtipulated, among other proviſions, that indemnity ſhould be granted to all perſons concerned in the late inſurrection, and that the parliament ſhould immediately be aſſembled, in order to compoſe religious differences. Both theſe ſtipulations the queen-regent broke—by neglecting to call the parliament, by fining ſome of the inhabitants of Perth, baniſhing others, turning the magiſtrates out of office, and leaving a garriſon in the town, with orders to allow the exerciſe of no other religion but the Roman catholic*. The proteſtants renewed their league, and had again recourſe to arms; deſpoiling, wherever they turned their route, the churches of their ſacred furniture, and laying the monaſteries in ruins. New treaties were concluded, and again broken, and new ravages were committed on the monuments of eccleſiaſtical pride and luxury.

Meanwhile the congregation had been joined not only by the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, but alſo by the duke of Chatelherault and his ſon the earl of Arran, the preſumptive heirs of the crown, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of the capital. They now aimed at the redreſs of civil as well as religious grievances; requiring, as a preliminary towards ſettling the kingdom, and ſecuring its liberties, the immediate expulſion of the French forces out of Scotland. The queen-regent, ſenſible of the neceſſity of giving way to a torrent which ſhe could not reſiſt, amuſed them for a time with fair promiſes and pretended negociations; but being reinforced with a thouſand foreign troops, and encouraged by the court of France to expect ſoon the arrival of an

* Buchanan.

army ſo powerful, as the zeal of her adverſaries, however deſperate, would not dare to encounter, ſhe liſtened to the raſh counſels of her brothers, and at laſt gave the congregation a poſitive denial. She was not anſwerable to the confederate lords, ſhe ſaid, for any part of her conduct; nor ſhould ſhe, upon any repreſentation from them, abandon meaſures which ſhe deemed neceſſary, or diſmiſs forces that ſhe found uſeful; ordering them, at the ſame time, on pain of her diſpleaſure, and as they valued their allegiance, to diſband the troops which they had aſſembled.

This haughty reply to their earneſt and continued ſolicitations, determined the leaders of the congregation to take a ſtep worthy of a brave and free people. They aſſembled the whole body of peers, barons, and repreſentatives of boroughs, that adhered to their party; and the members of this bold convention (which equalled in number, and exceeded in dignity, the uſual meetings of parliament), after examining the moſt delicate and important queſtion that can poſſibly fall under the conſideration of ſubjects, "the obedience due to an unjuſt "and oppreſſive adminiſtration," gave their ſuffrage, without one diſſenting voice, for depriving Mary of Guiſe of the office of regent, which ſhe had exerciſed ſo much to the detriment of the kingdom*.

The queen-dowager had already retired into Leith, the ſea-port of Edinburgh, which ſhe had fortified and garriſoned with French troops, and where ſhe daily expected new reinforcements. Leith was immediately inveſted by the forces of the congregation; but the confederate lords ſoon found, that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which exceeded their ability to accompliſh. The French garriſon, deſpiſing the tumultuous efforts of raw and undiſciplined troops, refuſed to ſurrender the town; and the proteſtant leaders were neither ſufficiently ſkilful in the art of war, nor poſſeſſed of the artillery or magazines neceſſary for the purpoſe of a ſiege. Nor was this their only misfortune: their followers, accuſtomed to decide every quarrel by immediate action, were ſtrangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and ſoon became impatient of the ſevere and conſtant duty which a ſiege requires. They firſt murmured, then mutinied: the garriſon took advantage of their diſcontents; and making a bold ſally, cut many of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to abandon the enterpriſe.

Soon after this victory, the queen-dowager received from France a new reinforcement of a thouſand veteran foot, and ſome troops of horſe. Theſe, together with a detachment

* Knox.

from the garriſon of Leith, were ſent out to ſcour the co try, and to pillage and lay waſte the houſes and lands of proteſtants. Already broken and diſpirited, and hearing the marquis of Elbeuf, the queen-dowager's brother, ſuddenly expected with a great army, the leaders of the c gregation began to conſider their cauſe as deſperate, ur the Lord, whoſe holy name they had aſſumed, ſhould mir louſly interpoſe in their behalf. But whatever confid they might place in divine aid, they did not neglect hu means.

The Scottiſh proteſtants, in this preſſing extremity, thot themſelves excuſable in craving foreign help. They tu their eyes towards England, which had already ſupplied t with money, and reſolved to implore the aſſiſtance of El beth to enable them to finiſh an undertaking, in which had ſo fatally experienced their own weakneſs; and as ſympathy of religion, as well as regard to civil liberty, now counterbalanced the ancient animoſity againſt that ſi kingdom, this meaſure was the reſult of inclination mo than of intereſt or neceſſity. Maitland of Lethington, merly the regent's principal ſecretary, and Robert Me already acquainted with the intrigues of courts, were th fore ſecretly diſpatched, as the moſt able negociators of party, to ſolicit ſuccours from the queen of England.

The wiſe counſellors of Elizabeth did not long heſitat agreeing to a requeſt, which correſponded ſo perfectly the views and intereſts of their miſtreſs. Secretary Cecil particular, repreſented to the Engliſh queen the neceſſity well as equity, of interpoſing in the affairs of Scotland, of preventing the conqueſt of that kingdom, at which Fr openly aimed. Every ſociety, he obſerved, has a right to fend itſelf, not only from preſent dangers, but from ſuc may probably enſue; the invaſion of England would im diately follow the reduction of the Scottiſh malcontents the abandoning of whom to the mercy of France, Elizal would open a way for her enemies into the heart of own kingdom, and expoſe it to all the calamities of and the danger of conqueſt. Nothing therefore remained added, but to meet the enemy while yet at a diſtance, an ſupporting the leaders of the congregation with an En army, to render Scotland the ſcene of hoſtilities; to c the deſigns of the princes of Lorrain in their infancy; by ſuch an early and unexpected effort, finally to expel French out of Britain, before their power had time to g up to any formidable height *.

* Keith. Append. Forbes. Jebb.

Elizal

Elizabeth, throughout her whole reign, was cautious but deciſive; and by her promptitude in executing her reſolutions, joined to the deliberation with which ſhe formed them, her adminiſtration became as remarkable for its vigour as for its wiſdom. No ſooner did ſhe determine to afford aſſiſtance to the leaders of the congregation, a meaſure to which the reaſoning of Cecil effectually ſwayed her, than they experienced the activity as well as extent of her power. The ſeaſon of the year would not permit her troops to take the field; but, leſt the French army ſhould, in the mean time, receive an acceſſion of ſtrength, ſhe inſtantly ordered a ſquadron to cruiſe in the Frith of Forth, and early in the ſpring an Engliſh army, conſiſting of ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe entered Scotland, under the command of lord Grey of Wilton. A. D. 1560.

The leaders of the congregation aſſembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with vaſt numbers of their followers, the combined army advanced towards Leith. The French, little able to keep the field againſt ſo ſuperior a force, confined themſelves within the walls of the fortification. The place was immediately inveſted; and although the fleet that carried the reinforcement under the marquis of Elbeuf had been ſo ſcattered by a violent ſtorm, and was either wrecked on the coaſt of France, or with difficulty recovered the ports of that kingdom, the garriſon, by an obſtinate defence, protracted the ſiege to a great length *.

Meantime the queen-dowager died; and many of the catholic nobles, jealous of the French power, and more zealous for the liberty and independency of their country than for their religion, ſubſcribed the alliance with England. Nothing therefore could now ſave the garriſon of Leith, but the immediate concluſion of a treaty, or the arrival of a powerful army from France: and the ſituation of that kingdom conſtrained the princes of Lorrain to turn their thoughts, though with reluctance, toward pacific meaſures.

The proteſtants in France were become formidable by their numbers, and ſtill more by the valour and enterpriſing genius of their leaders. Among theſe, the moſt eminent were the prince of Condé, the king of Navarre (no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his abilities than his rank), the admiral de Coligny, and his brother Andelot, who no longer ſcrupled to make open profeſſion of the reformed opinions, aud whoſe high reputation both for valour and conduct gave great credit to the cauſe. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with re-

* Mem. de Caſtelneau.

ſentment againſt the Guiſes, who had perſuaded Francis II. to imitate the rigour of his father, by reviving the penal ſtatures againſt hereſy, the proteſtants or Hugonots, as they were ſtyled by way of reproach, not only prepared for their own defence, but reſolved, by ſome bold action, to anticipate the execution of thoſe ſchemes which threatened the extirpation of their religion, and the ruin of thoſe who profeſſed it. Hence the famous conſpiracy of Amboiſe, where they intended to ſeize the perſon of the king, and wreſt the government out of the hands of the Guiſes, if not to diſpatch them; and although the vigilance and good fortune of the princes of Lorrain diſcovered and diſappointed that deſign, the ſpirit of the proteſtant party was rather rouſed than broken by the tortures inflicted on the conſpirators*. The admiral de Coligny had even the boldneſs to preſent to the king, in a grand council at Fontainbleau, a petition from the Hugonots, demanding the public exerciſe of their religion, unleſs they were allowed to aſſemble privately with impunity. He was treated as an incendiary by the cardinal of Lorrain; but his requeſt was warmly ſeconded by Monluc, biſhop of Valence, and by Marillac archbiſhop of Vienne, who both ſpoke with force againſt the abuſes which had occaſioned ſo many troubles and diſorders, as well as againſt the ignorance and vices of the French clergy. An aſſembly of the ſtates was convoked, in order to appeaſe the public diſcontents; the edicts againſt heretics were, in the mean time, ſuſpended, and an appearance of toleration ſucceeded to the rage of perſecution; but the ſentiments of the court were well known, and it was eaſy to obſerve new ſtorms gathering in every province of the kingdom, and ready to break forth with all the violence of civil war.

This diſtracted ſtate of affairs, called off the ambition of the princes of Lorrain from the views of foreign conqueſts, in order to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown, and made it neceſſary to withdraw the few veteran troops already employed in Scotland, inſtead of ſending new reinforcements into that kingdom. Plenipotentiaries were therefore ſent to Edinburgh, where a treaty was ſigned with the ambaſſadors of Elizabeth. In this treaty, it was ſtipulated, that the French forces ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland, and that Francis and Mary ſhould thenceforth abſtain from aſſuming the title of king and queen of England, or bearing the arms of that kingdom. Nor were the conceſſions granted to the congregation leſs important; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences;

* Davila. Mezeray.

that none but natives ſhould be put into any office in Scotland; that no foreign troops ſhould hereafter be introduced into the kingdom without the conſent of parliament; that the parliament ſhould name twenty-four perſons, out of whom the queen ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the parliament five; and in the hands of theſe twelve, ſo elected, ſhould the whole adminiſtration be veſted during Mary's abſence; that ſhe ſhould neither make peace nor war without conſent of parliament; and that the parliament, at its meeting, which was fixed to a certain day, ſhould take into conſideration the religious differences, and repreſent its ſenſe of them to the king and queen.

A few days after the concluſion of this treaty, both the French and Engliſh armies quitted Scotland; and the leaders of the congregation being now abſolute maſters of the kingdom, made no farther ſcruple or ceremony in completing the work of reformation. The parliament, which was properly an aſſembly of the nobles, or great barons, and dignified clergy, met on the day named; and on this occaſion the burgeſſes and leſſer barons, who had alſo a right to be preſent in that aſſembly, but who ſeldom exerciſed it, ſtood forth to vindicate their civil and religious liberties, eager to aid with their voice in the ſenate, that cauſe which they had defended with their ſword in the field. The proteſtant members, who greatly outnumbered their adverſaries, after ratifying the principal articles of the late treaty, and giving their ſanction to a confeſſion of faith, preſented to them by their teachers, prohibited the exerciſe of religious worſhip according to the rites of the Romiſh church, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, as the puniſhment of the firſt act of diſobedience; baniſhment, as the puniſhment of the ſecond; and death as the reward of the third*. With ſuch indecent haſte did the very perſons who had juſt eſcaped the rigour of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, proceed to imitate thoſe examples of ſeverity, of which they had ſo juſtly complained! a law was alſo paſſed for aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in Scotland; and the preſbyterian form of worſhip was eſtabliſhed, nearly as now conſtituted in A D. 1560. that kingdom.

Francis and Mary refuſed to ratify theſe proceedings; which, by the treaty of Edinburgh, ought to have been preſented for approbation, in the form of deliberations, not of acts. But the Scottiſh proteſtants gave themſelves little trouble about their ſovereign's refuſal. They immediately put the ſtatutes in execution; they aboliſhed the maſs; they

* Spotſwood.

ſettled their miniſters; and they committed furious devaſtations on the ſacred buildings, which they conſidered as dangerous reliques of idolatry, laying waſte every thing venerable and magnificent, that had eſcaped the ſtorm of popular inſurrection. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the ſepulchres of the dead, periſhed in one common ruin *.

United by the conſciouſneſs of ſuch unpardonable ſtretches of authority, and well acquainted with the imperious character of the princes of Lorrain, the proteſtant part of the Scottiſh parliament, ſeeing no ſafety for themſelves but in the protection of England, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Elizabeth, to expreſs their ſincere gratitude for her paſt favours, and repreſent to her the neceſſity of continuing them. Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reaſon to deſire an union with theſe northern reformers. Though the diſorders in France had obliged the princes of Lorrain to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cauſe of the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms, they were determined not to relinquiſh their authority, nor yield to the violence of their enemies. Nor had they yet laid aſide their deſign of ſubverting Elizabeth's throne. Francis and Mary, whoſe councils were ſtill wholly directed by them, obſtinately refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and perſiſted in aſſuming the title and arms of England. Aware of the danger attending ſuch pretenſions, Elizabeth not only promiſed ſupport to the proteſtant party in Scotland, but ſecretly encouraged the French malcontents: and it was with pleaſure that ſhe heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the court of France, and of the formidable oppoſition againſt the meaſures of the duke of Guiſe.

But that oppoſition muſt ſoon have been cruſhed by the vigorous and deciſive adminiſtration of the princes of Lorrain, if an unexpected event had not ſet bounds to their power. They had already found an opportunity of ſeizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they had thrown the former into priſon; they had obtained a ſentence of death againſt the latter; and they were proceeding to put it into execution, when the ſudden death of Francis II. arreſted the uplifted blow, and brought down the
A D. 1561. duke of Guiſe to the level of a ſubject. Catherine of Medicis the queen-mother, was appointed guardian to her ſon Charles IX. only ten years of age at his acceſſion, and inveſted with the adminiſtration of the realm, though not with the title of regent. In conſequence of her maxim "divide and govern!" the king of

* Robertſon. Hume.

Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the ſentence againſt Condé was annulled; the conſtable Montmorency was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorrain, though they ſtill enjoyed high offices and great power, found a counterpoiſe to the weight of their influence.

CHAP. VIII.

Arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in her native Kingdom —Her marriage with Lord Darnley—Murder of Rizzio —Bothwell—Murder of Darnley—Death and Character of Mary—James VI.—Literature.

THE death of Francis II. without iſſue by the queen of Scots, and the change which it produced in the French councils, at once freed the queen of England from the perils attending an union of Scotland with France, and the Scottiſh proteſtants from the terror of the French power. The joy of the congregation was extreme. They aſcribed thoſe events to the immediate interpoſition of Providence, in favour of his choſen people; and Elizabeth without looking ſo high for their cauſes, determined to take advantage of their effects, in order more firmly to eſtabliſh her throne. She ſtill regarded the queen of Scots as a dangerous rival, on account of the number of Engliſh catholics, who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, and would now adhere to her with more zealous attachment, when they ſaw that her ſucceſſion no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom. She therefore gave orders to the ambaſſador at the court of France, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.

Mary ſlighted by the queen-mother, who imputed to that princeſs all the mortifications ſhe had met with during the life of Francis; forſaken by the ſwarm of courtiers, who appear only in the ſunſhine of proſperity, and overwhelmed with all the ſorrow which ſo ſad a reverſe of fortune could occaſion, had retired to Rheims; and there, in ſolitude, indulged her grief, or hid her indignation. But notwithſtanding her diſconſolate condition, and though ſhe had deſiſted, after her huſband's death, from bearing the arms, or aſſuming

the title of England, ſhe ſtill eluded ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, and refuſed to make any ſolemn renunciation of her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown.

Meanwhile James Stuart prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, arrived at Rheims, in deputation from the ſtates of Scotland, inviting the queen to return into her native kingdom. But Mary, though ſeverely ſenſible ſhe was no longer queen of France, was in no haſte to leave a country, where ſhe had been educated from her earlieſt infancy, and where ſo many attentions had been paid to her perſon as well as to her rank. Accuſtomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gaiety of a ſplendid court, and to the converſation of a poliſhed people, by whom ſhe had been loved and admired, ſhe ſtill fondly lingered in the ſcene of all theſe enjoyments, and contemplated with horror the barbariſm of her own country, and the turbulence of her native ſubjects, who had ſo violently ſpurned all civil and religious authority. By the advice of her uncles, however, ſhe determined at laſt to ſet out for Scotland; and as the courſe in ſailing from France to that kingdom, lies along the Engliſh coaſt, ſhe demanded of Elizabeth, by the French ambaſſador D'Oiſel, a ſafe conduct during her voyage. That requeſt, which decency alone obliged one ſovereign to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected in ſuch a manner as gave riſe to no ſlight ſuſpicion of a deſign either to obſtruct the paſſage or intercept the perſon of the queen of Scots.

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. Having cleared the room of her attendants, ſhe ſaid to Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, "How weak "I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may tranſport "me, I cannot tell; however, I am reſolved not to have "ſo many witneſſes of my infirmity as your miſtreſs had "at her audience of my ambaſſador D'Oiſel. There is no-"thing diſturbs me ſo much, as having aſked with ſo much "importunity a favour, which it was of no conſequence for "me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my "own country, without her leave, as I came to France in "ſpite of all the oppoſition of her brother, king Edward: "neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct "me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was "deſirous rather to make an experiment of your miſtreſs's "friendſhip, than of the aſſiſtance of any other perſon*." She embarked on board a galley at Calais; and paſſing the Engliſh fleet, under cover of a thick fog, arrived ſafely at

* Spotſwood.

Leith,

Leith, attended by the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, three of her uncles of the houſe of Lorrain, together with the marquis of Damville and other French courtiers.

The circumſtances of Mary's departure from France are truly affecting. The exceſs of her grief ſeems to have proceeded from a fatal preſage of that ſcene of misfortune on which ſhe was about to enter. Not ſatisfied with mingling tears with her mournful attendants, and bidding them adieu with a ſorrowful heart, ſhe kept her eyes fixed upon the French coaſt, after ſhe was at ſea, and never turned them from that darling object, till darkneſs fell and intercepted it from her view. Even then, ſhe would neither retire to the cabin, nor taſte food; but, commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, ſhe there waited with fond impatience the return of the day. Fortune ſoothed her on this occaſion. The weather proving calm, the galley made but little way during the night, ſo that Mary, at morning, had once more an opportunity of ſeeing the French coaſt. She ſat upon her couch, and ſtill anxiouſly looking toward the land, often repeated with a ſigh, "Farewel, France! Farewel, beloved "country, which I ſhall never more behold *."

The firſt appearance of affairs in Scotland, was more favourable than Mary had reaſon to expect. She was received by her ſubjects with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and every demonſtration of welcome and regard. Being now in her nineteenth year, the bloom of youth, and the beauty and gracefulneſs of her perſon, drew univerſal admiration, while her elegant manners and enlightened underſtanding commanded general reſpect. To the accompliſhments of her own ſex, ſhe added many of the acquiſitions of our's. She was ſkilled in moſt languages, ancient as well as modern. The progreſs ſhe had made in poetry, muſic, rhetoric, and all the arts and ſciences then eſteemed uſeful or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by the ſons or daughters of royalty, who are born and educated as the immediate heirs of a crown; and a courteous affability, which, without leſſening the dignity of a ſovereign, ſteals on the hearts of ſubjects with a bewitching inſinuation, rendered all her other qualities more engaging.

The firſt meaſures of Mary's adminiſtration confirmed the prepoſſeſſions entertained in her favour. According to the advice of D'Oiſel and her uncles, ſhe beſtowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the proteſtant party, who were alone able, ſhe found, to ſupport her government.

* Brantome.

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The prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, whom ſhe ſoon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and under him, Maitland of Lethington, a man of great ſagacity, had a principal ſhare in her confidence. Her choice could not have fallen upon perſons more agreeable to her people.

But there was one circumſtance which blaſted all theſe promiſing appearances, and deprived Mary of that general favour which her amiable manners and prudent meaſures gave her juſt reaſons to expect. She was ſtill a papiſt; and and although ſhe publiſhed, ſoon after her arrival, a proclamation enjoining every one to ſubmit to the reformed religion, as eſtabliſhed by parliament, the more zealous proteſtants could neither be reconciled to a perſon polluted by ſuch an abomination, nor lay aſide their jealouſies of her future conduct. It was with much difficulty ſhe obtained permiſſion to celebrate maſs in her own chapel. "Shall "that idol again be ſuffered to be erected within the realm?" was the common cry; and the uſual prayers in the churches were, that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obſtinate againſt his truth; or if his holy will be otherwiſe, that he would ſtrengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect ſtoutly to oppoſe the rage of all tyrants. Nay, lord Lindſey and the gentlemen of Fife exclaimed, "The *Idolater* ſhall "die the death!"

The ringleader in all theſe inſults on majeſty was John Knox; who poſſeſſed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious uſage of his ſovereign. His uſual appellation for the queen was JEZABEL; and though ſhe endeavoured by the moſt gracious condeſcenſion to win his favour, all her kind advances could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. The pulpits became mere ſtages for railing againſt the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feaſting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their neceſſary attendants.

Curbed in all amuſements, by the abſurd ſeverity of theſe reformers, Mary, whoſe age, condition and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulneſs, found reaſon every moment to look back with a ſigh to that country which ſhe had left. After the departure of the French courtiers, her life was one ſcene of bitterneſs and ſorrow. And ſhe perceived that her only expedient for entertaining tranquillity, while ſurrounded by a turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and inſolent eccleſiaſtics, was to preſerve a friendly correſpondence with Elizabeth; who, by former connections and ſervices, had acquired much authority over all ranks of men in Scotland.

Scotland. She therefore ſent Maitland of Lethington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the Engliſh queen, and expreſs a deſire of future good underſtanding between them. Maitland was alſo inſtructed, to ſignify Mary's willingneſs to renounce all preſent right to the crown of England, provided ſhe was declared, by act of parliament, next heir to the ſucceſſion, in caſe the queen ſhould die without offspring. But ſo great was the jealous prudence of Elizabeth, that ſhe never would hazard the weakening of her authority by naming a ſucceſſor, or allow the parliament to interpoſe in that matter; much leſs would ſhe make, or permit ſuch a nomination to be made, in favour of a rival queen, who poſſeſſed pretenſions ſo plauſible to ſupplant her, and who, though ſhe might verbally renounce them, could eaſily reſume her claim on the firſt opportunity. Senſible, however, that reaſon would be thought to lie wholly on Mary's ſide, as ſhe herſelf had frequently declared her reſolution to live and die a virgin-queen, ſhe thenceforth ceaſed to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and though farther conceſſions were never made by either princeſs, they put on all the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendſhip with each other.

Elizabeth ſaw, that without her interpoſition, Mary was ſufficiently depreſſed by the mutinous ſpirit of her own ſubjects. Having therefore no apprehenſions from Scotland, nor any deſire to take part at preſent in its affairs, ſhe directed her attention to other objects. After concerting the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of her kingdom and the happineſs of her people, ſhe turned an eye of obſervation toward the great powers on the continent. France being ſtill agitated by religious factions, big with all the horrors of civil war, excited leſs the jealouſy than the compaſſion of its neighbours; ſo that Spain, of all the European kingdoms, could alone be conſidered as the formidable rival of England. Accordingly an animoſity, firſt political, then perſonal, ſoon appeared between the ſovereigns of the two crowns.

Philip II. as has been already obſerved, immediately after concluding the peace of Chateau-Cambreſis, commenced a furious perſecution againſt the proteſtants in Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. That violent ſpirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, gave new edge even to the uſual cruelty of prieſts and inquiſitors. He threw into priſon Conſtantine Ponce, who had been confeſſor to his father Charles V. and in whoſe arms that great prince had breathed his laſt. This venerable eccleſiaſtic died in confinement; but Philip ordered, nevertheleſs, the ſentence of hereſy to be pronounced againſt his memory: he even deliberated

berated whether he ſhould not exerciſe like ſeverity againſt the memory of his father, who was ſuſpected, during his latter years, of indulging a propenſity towards Lutheraniſm. In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition. He appeared with an inflexible countenance at the moſt barbarous executions; and he iſſued rigorous orders for the proſecution of heretics, even in his American dominions. The limits of the globe ſeemed only enlarged to extend human miſery.

Having founded his deliberate tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, Philip made it evident to all his ſubjects, that there were no means of eſcaping the ſeverity of his vengeance, except by the moſt abject compliance or obſtinate reſiſtance. And by thus placing himſelf at the head of the catholic party, the determined champion of the Romiſh church, he every where converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partiſans of Spaniſh greatneſs.

Happily the adherents of the new doctrines were not without a ſupporter, nor the Spaniſh greatneſs without a counterpoiſe. The courſe of events had placed Elizabeth in a ſituation diametrically oppoſite to that of Philip. Fortune guiding choice, and concurring with policy and inclination, had raiſed her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the ſtay of the numerous, but generally perſecuted proteſtants throughout Europe. And ſhe united her intereſts, in all foreign negociations, with thoſe who were ſtruggling for their civil and religious liberties, or guarding themſelves againſt ruin and extermination. Hence the animoſity between her and Philip.

While the queen of Scots continued in France, and aſſerted her claim to the ſouthern Britiſh kingdom, the dread of uniting England to the French monarch, engaged the king of Spain to maintain a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. But no ſooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehenſions in regard to Mary's ſucceſſion, than his rancour began openly to appear, and the intereſts of Spain and England were found oppoſite in every negociation and public tranſaction. Philip, contrary to the received maxims of policy in that age, ſaw an advantage in ſupporting the power of the French monarch; and Elizabeth, by a concurrence of circumſtances no leſs ſingular, in protecting a faction ready to ſubvert it.

Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother of France, in conſequence of her maxim of dividing in order to govern, only increaſed the troubles of the ſtate. By balancing the catholics againſt the proteſtants, the duke of Guiſe againſt the prince of Conde, ſhe endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both,

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and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrained obedience. But an equal counterpoiſe of power, which, among foreign nations, is the ſource of tranquillity, proves always the cauſe of quarrel among domeſtic factions; and if the animoſities of religion concur with the frequent occaſions of mutual injury, it is impoſſible to preſerve, for any time, a firm concord in ſuch a ſituation. Moved by zeal for the ancient faith, the conſtable Montmorency joined himſelf to the duke of Guiſe; the king of Navarre, from his inconſtant temper, and his jealouſy of the ſuperior genius of his brother, embraced the ſame party; and the queen-mother, finding herſelf depreſſed by this combination, had recourſe to Condé and the Hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themſelves by her countenance and protection. A. D. 1562.

An edict had been publiſhed in the beginning of the year, granting to the Hugonots or proteſtants, the free exerciſe of their religion, without the walls of towns; provided they taught nothing contrary to the council of Nice, to the Apoſtles' Creed, or the books of the Old and New Teſtament. This edict had been preceded by a famous conference, held at Poiſſy, between the divines of the two religions; in which the cardinal of Lorrain, on the part of the catholics, and the learned Theodore Beza, on that of the proteſtants, diſplayed, beyond others, their eloquence and powers of argument. The proteſtant divines boaſted of having greatly the advantage in the diſpute, and the conceſſion of liberty of conſcience, made their followers happy in that opinion. But the intereſted violence of the duke of Guiſe, or the intemperate zeal of his attendants, broke once more the tranquillity of religion, and gave a beginning to a frightful civil war. Paſſing by the little town of Vaſſy, on the frontiers of Champagne, where ſome proteſtants having aſſembled in a barn under the ſanction of the edict, were peaceably worſhipping God in their own way, his retinue wantonly inſulted them. A tumult enſued: the duke himſelf was ſtruck, it is ſaid, with a ſtone: and ſixty of the unarmed multitude were ſacrificed in revenge of that pretended or provoked injury, and in open violation of the public faith *.

The proteſtants all over the kingdom, were alarmed at this maſſacre, and aſſembled in arms under Condé, Coligny, and Andelot, their moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders; while the duke of Guiſe and the conſtable Montmorency, having got poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, obliged the queen-mother to join the catholic party. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. Each province, each

* Henault.

city, each family, was diſtracted with inteſtine rage and animoſity. The father was divided againſt the ſon, brother againſt brother; and women themſelves, ſacrificing their humanity, as well as their timidity, to the religious fury, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by acts of valour and cruelty. Wherever the proteſtants prevailed the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demoliſhed, the monaſteries conſumed with fire; and where ſucceſs attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptiſed the infants, and forced married perſons to paſs anew through the ceremony. Plunder, deſolation, and blood-ſhed, attended equally the triumph of both parties; and, to uſe the words of a profound hiſtorian, it was during that period, "when men began to be ſomewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for poliſhed manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, ſeems to have attained its laſt ſtage of virulence and acrimony *."

Philip II. jealous of the progreſs of the hugonots, who had made themſelves maſters of Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angiers, Angouleſme, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and other places of leſs note; and afraid that the contagion might ſpread into the Low Countries, had formed a ſecret alliance with the princes of Lorrain, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. In conſequence of that alliance, he now ſent ſix thouſand men to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe ſo ſtrong a confederacy countenanced by royal authority, was obliged to crave the aſſiſtance of the queen of England. As an inducement, he offered to put her in poſſeſſion of Havre de Grace; on condition that, together with three thouſand men for the garriſon of the place, ſhe ſhould likewiſe ſend over other three thouſand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furniſh him with a ſupply of one hundred thouſand crowns.

Elizabeth, beſides the general and eſſential intereſt of ſupporting the proteſtants, and oppoſing the rapid progreſs of her enemy the duke of Guiſe, had other motives to induce her to accept of this propoſal. She was now ſenſible, that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article in the treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis, which regarded the reſtitution of Calais; and wiſely concluded that could ſhe get poſſeſſion of Havre de Grace, which commands the mouth of the Seine, ſhe ſhould eaſily conſtrain the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of reſtoring Calais to England. She therefore ſent over immediately three thouſand men, under the command of ſir Edward Poynings, and three

* Hume.

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thouſand more ſoon after, under the earl of Warwick, who took poſſeſſion of Havre. But Rouen having been inveſted by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and the conſtable Montmorency, before the arrival of the Engliſh, it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a ſmall reinforcement into the place; and although the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the ſiege, the catholics ſtill continued the attack with vigour. The town was at laſt carried by aſſault, and the garriſon and inhabitants put to the ſword.

It was now expected that the catholics, flushed with ſucceſs, would immediately form the ſiege of Havre, which was as yet in no ſtate of defence; but the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom diverted their attention to another enterprize. Andelot, ſeconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a conſiderable army in Germany; and arriving at Orleans, the ſeat of the proteſtant power in France, he enabled the prince of Condé and Coligny to take the field, and oppoſe the progreſs of their enemies. After threatening Paris for ſometime, they took their march toward Normandy, with a view of engaging the Engliſh to act in conjunction with them. The catholics commanded by Montmorency, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, hung on the rear of the Hugonots, and overtaking them near Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with much obſtinacy on both ſides, and the action was diſtinguiſhed by a very ſingular event. Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, both remained priſoners in the hands of their enemies: and what is yet more ſingular, the prince not only ſupped at the ſame table, but lay all night in the ſame bed with his hoſtile rival the duke of Guiſe *!

So unaccountable were the manners of that age, which could blend the moſt rancorous animoſity with a familiar hoſpitality, that appears altogether diſguſting in theſe days of ſuperior refinement.

The ſemblance of victory remained with the catholics; but Coligny, whoſe lot it was ever to be defeated, and ever to riſe more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the proteſtant army, and inſpiring his own unconquerable courage into every breaſt, not only kept them in a body, but took ſome conſiderable places in Normandy; and Elizabeth, in order to enable him to ſupport the cauſe of his party, ſent over a new ſupply of an hundred thouſand crowns. Meanwhile the duke of Guiſe, aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Hugonots, had commenced the ſiege of Orleans, of which Andelot A. D. 1563.

* Mezeray.

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was governor, and where Montmorency was detained priſoner: and he had the proſpect of ſpeedy ſucceſs in his undertaking, when he was aſſaſſinated by a young gentleman, named Poltrot, whoſe fanatical zeal for the intereſts of the proteſtant religion inſtigated him to that atrocious violence.

The death of this great man was an irreparable loſs to the catholic party. His brother the cardinal of Lorrain, though eloquent, ſubtle, and intriguing, wanted that enterpriſing and undaunted ſpirit, which had rendered the ambition of the duke ſo formidable; and therefore, though he ſtill purſued the bold ſchemes of his family, the danger of their progreſs appeared not now ſo imminent either to Elizabeth or the French proteſtants. Of courſe, the union between theſe allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, was in ſome meaſure looſened; and the leaders of the Hugonots were perſuaded to liſten to terms of a ſeparate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency, equally tired of captivity, accordingly held conferences for that purpoſe, and ſoon came to an agreement with reſpect to the conditions. A toleration of their religion under certain reſtrictions, was again granted to the proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed, and every one was reinſtated in his offices, dignities, and all civil rights and privileges.

The leaders of the proteſtants only comprehended Elizabeth ſo far in this treaty as to obtain a promiſe, that, on her relinquiſhing Havre de Grace her charges and the money which ſhe had advanced them, ſhould be repaid her by the king of France; and that Calais, on the expiration of the ſtipulated term, ſhould be reſtored to her. Diſdaining to accept theſe conditions, ſhe ſent Warwick orders to prepare himſelf againſt an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The garriſon of Havre conſiſted of ſix thouſand men, independent of ſeven hundred pioneers: and a reſolute defence was expected. But a contagious diſtemper made its appearance among the Engliſh troops; and being increaſed by their fatigue and bad diet, made ſuch ravages in a ſhort time, that there did not remain fifteen hundred men in a condition to do duty. Warwick, who had frequently warned the Engliſh miniſtry of his danger, and loudly demanded a ſupply of men and proviſions, was therefore obliged to capitulate, and content himſelf with the liberty of withdrawing his garriſon *.

Elizabeth, whoſe uſual vigour and foreſight had failed her in this tranſaction, now found it neceſſary to accede to a compromiſe; and as the queen-mother of France deſired to

* Forbes.

obtain leiſure, in order to concert meaſures for the extirpation of the Hugonots, ſhe readily hearkened to any reaſonable terms of accommodation with England. It was accordingly agreed, that the hoſtages which the French had given for the reſtitution of Calais, ſhould be delivered up for two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns; and that both parties ſhould retain all their pretenſions.

Peace ſtill ſubſiſted between England and Scotland; and a cordial friendſhip even ſeemed to have taken place between Elizabeth and Mary. They made profeſſions of the moſt ſincere affection: they wrote complimentary letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the ſentiments as well as the ſtyle of ſiſters. But the negociations for the marriage of the queen of Scots awakened anew the jealouſy of Elizabeth, and roufed the zeal of the Scottiſh reformers. Mary's hand was ſolicited A. D. 1564. by the archduke Charles, the emperor's third ſon; by Don Carlos, heir apparent to the Spaniſh monarchy; and by the duke of Anjou, her former huſband's brother, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the crown of France. Either of thoſe foreign alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth, and to Mary's proteſtant ſubjects. She therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding the arguments of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, to ſacrifice her ambition to domeſtic peace; and as Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Lennox, was the firſt Britiſh ſubject whom ſound policy ſeemed to point out to her choice, ſhe determined to make him the partner of her ſway.

Darnley was Mary's couſin-german by lady Margaret Douglas, neice to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He was, after herſelf, next heir to the Engliſh crown. He was alſo, by his father, a branch of her own family; and would, in eſpouſing her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had conſtantly reſided, ſince baniſhed by the prevailing power of the houſe of Hamilton; and as Elizabeth had often inſinuated to the queen of Scots, that nothing would ſo completely allay all jealouſy between them, as Mary's eſpouſing an Engliſh nobleman, the proſpect of the ready approbation of that rival queen was an additional motive for the propoſed marriage.

But although Mary, as queen, ſeemed to be ſolely influenced by political conſiderations in the choice of a royal concert, ſhe had other motives, as a woman, for ſingling out Darnley as a huſband. He was in the full bloom and vigour of youth, tall, and well proportioned, and ſurpaſſed all the men of his time in every exterior grace. He eminently excelled

in all the arts, which diſplayed a handſome perſon to advantage, and which, in poliſhed nations, are dignified with the name of elegant accompliſhments. Mary was at an age, and of a complexion, to feel the force of ſuch attractions. Lord Darnley accordingly made a conqueſt of her heart at their firſt interview. And it cannot be doubted but ſhe made a deep impreſſion upon his. Thus inclination conſpired with policy to promote their union; nor was it once ſuſpected, that any oppoſition would be made by the Engliſh queen.

Secretly Elizabeth was not diſpleaſed with Mary's choice; as it freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the neceſſity of parting with the earl of Leiceſter, her own handſome favourite, whom ſhe had propoſed as a huſband to the queen of Scots. But beſides a womaniſh jealouſy and envy, proceeding from a conſciouſneſs of Mary's ſuperior charms, which led her on all occaſions to thwart the matrimonial views of that princeſs, certain ungenerous political motives, induced her to ſhew a diſapprobation of the projected marriage with Darnley, though ſhe either did not wiſh, or was ſenſible that ſhe could not obſtruct it. By declaring her diſſatisfaction with Mary's conduct, Elizabeth hoped to alarm the party in Scotland that was attached to the Engliſh intereſt; and to raiſe, by their means, inteſtine commotions, which would not only ſecure her own kingdom from all diſturbance on that ſide, but enable her to become the umpire between the Scottiſh queen and her contending ſubjects.

The ſcheme immediately ſucceeded in part, and afterward had its full effect. The earl of Murray, and other proteſtant noblemen, were the dupes of Elizabeth's intrigues. Under pretence of zeal for the reformed religion, becauſe the family of Lennox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith, but in reality to ſupport their own ſinking authority, they formed among themſelves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence. They entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh reſident, in order to ſecure Elizabeth's aſſiſtance, when it ſhould become neceſſary; and deſpairing of being able to prevent the marriage of the queen of Scots by any other means, they concerted meaſures for ſeizing Darnley, and carrying him priſoner into England. They failed, however, in the attempt; and Mary having obtained the general conſent of the Scottiſh nation, and being anxious to bring to a period an affair which had long engaged her heart, and occupied her attention, celebrated her marriage
A. D. 1565. with the captivating young noble man who had been the object of their conſpiracy.

Conſiderable

Conſcious that all hopes of reconciliation were now at an end, the aſſociated lords aſſembled their followers and flew to arms; but by the vigour and activity of Mary, who appeared herſelf at the head of her troops, rode with loaded piſtols, and endured, with admirable fortitude, all the fatigues of war, the rebels were obliged to fly into England. There they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and which ſtrongly marks the character of Elizabeth. That politic princeſs had already effectually ſerved her purpoſe, by exciting in Scotland, through their means, ſuch diſcord and jealouſies as would in all probability long diſtract and weaken Mary's government. It was now her buſineſs to ſave appearances; and as the malcontents had failed of ſucceſs, ſhe thought proper to diſavow all connexion with them. She would not even grant an audience to the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, appointed by the other fugitives to wait on her, till they had meanly conſented to acknowledge, in the preſence of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who accuſed her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues, that ſhe had given them no encouragement to take up arms. "You have ſpoken the truth!" replied ſhe, as ſoon as they had made this declaration: "I am far from ſet-"ing an example of rebellion to my own ſubjects, by coun-"tenancing thoſe who rebel againſt their lawful ſovereign. "The treaſon of which you have been guilty, is deteſtable; "and as traitors, I baniſh you my preſence." So little feeling had ſhe for men, who out of confidence in her promiſes had hazarded their lives and fortunes to ſerve her!

The Scottiſh exiles, finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated by Elizabeth, had recourſe to the clemency of their own ſovereign; and Mary, whoſe temper naturally inclined her to lenity, ſeemed determined to reſtore them to favour, when the arrival of an ambaſſador from France altered her reſolution. The peace granted to the reformers A. D. 1566. in that kingdom, was intended only to lull them aſleep, and prepare the way for their final and abſolute deſtruction. For this purpoſe, an interview had been appointed at Bayonne, between Charles IX. now in his ſixteenth year, and his ſiſter the queen of Spain. Catherine of Medicis accompanied her ſon; the duke of Alva attended his miſtreſs. Gaity, feſtivity, love, and joy, ſeemed to be the ſole occupation of both courts; but under theſe ſmiling appearances was hatched a ſcheme the moſt bloody and the moſt deſtructive to the repoſe of mankind that had ever been ſuggeſted by ſuperſtition to the human heart. Nothing leſs was reſolved upon and concerted than the extermination of the Hugonots in France, the proteſtants in the Low Coun-

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marriage Rizzio promoted, in hopes of acquiring a new patron, while he co-operated with his miſtreſs's wiſhes.

But this marriage, ſo natural and ſo inviting in all its circumſtances, diſappointed the expectations both of the queen and her favourite, and terminated in events the moſt ſhocking to humanity. Allured by the ſtature, ſymmetry, and exterior accompliſhments of Darnley, Mary in her choice had over-looked the qualities of his mind, which correſponded ill with thoſe of his perſon. Violent, yet variable, in his temper, ſhe could neither by her gentleneſs bridle his inſolent and imperious ſpirit, nor preſerve him by her vigilance from raſh and imprudent actions. Of mean underſtanding, but, like moſt fools, conceited of his own abilities, he was devoid of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, to drunkenneſs and debauchery, he was incapable of any true ſentiments of love or tenderneſs. All Mary's fondneſs and generoſity made no laſting impreſſion on ſuch a heart. He became, by degrees, careleſs of her perſon, and a ſtranger to her company. To a woman and a queen ſuch behaviour was intolerable; but more eſpecially to Mary, who poſſeſſed great ſenſibility of temper, and who, in the firſt effuſions of her love, had taken a pride in exalting her huſband beyond meaſure. She had granted him the title of King, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts. Her diſappointed paſſion was therefore as violent, when rouſed into reſentment, as her firſt affection had been ſtrong; and his behaviour appeared ungenerous and criminal, in proportion to the diſtance ſhe had ſtooped to raiſe him, and the honour and conſequence to which ſhe had lifted him.

The heart, ſore from the wounds and the agitations of unrequited love, naturally ſeeks the repoſe, the conſolation, and the lenient aſſuaſives of friendſhip. Rizzio ſtill poſſeſſed the confidence of Mary; and as the brutal behaviour of her huſband rendered a confident now more neceſſary, ſhe ſeems not only to have made uſe of her ſecretary's company, and his muſical talents, to ſoothe her diſquieted boſom, but, to have imprudently ſhared with him her domeſtics griefs. But the aſſuming vanity of the upſtart, who affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public, and who boaſted of his intimacy in private; the dark and ſuſpicious mind of Darnley, who, inſtead of imputing Mary's coldneſs to his own miſconduct, which had ſo juſtly deſerved it, aſcribed the change in her behaviour (ſo different from the firſt and happy days of their union!) to the influence of a new paſſion, together with the rigid auſterity of the Scottiſh clergy, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to ſpread their opinion among the peo-

ple, ever ready to liſten to any ſlander on the court; and the enemies of the favourite, no leſs ready to take advantage of any popular clamour, made it a pretence for their unjuſt and inhuman vengeance.

Rizzio, who had connected his intereſts with the Roman Catholics, was the declared enemy of the baniſhed lords; and by promoting the violent proſecution againſt them, he had expoſed himſelf to the animoſity of their numerous friends and adherents. Among theſe were the lords Ruthven and Lindſay, the earl of Morton, and Maitland of Lethington. While they were ruminating upon their grievances, and the means of redreſs, the king communicated his reſolution to be avenged of Rizzio to lord Ruthven, and implored his aſſiſtance and that of his friends toward the execution of his deſign. Nothing could be more acceptable to the whole party than ſuch an overture. The murder of the favourite was inſtantly agreed upon, and as quickly carried into execution. Morton having ſecured the gates of the palace with an hundred and ſixty armed men, the king, accompanied by other conſpirators, entered the queen's apartment, by a private paſſage, while ſhe was at ſupper with her natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few more of her courtiers. Mary, who was now in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, alarmed at ſuch an unuſual viſit, demanded the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They anſwered her by pointing to Rizzio; who immediately apprehending that he was the devoted victim, retired behind the queen's chair, and ſeized her by the waiſt, hoping that the reſpect due to her royal perſon would prove ſome protection to him. But the conſpirators had gone too far to be reſtrained by punctilios. George Douglas, one of their number, laying hold of Darnley's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rizzio; who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary, and puſhed into the antichamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds; the unhappy princeſs continuing her lamentations, while they were perpetrating their horrid intent. Being informed however of his fate, Mary at once dried her tears, and ſaid "I will "weep no more, I will now think of revenge." She therefore concealed her reſentment, and ſo far impoſed upon Darnley, her huſband, that he put himſelf under her protection, and ſoon after attended her to Edinburgh, where he was told the place would be favourable to his declining health. Mary lived in the palace of Holyrood-houſe; but as the ſituation of that place was low, and the concourſe of perſons about the court neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate, ſhe fitted up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk

of

of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindneſs and attachment; ſhe converſed cordially with him, and ſlept ſome nights in a room near to him. It was on the ninth of February that ſhe told him ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was to be there celebrated in her preſence. But dreadful conſequences enſued. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole city was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe. The houſe in which Darnley lay was blown up with gunpowder. His dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field, without any marks of violence or contuſion *. No doubt could be entertained but that Darnley was murdered; and the general ſuſpicion fell upon Bothwell, a perſon lately taken into Mary's favour, as the perpetrator.

One crime led on to another. Bothwell, though accuſed of being ſtained with her huſband's blood, and though univerſally odious to the people, had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling, on a viſit to her ſon, to ſeize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horſe, and to carry her to Dunbar, but ſeemingly with her own conſent; for a very reſpectable writer, who was himſelf one of Mary's attendants, tells us "not only that he ſaw no ſigns of reluctance, but that he was informed the whole tranſaction was "managed in concert with her †." It was then thought by the people that the meaſure of his crimes was complete; and that he who was ſuppoſed to kill the queen's huſband, and to have offered violence to her perſon, could expect no mercy. But they were aſtoniſhed upon finding, inſtead of diſgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and to crown all, that he was married to Mary, having divorced his own wife to procure this union. Some ſuſpicion had always been entertained that the queen was no ſtranger to the crime of her huſband's murder; and her ſubſequent conduct, with regard to Bothwell, afforded a ſtrong preſumption of their mutual guilt ‡. The conſequence of which was an inſurrection of her ſubjects, from whom ſhe fled into England, where ſhe was ungenerouſly detained a priſoner for eighteen years; and afterwards, on motives of ſtate policy, beheaded by queen Elizabeth, in the forty-ſixth year of her age. A. D. 1587.

The political parties which were formed in the kingdom, during her reign, have ſubſiſted under various denominations, ever ſince that time. The rancour with which they were at firſt animated hath deſcended to ſucceeding ages, and their

* Spotſwood. † Melvil. ‡ Anderſon. Keith. Knox. Gordal.

prejudices, as well as their rage, have been perpetuated, and even augmented. Among hiſtorians, who were under the dominion of all theſe paſſions, and who have either aſcribed to her every virtuous and amiable quality, or have imputed to her all the vices, of which the human heart is ſuſceptible, we ſearch in vain for Mary's real character. She neither merited the exaggerated praiſes of the one, nor the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure of the other.

To all the charms of beauty, and the utmoſt elegance of external form, ſhe added theſe accompliſhments which render their impreſſion irreſiſtible. Polite, affable, inſinuating, ſprightly, and capable of ſpeaking and of writing with equal eaſe and dignity;—ſudden, however, and violent in all her attachments, becauſe her heart was warm and unſuſpicious;—impatient of contradiction, becauſe ſhe had been accuſtomed from her infancy to be treated as a queen;—no ſtranger, on ſome occaſions, to diſſimulation; which, in that perfidious court where ſhe received her education, was reckoned among the neceſſary arts of government;—not inſenſible of flattery, or unconſcious of that pleaſure, with which almoſt every woman beholds the influence of her own beauty;—formed with the qualities which we love, not with the talents that we admire, ſhe was an agreeable woman, rather than an illuſtrious queen. The vivacity of her ſpirit not ſufficiently tempered with ſound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not at all times under the reſtraint of diſcretion, betrayed her both into errors, and into crimes. To ſay that ſhe was always unfortunate, will not account for that long and almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of calamities which befel her; we muſt likewiſe add, that ſhe was often imprudent. Her paſſion for Darnley was raſh, youthful, and exceſſive; and though the ſudden tranſition to the oppoſite extreme was the natural effect of ill-requited love, and of his ingratitude, inſolence, and brutality, yet neither theſe, nor Bothwell's artful addreſs, and artful ſervices can juſtify her attachment to that nobleman. Even the manners of the age, licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy paſſion; nor can they induce us to look on that tragical and infamous ſcene which followed upon it with leſs abhorrence. Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her character which it cannot approve, and may, perhaps, prompt ſome to impute ſeveral of her actions to her ſituation, more than to her diſpoſition; and to lament the unhappineſs of the former, rather than accuſe the perverſeneſs of the latter. Mary's ſufferings exceed, both in degree and in duration, thoſe tragical diſtreſſes which fancy has feigned to excite ſorrow and commiſeration; and while we ſurvey them, we are apt altogether to forget

her frailties; we think of her faults with leſs indignation, and approve of our tears, as if they were ſhed for a perſon, who had attained much nearer to pure virtue.

With regard to the queen's perſon, all contemporary authors agree in aſcribing to Mary the utmoſt beauty of countenance, and elegance of ſhape, of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black, though, according to the faſhion of that age, ſhe frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey; her complexion was exquiſitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to ſhape and colour. Her ſtature was of an height that roſe to the majeſtic. She danced, ſhe walked, and rode with equal grace. Her taſte for muſic was juſt, and ſhe both ſung and played upon the lute with uncommon ſkill. Towards the end of her life, long confinement, and the coldneſs of the houſes in which ſhe had been impriſoned, brought on a rheumatiſm, which often deprived her of the uſe of her limbs. "No man," ſays a ſenſible writer, "ever beheld her perſon without admiration "and love, or will read her hiſtory without ſorrow *."

James VI. ſucceeded his unfortunate mother in Scotland, and, on the death of Elizabeth, acceded to the throne of England by the title of James I. From this period the hiſtory of Scotland is cloſely interwoven with the affairs of England. In the reign of queen Anne, the two kingdoms were united, and took the ſtile A. D. 1707. and title of Great Britain.

The deſtruction of the Scotch monuments of *learning* and *antiquity* has rendered their early annals lame, and often fabulous; but the Latin ſtyle of *Buchanan's Hiſtory* is to this day the moſt claſſical of all modern productions. The diſcovery of the *logarithms*, a diſcovery which in point of ingenuity and utility, may vie with any that has been made in modern times, is the indiſputable right of Napier of Merchiſton. Of all the writers on *aſtronomy*, Gregory is allowed to be one of the moſt perfect and elegant. Maclaurin, the companion and the friend of ſir Iſaac Newton, was endowed with all that preciſion and force of mind, which rendered him peculiarly fitted for bringing down the ideas of that great man to the level of ordinary apprehenſions, and for diffuſing that light through the world, which Newton had confined within the ſphere of the learned. Dr. Simſon's Elements of Euclid, and his Conic Sections, are ſufficient of themſelves to eſtabliſh the ſcientific reputation of his country. In medicine, the names of Pitcairn, Arbuthnot, Monro, Smellie, and Cullen, hold a diſtinguiſhed place.

* Brantome.

Nor

Nor have the Scots been unſucceſsful in cultivating th Belles Lettres. Foreigners who inhabit warmer climate and conceive the northern nations incapable of tenderne and feeling, are aſtoniſhed at the poetic genius and delicat ſenſibility of Thomſon. But of all literary purſuits, that c rendering mankind more virtuous and happy, which is th proper object of what is called *morals*, ought to be regarde with peculiar honour and reſpect. The philoſophy of D Hutcheſon, not to mention other works more ſubtle an elegant, but leſs convincing and leſs inſtructive, deſerves be read by all who would know their duty, or who wou wiſh to practiſe it. Next to Locke's Eſſay on the Huma Underſtanding, it is perhaps the beſt diſſection of the huma mind that hath appeared in modern times, and it is likew the moſt uſeful ſupplement to that Eſſay. In hiſtorical com poſition Hume and Robertſon are unrivalled.

CHAP. IX.

IRELAND.

Ancient Iriſh—Roderic O'Connor—Conqueſt of Ireland Henry II.

THE Iriſh antiquaries carry their hiſtory up to abo five hundred years before the chriſtian æra, at whi time they aſſert, that a colony of Scythians, immediate from Spain, ſettled in Ireland, where they introduced t Phœnician language and letters. About the middle of t fifth century, the great apoſtle of Ireland, St. Patrick, w employed in the propagation of Chriſtianity in this count After this period, Ireland was occaſionally invaded by t Saxon kings of England; the Danes alſo and the Norma or, as they were called, the Eaſterlings, invaded the coaſts Ireland, and were the firſt who erected ſto
A. D. 798. edifices in that kingdom. The common ha tations of the Iriſh, till that time, were hurd covered with ſtraw and ruſhes, and but very few of ſo timber. The natives defended themſelves bravely againſt t Eaſterlings, who built Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, We ford, and Cork; but they reſided chiefly at Dublin, or in i neig

neighbourhood, which, by the Old Iriſh, was called Fingal, or the *Land of Strangers* *.

In the twelfth century, Henry the Second of England formed a deſign of annexing Ireland to his dominions. He is ſaid to have been induced to this by the provocation he had received from ſome of the Iriſh chieftains, who had afforded conſiderable aſſiſtance to his enemies. His deſign was patronized by the pope, and a fair pretext of attacking Ireland offered about the year 1168. Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinſter, and an oppreſſive tyrant, quarrelled with all his neighbours, and carried off the wife of a petty prince, O'Roirk. A confederacy being formed againſt him, under Roderic O'Connor (who it ſeems was the paramount king of Ireland) he was driven from his country, and took refuge in the court of Henry II. who promiſed to reſtore him, upon taking an oath of fidelity to the crown of England for himſelf, and all the petty kings depending on him, who were very numerous. Henry, who was then in France, recommended Mac Dermot's cauſe to the Engliſh barons, and particularly to Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, Robert Fitz Stephen, and Maurice Fitz Gerald. Thoſe noblemen undertook the expedition upon much the ſame principles as the Norman and Breton lords did the conqueſt of England under William I. and Strongbow was to marry Mac Dermot's daughter Eva. In 1169, the adventurers reduced the towns of Wexford and Waterford; and the next year Strongbow arriving with a ſtrong reinforcement, his marriage was celebrated.

The deſcendants of the Danes continued ſtill poſſeſſed of Dublin, which, after ſome ineffectual oppoſition made by king O'Connor, was taken and plundered by the Engliſh ſoldiers; but Mac Turkil, the Daniſh king, eſcaped to his ſhipping. Upon the death of Dermot, Henry II. became jealous of earl Strongbow, ſeized upon his eſtate in England and Wales, and recalled his ſubjects from Ireland. The Iriſh, about the ſame time, to the amount of above ſixty thouſand, beſieged Dublin, under king O'Connor; but though all Strongbow's Iriſh friends and allies had now left him, and the city was reduced to great extremity, he forced the Iriſh to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs; and going over to England, he appeaſed Henry by ſwearing fealty to him and his heirs, and reſigning into his hand all the Iriſh cities and forts he held. During Strongbow's abſence, Mac Turkil returned with a great fleet, attempted to retake the city of Dublin, but was killed at the ſiege; and in him ended the race of the Eaſterling princes in Ireland.

* Dr. Leland.

Henry

Henry II. attended by four hundred knights, four thou-
ſand veteran ſoldiers, and the flower of his Eng-
A. D. 1172. gliſh nobility, landed near Waterford. Th
profeſſed deſign of his expedition was not t
conquer but to take poſſeſſion of a country granted to hi
by the pope, and to exerciſe a ſovereignty which he affect
to believe muſt be acknowledged and obeyed without t
leaſt difficulty or reluctance. Amidſt the acclamations
joy at the arrival of this new ſovereign *, earl Strongb
made a formal ſurrender of Waterford, and did homage
Henry for the principality of Leinſter. The men of We
ford were at hand with their priſoner Fitz-Stephen, wh
they preſented to the king, repeating their accuſations, an
imploring juſtice againſt their tyrant and oppreſſor. Henr
received them with an affected commiſeration of the
wrongs, too groſs to impoſe on any but the rude and inex
perienced; aſſured them of his protection, and ſternly re
proaching Fitz-Stephen for his preſumption, remanded hi
to priſon. The Iriſh were rejoiced to find that they had no
only eſcaped the puniſhment due to their perfidy and cruelty
but that they had involved their enemy in danger and diſ
grace; and Fitz-Stephen was the leſs mortified, as he wel
knew the purchaſe of his liberty, and that he muſt of neceſ
ſity reſign all his Iriſh acquiſitions to the king.

The fame of his intended expedition had for ſome tim
been ſpread through Ireland, and its influence upon the ſe
veral toparchs was ſoon diſcovered. Dermod Mac-Arth
prince of Deſmond, was the firſt chieftain who ſubmitte
and acknowledged the ſovereignty of Henry. On the ve
day after his arrival this Iriſh prince attended at his cou
reſigned his city of Corke to the king, did him homage, a
ſtipulated to pay a tribute for the reſt of his territory, whi
on theſe conditions he was to enjoy without further moleſt
tion or reſtraint. An Engliſh governor and garriſon we
immediately appointed to take poſſeſſion of his capital, wh
the king diſplayed his power and magnificence by marchi
to Liſmore, where he choſe a ſituation, and gave the nec
ſary orders and directions for building a fort †. From the
proceeding to Caſhel, we are told he had an interview w
the archbiſhop of this ſee; and poſſibly might have deem
it uſeful to poſſeſs this prelate, the firſt of the Iriſh cle
who appeared before him, with an opinion of his graci
intentions to his country, and his zeal for the regulation
its church. Nor were theſe ſhort excurſions without th
influence, in ſtriking the inhabitants with an awful and re

* Giraldus Cambrenſis. † Regan.

rib

ible impreſſion of his power. A formidable army hovering about the diſtricts of each petty chieftain, when each was left to his own reſources for defence, quickened their reſolves, and conquered all remains of pride, or reluctance in ſubmitting to the invader. O'Brien of Thomond thought it dangerous to delay, and meeting Henry on the banks of the Sure, ſurrendered his city of Limerick, and did homage for his other territory, engaging to pay him tribute. Donchad of Oſſory, dreading the advantages which his rival might acquire by his forward zeal, haſtened to the king, and ſubmitted to become his tributary and vaſſal. O'Faolan of the Decies followed theſe examples, and all the inferior chiefs of Munſter vied with each other in the alacrity of their ſubmiſſion. All were received with gracious aſſurances of favour and protection, entertained with magnificence, loaded with preſents, and diſmiſſed with deep impreſſions of the grandeur and condeſcenſion of this powerful monarch.

He returned to Wexford; and here, as it was no longer neceſſary to keep up the appearance of reſentment to Fitz-Stephen, his barons were permitted to intercede for a brave ſubject, who had not willingly or intentionally offended, for whoſe future fidelity they were all ready to become ſureties, and who was himſelf prepared to give the beſt ſurety for his allegiance, by a formal reſignation of all his Iriſh poſſeſſions to his ſovereign. Fitz-Stephen was ſet at liberty, and ſurrendered Wexford and its territory to the king, doing homage for the reſt of his acquiſitions, which he was allowed to retain from Henry and his heirs.

And now, having provided for the ſecurity of Munſter, and ſtationed his garriſons in the cities of Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, Henry determined to proceed to Dublin, to take poſſeſſion of this city in due form, which had been ſurrendered by earl Richard. He led his troops through Oſſory, in a ſlow and ſtately progreſs, ſo as to ſtrike the rude inhabitants with the ſplendour and magnificence of his royal army, and give their chieftains an opportunity of repairing to his camp, and acknowledging his ſovereignty. Their indifference to the intereſts of Roderic, as well as their terror of the Engliſh arms, ſoon determined them to make their peace with Henry. The Iriſh lords of Leinſter deemed his ſervice more honourable than a ſubjection to Strongbow, whoſe ſeverity had rendered him an object of horror to the Iriſh, even from his firſt landing. As he advanced towards Dublin, the neighbouring lords all appeared and ſubmitted; O'Carrol of Argial, a chieftain of ſtill greater power and conſequence, repaired to his camp, and in due form engaged to become his tributary: and to complete the mortification of Roderic,

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his old and intimate aſſociate O'Ruarc of Breffney, whoſe intereſts he had ſupported, whoſe perſonal injuries he had revenged, whom he had made lord of a conſiderable part of Meath, ſo that Giraldus calls him king of Meath, abandoned his falling friend and ally, and became the willing vaſſal of this new ſovereign.

Roderic, though confounded at the defection of his tributaries, and the formidable progreſs of his invader, haraſſed by the factions of this province, and afflicted by the diſſentions of his family, yet could not at once reſign his title to the monarchy of Ireland. And though ſenſible of the danger of encountering an Engliſh army, and little enabled by ſuch numbers as he could collect to march out againſt the royal invader, he yet collected his provincial troops, and, entrenching himſelf upon the banks of the Shannon, ſeemed determined that his own territory at leaſt ſhould not be ſacrificed to the ambition of Henry. Unencumbered by a crowd of faithleſs, diſcontented, and diſobedient followers, he now appears to act with a ſpirit and dignity more ſuited to his ſtation. Hugh de Lacy, and William Fitz-Andelm, were commiſſioned to meet this refractory prince, and either to perſuade, or force him to a ſubmiſſion. But Roderic was too ſtrong, and too well poſted to be aſſailed by a detachment from the Engliſh army; and he at leaſt affected to believe that his fortune was not yet ſo totally deſperate as to warrant an immediate reſignation of his dignity and authority, while his own territory remained inviolate, and the brave and powerful chiefs of Ulſter ſtill kept retired in their own diſtricts without any thought of ſubmiſſion.

The Iriſh chieftains, who accepted Henry as their ſovereign, and attended at his court, were received with all thoſe conciliating expreſſions of favour, the common artifice of ambition, but which were peculiarly flattering to a people equally proud and inexperienced. It was the feaſt of Chriſtmas, a ſeaſon of general feſtivity, for which Henry prepared with ſuch elegance and pomp as his preſent ſituation might permit, and ſuch as were perfectly ſtupendous to his Iriſh followers. They flocked to Dublin from all quarters, in the eagerneſs of ſurpriſe and expectation. As the city afforded no building capable of receiving the royal train, and the numerous aſſembly of gueſts, a temporary ſtructure was raiſed with hurdles after the Iriſh faſhion, in the ſouth-eaſtern ſuburbs, of large dimenſions and richly ornamented; and here the vaſſal lords of Ireland were admitted freely, and feaſted promiſcuouſly. Piles of ſilver, coſtly meats, generous wines, dreſs, muſic, and attendants, all conſpired to poſſeſs them with a vulgar admiration of their invader. Dazzled

by

by his grandeur, and intoxicated by his condeſcenſions, they forgot the baſeneſs of their ſubmiſſion, and fancied themſelves exalted to a degree of conſequence by being allied to ſuch magnificence and ſplendor.

If we are to believe the Engliſh hiſtorians, the clergy of Ireland were ſtill readier, and more abject in their ſubmiſſion to king Henry than the lords and toparchs. The abbot of Peterborough aſſerts, and is followed by Hovedon and others, that immediately on the king's arrival at Waterford, the whole body of the hierarchy attended him, received him as ſovereign lord of Ireland, and ſwore fealty to him and his heirs; and that from each prelate he received a charter or inſtrument of their reſpective ſubmiſſions, which the king took care to tranſmit to Rome. Giraldus, who was ſtudious to diſplay every particular which might do honour to his royal maſter, takes not the leaſt notice of a tranſaction ſo extraordinary, and the Iriſh annaliſts are equally ſilent on that head.

But it is aſſerted with more probability, and on better authority, that Henry, having been acknowledged ſovereign by a conſiderable part of the iſland, unmoleſted by thoſe who had not yet ſubmitted, and prevented by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon from any attempt to reduce them by force, affected to diſplay his zeal and ſolicitude to fulfil the conditions of his grant from pope Adrian, by turning his attention to the church of Ireland, and labouring for the reformation of its ſuppoſed abuſes. A ſynod of the clergy was ſummoned in his name, and aſſembled at Caſhel by his order, to inquire into the preſent ſtate of morals and religion. But whether this was a general aſſembly of all the Iriſh prelates may be fairly doubted. Gelaſius, the primate of Armagh, a man highly reverenced by his countrymen, and who derived conſiderable influence from the ſanctity of his character, certainly did not attend; and, as an apology, is ſaid to have pleaded his age and infirmities; though theſe did not prevent him from holding another ſynod, convened ſoon after, in Connaught, by the authority of Roderic, and probably in oppoſition to that now ſummoned by Henry. The prelates of Ulſter followed the example of their metropolitan. And if the prelate of Tuam, or Lawrence of Dublin, who had ſo zealouſly contended againſt the Engliſh, obeyed this ſummons, they might have deemed their preſence neceſſary to preſerve the honour of their church, to them a point of moment, from injurious repreſentation; and by a readineſs to correct what might really be found amiſs, to deprive the invader of the great pretence for extending his hoſtilities.

Chriſtian, biſhop of Liſmore, preſided in this aſſembly as the

the pope's legate; in which character he had, about twenty years befor, preſided in the grand aſſembly of kings, prelates, and nobility, convened by order of cardinal Paparon. The abbot of Buldwais, the archdeacon of Landaff, and ſome others of the Engliſh clergy attended on the part of Henry, to forward the purpoſes of their maſter, and to obſerve the conduct of the Iriſh prelates. The profeſſed deſign of this ſynod was, in obedience to the ſovereign pontiff, to deviſe remedies for ignorance and wickedneſs, to eradicate every fibre of depravity and iniquity, and to reſtore the purity of their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, now contaminated and diſgraced; and the ordinances which were to anſwer ſuch important purpoſes we find forbidding marriages within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, directing that baptiſm ſhould be publicly adminiſtered, youth inſtructed, tythes regularly paid, and the lands of the clergy exempted from ſecular exactions; that all true ſons of the church ſhould have power by will to diſtribute their effects in due proportion between their wives and children, and be decently interred in hallowed ground. Such was the plan of reformation which required the interpoſition of the pope, which obliged him to transfer the ſovereignty of Ireland to a foreign prince, and demanded the preſence of the Engliſh monarch and a royal army to enforce it! as if the ſame futile ordinances had not been repeatedly enacted in every ſynod, held in general annually by the Iriſh clergy, from that of Paparon to this of king Henry. The whole ridiculous ſcene was cloſed by a declaration highly flattering to the king, and expreſſed in terms of the moſt abject ſervility. It directs that the divine ſervice in the church of Ireland ſhall for the future be in all things conformable to that of the church of England. "For it is meet and very "juſt," ſay theſe reverend flatterers, "that as Ireland hath "by Providence received a lord and king from England, ſo "ſhe may receive from the ſame a better form of living. "For to his royal grandeur are both the church and realm "of Ireland indebted for whatever they have hitherto ob"tained, either of the benefits of peace, or the encreaſe of "religion; ſince, before his coming into Ireland, evils of "various kinds had from old time gradually overſpread the "nation, which by his power and goodneſs are now aboliſh"ed." Happy had it been for the peace and welfare of ages, had Henry by a few months reſidence in Ireland been really able to produce ſuch bleſſed effects; but the adulation of theſe eccleſiaſtics is a ſubject too contemptible to dwell upon.

There are other acts of government which Henry exerciſed in Ireland that deſerve more particular attention. Matthew

threw Paris writes, that he convened a council at Liſmore, in which the laws of England were by all gratefully accepted and eſtabliſhed by the ſanction of a ſolemn oath. Whether the hiſtorian hath miſtaken the place of aſſembling, and inſtead of a ſynod held under the biſhop of Liſmore, hath ſuppoſed another aſſembly in the town ſo named, ſeems of little moment. But the real nature of this grant and general acceptance of the laws of England deſerves to be conſidered. And to this we ſhall be naturally led by a few reflections on what hath been already related, as well as to the true purport of ſome ſubſequent tranſactions.

We have ſeen the princes and petty chieftains of Ireland ſubmitting to king Henry with a readineſs the leſs ſurpriſing, when we conſider that to them it was not unuſual to be viſited by a ſuperior potentate, who demanded a recognition of his ſovereignty, obliged them to become his tributaries, and to give hoſtages for their fidelity, and even ſometimes to reſign a portion of their territory. So that Henry demanded no more than they had frequently granted to others with great readineſs, and generally with little ſincerity, ſcarcely conſidering the conceſſion as diſhonourable, much leſs an eſſential diminution of their local power and authority. Nor is there any authentic evidence to prove, with whatever confidence it may have been aſſerted, that "the Iriſh made no "terms, for their own form of government, but wholly "aboliſhing their own, they conſented to receive the Engliſh "laws, and ſubmitted entirely to the Engliſh government *." It is ſcarcely conceivable that a whole people ſhould at once be either forced or perſuaded into ſo extraordinary a revolution, unleſs they, of all the human race, rude and barbarous as they are repreſented, were alone exempted from ſtrong partialities in favour of their laws and cuſtoms. Nor is it probable that a politic and ſagacious prince ſhould form a ſcheme in his preſent ſituation, ſo extravagant, becauſe of all others the moſt dangerous to attempt, and the moſt difficult to effect, that of obtruding in a moment an entire new ſyſtem of laws and polity upon a number of communities, none of which he had ſubdued. But that no ſuch deſign was either attempted or effected will appear, not only from the manifold proofs which muſt neceſſarily be produced in the progreſs of this hiſtory, but from the tranſactions already related. We have obſerved that by an ordinance of the ſynod of Caſhel it was provided, that the clergy ſhould for the future be free from all ſecular exactions. Here it is neceſſary to produce this ordinance at large.

* Carey.

" All the eccleſiaſtical lands and poſſeſſions ſhall
" tirely free from every exaction of ſecular men. A
" pecially no petty kings, or any potentates of Irela
" their children or families, ſhall for the future exact
" tenance or entertainments, according to cuſtom, in t
" cleſiaſtical territories, or preſume to extort them b
" lence. And that deteſtable entertainment, which
" times a year required by neighbouring lords, ſhall
" the future be demanded from the eccleſiaſtical
" And moreover, in all caſes of homicide committed
" laity, as often as they ſhall compound for the ſam
" their adverſaries, the clergy who are their relatio
" pay nothing on this account; but as they had no
" the perpetration of the homicide, ſo ſhall they be fre
" contributing to the fine."

It cannot be ſuppoſed that the execution of the Iri
ſhould be thus regulated, if theſe laws were entirely abo
If the clergy were to be exempted from Coyne, Coſ
and other like exactions, it is evident that the petty
and lords were ſtill to demand them from others.
clergy were not to contribute to the Eric in caſes of n
it follows that this compenſation was ſtill to be paid
laity; and by conſequence that the old Iriſh polity w
only to ſubſiſt, but warranted, ſecured, and regulated
aſſembly convened by the authority of Henry. Her
were there no other, we have a direct proof of a
compact between this monarch and the Iriſh ch
They ſtipulated to become his vaſſals and tributari
was to protect them in the adminiſtration of their
vernments according to their own model: and thus
find that their governments were actually admin
" They governed their people," ſays a judicious
" by the Brekon law; they made their own magi
" officers; they pardoned and puniſhed all malefa
" in their ſeveral countries; they made war and
" with another without controulment; and this
" only during the reign of Henry II. but after
" times, even until the reign of queen Elizab
originally by the connivance of their new ſove
oppoſition to his authority, but by his ſanction a
as appears from the acts of an aſſembly which
authority from his ratification.

It is in the next place obſervable, that the
the Iriſh lords were uniformly made to Henry
And as England was now confeſſedly the ſi

[a] Sir John Davies.

member of his dominions, by his heirs we muſt underſtand his lawful ſucceſſors to the crown of England. So that the intention of his treaties with the Iriſh chieftains appears to be, that the kings of England ſhould for ever become lords paramount of the territories which theſe chieftains retained, and inheritors of thoſe which they abſolutely reſigned: not that Henry ſhould be warranted to grant or transfer his Iriſh dominions, or to ſet his Iriſh vaſſals as villains of the ſoil, but that the ſtipulated obedience ſhould be paid to the kings of England in lawful ſucceſſion; and the territories reſigned ſhould remain for ever annexed to this kingdom, and appendent on this dignity. Or, to expreſs it in the language of the patent of Henry III. to his ſon Edward*, that they ſhould not be ſeparated from the crown but wholly remain to the kings of England for ever.

By his tranſactions both with the natives and the original adventurers, Henry had now acquired the abſolute dominion of ſeveral maritime cities, and their dependencies. The province of Leinſter was claimed by Strongbow, as the heir of king Dermond, and he conſented to hold it of the king and his heirs. The acquiſitions in Meath appear alſo to have been ceded to the king; nor did the Engliſh acknowledge any rightful ſovereign of this diſtrict ſince the death of Mac Laghlin; ſo that Henry had now a conſiderable territory, and a number of ſubjects in the iſland, and had the utmoſt reaſon to expect a ſpeedy increaſe of both. And to theſe his ſubjects, he indeed granted the Engliſh laws, according to the teſtimony of Matthew Paris, not as a model whereby they might govern themſelves, and frame their own polity; for then they had no need to expreſs their gratitude to the king for what they might have adopted themſelves, if, by their change of ſituation, they had loſt the privileges of Engliſh ſubjects: neither in this caſe was there any propriety or neceſſity for an oath to the king, whereby they were bound to the obſervance of theſe laws. On the contrary, it was declared by this tranſaction, by their grateful acceptance of the Engliſh laws, and their ſolemn engagements to obey them, that, as they reſigned their Iriſh acquiſitions, and renewed their allegiance to the king, he, on his part, conſented that they ſhould ſtill be conſidered as the ſubjects of his realm, and ſtill retain the advantages of that conſtitution which, as ſubjects, they formerly enjoyed, and which he graciouſly declared that they ſhould ſtill retain in the ſame capacity, without any diminution of their rights, or any change in their relation to the king. Hence the neceſſity of a new oath,

* Rymer.

whereby they were bound in due allegiance to Henry and his heirs, and to the faithful obſervance of the laws of his realm in their new ſettlements, thus made a part and member of this realm, inſeparably connected, and intimately conſolidated with it.

Let it be ſufficient to ſtate theſe points briefly for the preſent, which, as they frequently recur, muſt be repeated and enforced in the progreſs of this hiſtory. And agreeably to the repreſentations now made, it appears, that ſoon after he had taken poſſeſſion of Dublin, and before his departure from this city, Henry granted it by charter to the inhabitants of Briſtol, to be held of him and his heirs with the ſame liberties and free cuſtoms which they enjoyed at Briſtol, and throughout all his land. And by another charter executed ſoon after, he confirms to his burgeſſes of Dublin all manner of rights and immunities throughout his whole land of England, Normandy, Wales, and Ireland, wherever they and their effects ſhall be, to be fully and honourably enjoyed by them as his free and faithful ſubjects. And as it was not eaſy to induce his Engliſh ſubjects immediately to ſettle in thoſe maritime towns, he permitted the Oſtmen to take poſſeſſion of Waterford, to whom he granted a particular charter of denization, whereby they were inveſted with the rights and privileges of free ſubjects, and for the future to be governed by the laws of this realm; which, by the way, affords a convincing proof that the benefit of theſe laws was conſidered as a ſpecial grace, and that they were by no means granted in general to thoſe who ſubmitted, much leſs obtruded on any, as the great mark of conqueſt.

For the better execution of the laws of England, it appears that Henry made a diviſion of the diſtricts, now ſubject to him, into ſhires or counties, which was afterwards improved and enlarged, as the extenſion of the Engliſh ſettlements, and the circumſtances of the country required. Sheriffs were conſequently appointed both for the counties and cities, with judges itinerant, and other miniſters of juſtice, officers of ſtate, and every appendage of Engliſh government, and Engliſh law. And theſe inſtitutions ſeem to have been a part of Henry's firſt compact with the adventurers, and to have immediately attended his grant of their old polity and privileges; for in the firſt charter to the citizens of Dublin, executed before his departure from this city, we find mention of his juſtices, ſheriffs, and other officers. To complete the whole ſyſtem, a chief governor, or repreſentative of the king, was neceſſarily appointed, who was to exerciſe the royal authority, or ſuch parts of it as might be committed to him, in the king's abſence; and as the preſent ſtate of Ire-

land, and the apprehenſions of war or inſurrection made it peculiarly neceſſary to guard againſt ſudden accidents, or extraordinary contingencies, it was provided, by what is called a ſtatute of Henry Fitz-Empreſs, that in caſe of the death of any chief governor, the chancellor, treaſurer, chief juſtices, and chief baron, keeper of the rolls, and king's ſerjeant at law, ſhould be empowered, with conſent of the nobles of the land, to elect a ſucceſſor, who was to exerciſe the full power and authority of this office, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be further known. Henry had now the more leiſure to project ſuch ſchemes of government, as a remarkably ſevere and tempeſtuous winter prevented him from any attempts to reduce thoſe parts of Ireland, which had not yet acknowledged his authority.

The continual ſtorms having put a ſtop to all navigation, the king had not for a conſiderable time received the leaſt intelligence from England or Normandy, till, at length, on his arrival at Wexford, after a reſidence of three months in Dublin, he met couriers, who brought the moſt alarming advices, that two cardinals, Albert and Theodine, delegated by the pope, had arrived in Normandy the year before, to make inquiſition into the death of Becket; that waiting the arrival of Henry, until their patience was exhauſted, they now ſummoned him to appear without delay, as he would avert the dreadful ſentence of excommunication, and preſerve his dominions from a general interdict. Such denunciations were of too much conſequence to admit a longer reſidence in Ireland. He ordered his forces, and the officers of his houſhold, to embark without delay, reſerving three ſhips for the conveyance of himſelf and his immediate attendants.

He was now to leave a country which, from his firſt appearance, afforded him the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs; but of which, a very conſiderable part, including all the weſtern and the northern quarters of the iſland, he had not yet viſited much leſs reduced. He had built no number of forts to ſecure the acquiſitions already made, or to awe the turbulent and fickle inhabitants; and he was to leave earl Richard behind, a powerful ſubject, to ſtrengthen and increaſe his influence in a country where it was already formidable, whoſe conceſſions were ſuppoſed not to have been the effects of duty and attachment, and who waited but for the abſence of his royal maſter (as the jealouſies of Henry ſuggeſted) to improve the advantages he had acquired, and to aſſume an independent ſovereignty. In this perplexing ſituation, he had but a few days to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the ſecurity of his Iriſh intereſts. He addreſſed himſelf to the original Engliſh adventurers, and by grants and promiſes

laboured to detach them from Strongbow, and bind the
firmly to himſelf, and to his ſervice. To make amends fo
what he had taken from Fitz-Stephen, he granted him
conſiderable diſtrict in the neighbourhood of Dublin, to b
held by knight's-ſervice, at the ſame time entruſting the m
ritime towns, with eſpecial caution, to his own immediat
dependents. Waterford was committed to Humphrey d
Bohun, Robert Fitz-Bernard, and Hugh de Gundville, wit
a train of twenty knights. In Wexford were ſtatione
William Fitz-Audelm, Philip of Haſtings, and Philip d
Braoſa, with a like number of attendants. Before his de
parture from Dublin he had promiſed, and now executed, a
important grant to Hugh de Lacy of all the territory o
Meath, where there was no fortified place, and where b
conſequence no particular reſervation was neceſſary, to b
held of him and his heirs, by the ſervice of fifty knights, i
as full a manner as it had been enjoyed by Murchard H
Melaghlin, or any other. He alſo conſtituted this lord h
governor of Dublin, with a guard of twenty knights. Ro
bert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, were mad
his coadjutors, with an equal train; and theſe, with other
of the firſt adventurers, under the pretence of an honourabl
appointment, were thus obliged to reſide at Dublin, ſubjec
to the immediate inſpection of de Lacy, in whom Henr
ſeems to have placed his chief confidence. In the neigh
bourhood of each city, lands were aſſigned for the maint
nance of the knights and ſoldiers. A caſtle was directed
be built in Dublin, and fortreſſes in other convenient place
and ſenſible of the advantages to be gained by the valour a
activity of private adventurers, the king readily yielded
the requeſt of John de Courcy, a baron diſtinguiſhed by h
enterpriſing genius and abilities in war, and granted him t
entire province of Ulſter, provided he could reduce it
force of arms.

Having thus made his diſpoſitions in Ireland as effectua
as the ſhort ſpace of three weeks could permit, Henr
turned his attention to more preſſing, and at preſent mo
important objects. In granting large tracts to the moſt e
terpriſing of his nobles, he purſued the ſame meaſures whi
William the Conqueror had taken for extending his terri
ries on the marches of England. It was a method evident
well calculated for making conqueſts without expence to t
crown, not for preſerving peace in a country once ſubdue
or quieting the jealouſies of an abſent prince, who had learn
ſuſpicion from his experience of mankind. The misfortun
which Ireland felt for ages, may be fairly imputed to t
preſent fatal interruption of Henry's progreſs. The fo

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and the inſolence, the injuſtice, baſeneſs, and ingratitude of his avowed and ſecret enemies recalled him from an engagement worthy of his abilities. He embarked at Wexford on the feaſt of Eaſter, and landed in Pembrokeſhire, where it was the firſt care of this prince, who lay under the heavy diſpleaſure of the church, to march on foot to the cathedral of ſaint David, and there perform his devotions, with an oſtentation of piety and humility. Hence he paſſed on with the utmoſt ſpeed, and with his eldeſt ſon, whoſe ſecret practices againſt an indulgent father he had but too good reaſons to ſuſpect, proceeded to meet the cardinals in Normandy. Their firſt requiſitions were ſo haughty and exorbitant, that Henry broke up the aſſembly, declaring that he would return to Ireland, where he had much to do, and leave them to execute their legantine commiſſion as they might. This ſpirited anſwer produced another congreſs, and another treaty, upon terms leſs unreaſonable and injurious. And when the articles of accommodation were adjuſted, the king's ſubmiſſions accepted, and his abſolutions pronounced, pope Alexander readily conſented to ſeal this reconciliation, by confirming the grant of Ireland made by Adrian. His brief recites the propriety of allowing the juſt acts of his predeceſſors, and the gifts made by the late pope to Henry, of the dominion of Ireland: ratifying the ſame with the reſervation of Peter-pence, and on the former condition of reforming the barbarous natives, and regulating their diſordered church.

Having ſettled a civil adminiſtration at Dublin, as nearly as poſſible to that of his own kingdom, Henry returned to England. Thus A. D. 1173. the conqueſt of Ireland was effected by the Engliſh, almoſt with as much eaſe as that of Mexico was by the Spaniards; and for much the ſame reaſons, the rude and unarmed ſtate of the natives, and the differences that prevailed among the princes or leaders *. From this period Dublin began to flouriſh.

* Lord Lyttelton.

CHAP. X.

Spirit of the Iriſh Chieftains—Rebellion of Henry's Sons—Strongbow Chief Governor—Inſurrection and Maſſacre at Waterford—Limerick beſieged by O'Brien—Death and Character of Strongbow—Diviſions of the Chieftains.

HENRY at his departure, left not one true ſubject behind him, more than he found on coming over. The Iriſh chieftains who had ſubmitted to become his vaſſals with ſo much levity and indifference, were little ſolicitous to adhere to their ſubmiſſions any longer than terror or neceſſity might oblige them *. But as the impreſſion made by the power and greatneſs of their new ſovereign was yet lively and forcible; as their local feuds and jealouſies had never been ſuſpended; and as the Engliſh ſettlers had not as yet diſcovered any deſign of extending their acquiſitions, the territories of the new adventurers were for awhile unmoleſted, and ſeemed to wear an appearance of ſecurity and peace.

In the mean time Eleanor, Henry's queen, provoked at the infidelities of her huſband, intereſted her ſons Richard and Geoffry in her reſentments, engaged them to fly ſecretly to the court of France, and was herſelf meditating an eſcape to the ſame court, when ſhe was arreſted by Henry's order in her diſguiſe of man's apparel, and confined. The combination of theſe princes againſt an indulgent father had been projected, and was openly countenanced by Louis. Princes were not aſhamed to eſpouſe their unnatural quarrel. Barons diſguſted by a vigilant government, were more deſirous of being ruled by young princes, ignorant of public affairs, remiſs in their conduct, and profuſe in their grants; and, as the king had enſured to his ſons the ſucceſſion to every particular province in his dominions, the nobles had no dread of adhering to thoſe who, they knew, muſt ſome time become their ſovereigns. Prompted by theſe motives, many of the Norman nobility had deſerted to his ſon Henry. The Britton and Gaſcon barons embraced the quarrel of Richard and Geoffry. The diſaffection had ſpread through England. The earls of Leinſter and Cheſter, in particular, declared openly againſt the king. The counts of Flanders, Bologne, Blois, and Eu, were prompted by jealouſy of Henry's greatneſs, and the hopes of advantage from the inconſiderate promiſes and grants of an ambitious youth, to unite with the

* Sir John Davies.

king of France. William, king of Scotland, alſo joined in the confederacy; ſo that Henry now ſaw the ſtorm of war and rebellion riſing in every quarter of his extenſive dominions. Although the pope had been prevailed on to denounce his cenſure againſt the rebellious princes and their adherents, yet Henry ſoon found that his effectual reſource muſt be in his own activity and valour. He employed thoſe treaſures he had prudently reſerved, in hiring twenty thouſand of thoſe mercenary troops called Brabancons, whoſe profeſſion it was to fight for any prince who would engage them. At the ſame time he found it neceſſary to withdraw ſeveral of his garriſons from Ireland, as well as to claim the attendance of ſome of his barons and commanders in this country. Earl Richard flew to his aſſiſtance in Normandy with ſuch alacrity and zeal, that Henry, convinced of his attachment, entruſted him with the government of Giſors.

The firſt accounts of a powerful confederacy, formed againſt the king of England, were received by the Iriſh chieftains with the utmoſt joy; and no ſooner had earl Richard and the other Engliſh lords departed, than they openly diſavowed their late ſubmiſſions, and boldly denounced the vengeance of an injured people againſt the remains of their invaders. The Engliſh army was not only weakened, but mutinous and diſcontented. It had been entruſted to the command of Hervey of Mountmorres, to whom Raymond le Groſs was ſecond in authority; and theſe leaders were by no means united with that firmneſs and cordiality which their common intereſt required. Hervey was proud, impatient of a rival, and jealous of his influence; rigid and ſevere in his diſcipline, he reſtrained the ſoldiers from plundering, a liberty which they claimed as in ſome ſort neceſſary to ſupply the deficiencies of their pay: Raymond, of more conciliating manners, more indulgent to the paſſions and neceſſities of the ſoldiery, for whoſe welfare and ſecurity he appeared eminently ſolicitous; gentle to their faults, and affecting rather to appear their companion than their commander; neither delicate in his fare, nor curious in his apparel, chearfully ſharing all the hardſhips of a military life. He was conſequently more beloved; and the envy of Mountmorres was inflamed by his popularity. Their mutual jealouſies prevented any effectual oppoſition to the ſpirit now raiſed among the Iriſh princes, and might have proved fatal to the Engliſh intereſt, had not Henry been ſo enabled to provide a remedy for the evil. He ſummoned earl Strongbow to attend him at Rouen, and communicated his intentions of committing the affairs of Ireland to his ſole direction. The earl expreſſed the utmoſt alacrity to ſerve his royal maſter; but obſerv-

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ed, that he had already experienced the envy and malig of his ſecret enemies, that, if he ſhould appear in ſo di guiſhed a character as that of the king's deputy in Irel their inſidious practices would be renewed, and his con miſrepreſented and calumniated. He therefore requeſted th colleague might be appointed in the commiſſion, and rec mended Raymond as a perſon of approved loyalty and lities, as well as highly acceptable to the ſoldiery. He replied, with an appearance of regard and confidence, ext ed from him by his preſent circumſtances, that he had free conſent to employ Raymond in any ſervice he ſh deem neceſſary, not as a colleague, but an aſſiſtant; tha relied entirely on the earl, and implicitly entruſted e thing to his direction. To reward his ſervices, and enli his zeal, he granted him the town of Wexford, together v a fort erected at Wicklow, and thus diſmiſſed him with moſt gracious expreſſions of favour.

The earl landed at Dublin, where he was received v the reſpect due to the royal commiſſion. He ſignified king's pleaſure that Robert Fitz-Bernard, with the garr of Waterford, ſhould inſtantly embark, and repair to N mandy; and that Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice Prendergaſt, ſhould attend the ſervice of their liege lor England; and agreeably to the king's inſtructions took him the cuſtody of Dublin and Waterford, as well as of own city of Wexford. Hugh de Lacy, and Milo de Co were, with the other lords, commanded to repair to Engl for the ſervice of the king; and while the forces, who w to ſupport the government of earl Strongbow, were t conſiderably weakened, their diſcontents were at the ſ time enflamed to the utmoſt, and he had the mortificatio hear the boldeſt remonſtrances againſt the conduct of uncle Mountmorres. The ſoldiers preſented themſelves a body before the earl, requiring that Raymond le G ſhould be appointed to command them; if not, they thr ened to return to their native country, or to engage in ſervice of the Iriſh chiefs, who were now in arms, and re for hoſtilities. Strongbow was too ſenſible of the difficul of his preſent ſituation not to comply with theſe dema however inſolent, and not only to grant their favourite ge ral, but alſo to engage them in ſome expeditions wh might afford plunder, as he had improvidently diſſipated ſums aſſigned for their pay. Raymond

A. D. 1174. therefore appointed to march into Ofally chaſtiſe the defection of ſome petty lords of diſtrict. He over-ran, and ravaged the country without ſiſtance, and, proceeding with his booty to Liſmore, co mit

mitted the like depredations in this city and the adjacent lands. On his return by the ſea-ſide, he found ſome veſſels at anchor, which he directed to be laden with the ſpoil, in order to convey it to the town of Waterford. The wind was for ſome time contrary, which encouraged the men of Cork, who had been acquainted with theſe tranſactions, to form the deſign of deſtroying this little fleet of tranſports. The neceſſities of Henry having obliged him to withdraw the Engliſh garriſon from the city, it had been reſumed by Macarthy of Deſmond; and now the inhabitants, to manifeſt their zeal againſt his enemies, haſtily fitted out thirty barks, and fell with the utmoſt fury on the Engliſh detachment, which had not yet weighed anchor. Their aſſault, however ſudden and unexpected, was ſuſtained with due ſpirit; and the death of their commander, who fell by the arm of a gallant Welſhman, ſoon decided the conteſt in favour of the Engliſh. They took eight veſſels from the enemy, and ſailed in triumph to the place of deſtination. Raymond had been informed of this action, and was haſtening to the ſupport of his party with a ſelect body of twenty knights and ſixty horſemen, when he ſuddenly found himſelf encountered by the prince of Deſmond, who on his part was equally ſolicitous to ſupport his veſſels of Cork. The Iriſh chief, however, was ſoon obliged to retire; and Raymond, after ſome inconſiderable attempts to diſturb him in his march, and to ſeize his prey, entered Waterford in all the pomp of a victorious general.

Trivial as theſe actions were, they confirmed the opinion which the ſoldiery had conceived of their new general, ſerved to ſupply their preſent neceſſities, and ſeemed the prelude to more important ſucceſſes. Raymond himſelf appears to have entertained no indifferent opinion of his own ſervices. He was now in the very height of popularity, and determined to avail himſelf of this advantage. He had conceived a paſſion for Baſilia, ſiſter to earl Richard, and took the preſent occaſion to demand her in marriage, together with the poſt of conſtable, and ſtandard-bearer of Leinſter, during the minority of a daughter of Robert de Quiny, the late ſon-in-law of Strongbow. The earl, probably from a jealouſy of the riſing power and influence of this lord, received his overture with a coldneſs and reſerve which ſufficiently expreſſed his diſapprobation. Raymond provoked and mortified, retired abruptly into Wales, under pretence of taking poſſeſſion of ſome lands devolved to him by the death of his father, and the army was once again entruſted to the command of Hervey of Mountmorres.

Hervey was but too ſenſible how much his own character had

had been obscured by the superior lustre of his rival, and now determined to engage in some brave enterprize, which might regain him the affections of the soldiery, and emulate the successes of le Gross. He represented to earl Strongbow the necessity of speedily repressing that spirit of revolt and insurrection which had appeared among the Irish; and as the dispositions lately made in Meath seemed to have established an effectual barrier against the king of Connaught, he advised him to bend his whole force against the insurgents of Munster, and by chastising their revolt, and reducing them to due obedience, to strike terror into those who were equally disaffected, but had not yet dared to commence hostilities. The earl, whose genius was better fitted to adopt and execute, than to form a plan of operations, readily yielded to those instances, and, in conjunction with Mountmorres, led a considerable body of forces to the city of Cashel. When their troops had been here reviewed, and information received of the posture and numbers of the enemy, Hervey prevailed upon him, in order to give their armament a more brilliant and formidable appearance, to dispatch his orders to Dublin, that a considerable party of the garrison, consisting of Ostmen, who had engaged in the service of the English, should, without delay, join their main body. As this detachment advanced, the fame of its motions spread through the country, and was conveyed into the quarters of the enemies. O'Brien of Thomond, a valiant and sagacious chieftain, and implacably averse to the English interests, conceived the design of cutting off this body, as the most effectual means of weakening and dispiriting the enemy. He suffered the Ostmen to advance as far as to Thurles, and there to encamp in a state of careless security, when falling suddenly upon them, he wreaked his fury upon men utterly unprepared for defence. Four hundred of the detachment, together with their four principal commanders, were slaughtered upon the field; and, to complete the triumph of O'Brien, earl Richard, on receiving the intelligence of this misfortune, retired with all the precipitation of a routed general, and threw himself for safety into Waterford.

This disgrace of the English arms, which was magnified by fame into a decisive victory obtained over Strongbow and his united powers, served as a signal to the disaffected Irish to rise up in ar[illegible]. Se[illegible]l of the Leinster chieftains, who had [illegible]ely [illegible] [illegible]d themselves to [illegible] ser[illegible] [illegible] all their en- [illegible] [illegible]he late king [illegible] [illegible]glish even in [illegible] [illegible]hem, and as- [illegible] [illegible]serted

ſerted a title to the kingdom of Leinſter; while Roderic, on his part, was active in uniting the princes of Ulſter, the native lords of Meath, and other chiefs, againſt their common enemy.

Strongbow was well acquainted with the fickleneſs of the Iriſh; and juſtly ſenſible of the conſequences of being reduced to act on the defenſive, inſtead of ſeeking his enemies in their own territories. He had alſo reaſon to apprehend a revival of diſcontent and mutiny amongſt his own ſoldiers. He, therefore, without the leaſt heſitation or delay, ſent into Wales, earneſtly entreating Raymond to return with ſuch forces as he could procure, and freely offering to gratify him in all his late demands. Nothing could be more flattering to Raymond than this application. He was called to relieve his countrymen from the diſtreſs in which they had been involved by his rival: he was acknowledged to be their great reſource in all alarming circumſtances; and the earl, who had proudly refuſed to grant him his ſiſter in marriage, was now reduced to court him to accept her hand. He made his preparations with all the ſpeed and alacrity of a man prompted by the powerful motives of love, pride, and ambition; and collecting thirty leaders of his own kindred, one hundred horſemen, and three hundred archers, all hardy and well-appointed Welſhmen, embarked in twenty tranſports, and ſteered his courſe to Waterford.

If we may believe Giraldus, nothing could have been more critically ſeaſonable than his arrival. The townſmen, naturally averſe to the Engliſh invaders, provoked by their rigorous oppreſſions, and encouraged by their preſent weakneſs and apparent diſtreſs, are ſaid to have formed the deſperate purpoſe of freeing themſelves from their maſters by a general maſſacre; but, at the very moment of execution, Raymond's fleet appeared in the harbour, and ſuſpended the attempt. Whether they were either bold enough, or ſtrong enough to have really formed ſuch a ſcheme againſt a conſiderable, and to them a formidable army, certain it is that they entertained a malignant averſion againſt the Engliſh, and waited but a fair occaſion to diſcover it, as was ſoon experienced. At the firſt interview between Raymond and earl Richard, it was agreed to march without delay to Wexford, probably to give ſome check to the ſpirit of rebellion, which had appeared in Leinſter. The garriſon left at Waterford, little ſuſpecting any violence or treachery within the walls, acted with the confidence of men ſurrounded with their friends and adherents, and thus favoured the deſigns of their ſecret enemies. Their commander, croſſing the Sure in a ſmall [illegible] th his few attendants, murdered by the

the mariners; and no ſooner had the news of this maſſacre reached the town, than all the Engliſh, who could be found unarmed, were ſuddenly aſſailed, and ſlaughtered without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. Thoſe of the garriſon, who had opportunity to take arms, joined their aſſociates in the citadel, called Reginald's Tower, and there not only defended themſelves, but annoyed their beſiegers with ſuch ſpirit and addreſs, as at length drove them from the city, and reduced them to ſue for peace with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. They gloſſed over their late barbarity by ſuch pretences as they could invent, and gladly complied with the moſt rigorous terms of accommodation that could be propoſed.

Wexford, in the mean time, was a ſcene of joy and feſtivity. Baſilia, ſiſter of earl Strongbow, had arrived thither with a magnificent train from Dublin, and was ſolemnly eſpouſed by Raymond, who received a large portion of lands as her dowry, and was inveſted with the office of conſtable, and ſtandard-bearer of Leinſter. But, even in the midſt of the nuptial rites, intelligence arrived, that Roderic, at the head of a large confederate army, had ſuddenly paſſed the Shannon, entered the territory of Meath, where Hugh Tyrrel commanded in the place of Lacy, expelled the Engliſh coloniſts, laid their ſettlements waſte, obliged Tyrrel to abandon the forts lately erected, and burned them to the ground; ſo that the fury of his incurſion had been felt even to the walls of Dublin. The occaſion was too preſſing to admit of the leaſt delay; ſo that the very morning after the celebration of his nuptials, the bridegroom was obliged to put on his armour, and led his troops to Dublin, determined to ſeek the invaders; but the Iriſh chieftains, actuated by ſudden and tranſient impreſſions of paſſion, rather than any reaſonable and ſettled principle of duty or public ſpirit, were contented with the devaſtation committed in Meath, and by no means inclined to continue their hoſtilities. Roderic, the leader of this undetermined, ungoverned, and ill-united body, found himſelf obliged to retreat into his own province, and leave the enemy to repair the havock he had made. The earl and Raymond arrived time enough to precipitate the flight of ſome of the Iriſh parties, by falling on their rear, and killing one hundred and fifty. The ſettlements in Meath were re-eſtabliſhed; and Tyrrel had the charge of rebuilding thoſe forts which the Iriſh had deſtroyed.

This ſucceſs, together with the death of Donald Kevanagh, who had been killed in an engagement with a party of his countrymen in the Engliſh ſervice, awed the ſpirit of diſaffection in Leinſter, and eſtabliſhed an appearance of order and

and tranquillity through the Engliſh territories, ſo as to leave earl Richard at leiſure to attend to the affairs of Munſter, and to take meaſures for reducing the prince of Thomond, who poſſeſſed himſelf of Limerick, and continued to bid defiance to the Engliſh power. The ſiege of Limerick was undertaken by Raymond, who, with a choſen body of about ſix hundred, marched againſt the reſolved chieftain. They arrived without oppoſition at the banks of the Shannon, which ſurrounds this city; but here found the bridges broken, and their further approaches ſtopped by the rapidity of the ſtream. Two of their boldeſt knights ventured to paſs where they conceived the river to be fordable, and with ſucceſs; but, returning to encourage and conduct their aſſociates, one of them was drowned. A third paſſed ſafely, but found himſelf unſupported, and expoſed to the enemy; till Raymond, advancing from the rear, ſpurred boldly through the river; and his forces, thus encouraged, followed their leader without further heſitation, and gained the oppoſite bank, with the loſs of two only of their body. The enemy, who were pouring down to oppoſe their paſſage, ſtopped with aſtoniſhment at this intrepidity, and fled at once without ſtriking a blow. They were purſued by the Engliſh with conſiderable ſlaughter, who thus became maſters of the city without reſiſtance. The ſoldiers were enriched by plunder, and the reputation of their favourite general was increaſed by this bold and ſucceſsful adventure.

In the mean time, Roderic, convinced by repeated experience of the inſtability and perfidy of his ſubordinate chieftains, and the ineffectuals nature of a vaſſal army, deſpaired of contending any longer, and determined to ſave his own province at leaſt from the depredations of an incenſed and victorious enemy, by a ſubmiſſion. Yet, not unconſcious of his dignity, he declined all application to earl Strongbow, and determined to treat immediately with the king of England. This monarch had, by the moſt extraordinary exertion of vigour and abilities, happily eluded all the attempts of his enemies on the continent. His Engliſh rebels were ſubdued, his ſons had ſubmitted, the king of Scots had been defeated, was taken priſoner, and obliged to purchaſe his liberty at the expence of the ancient independence of his crown; and Henry, now ſeated peaceably in England, was forming ſchemes of legiſlation for improving and perpetuating the welfare of his kingdom, when he was attended at Windſor by three deputies of Roderic, Catholicus, archbiſhop of Tuam, the abbot of ſaint Brandan, and maſter Lawrence, and he is ſtyled, chancellor to the king of Connaught.

The terms of accommodation are ſtill extant, and ſhew what

what were Henry's ideas of a conqueſt, and what kii dominion he eſteemed ſufficient to denominate him lo Ireland.

Roderic, on his part, conſented to do homage, and pa bute, as liege-man, to the king of England; on which ditions he was allowed to hold the kingdom of Conna as well as his other lordſhips and ſovereignties in as am manner as he had enjoyed them before the arrival of H in Ireland. His vaſſals were to hold under him in pea long as they paid their tribute, and continued faithful t king of England; in which Roderic was to enforce thei obedience, and for this purpoſe to call to his aſſiſtanc Engliſh government, if neceſſary. The annual tribute paid was every tenth mercantable hide, as well from naught as the reſt of the iſland, excepting thoſe parts the immediate dominion of the king of England and hi rons, Dublin with its appurtenances, Meath with all it purtenances, Wexford and all Leinſter, and Waterford its lands, as far as to Dungarvan incluſive; in all v diſtricts, Roderic was not to interfere, nor claim any p or authority. The Iriſh, who had fled from thence, we return, and either to pay their tribute, or to perform th vices required by their tenures, at the option of their ir diate lords; and if refractory, Roderic, at the requiſiti their lords, was to compel them to return. He was to hoſtages from his vaſſals, ſuch as he and his liege lord ſ think proper; and on his part to deliver either theſe or o to his lord, as Henry ſhould appoint. His vaſſals we furniſh hawks and hounds annually to the Engliſh mon and were not to detain any tenant of his immediate dem in Ireland, contrary to his royal pleaſure and command.

This treaty was ſolemnly ratified in a grand coun prelates and temporal barons, among whom we find the biſhop of Dublin one of the ſubſcribing witneſſes. A tropolitan of Leinſter, he was now become an Engliſh ſu and was probably ſummoned upon this occaſion as on liged to attend, and who had a right to aſſiſt in the k great council. It is alſo obſervable that Henry now t with Roderic not merely as a provincial prince, but as narch of Ireland. This is evidently implied and ſuppo the articles; although his monarchical powers and priv were little more than nominal, frequently diſregarded, an poſed by the Iriſh toparchs. Even by their ſubmiſſio Henry many of them renounced and diſavowed the ſovere of Roderic, in effect. But now his ſupremacy ſeems induſtriouſly acknowledged, that the preſent ſubmiſſion appear virtually the ſubmiſſion of all the ſubordinate pri

ſo as to inveſt Henry with the complete ſovereignty of the whole iſland. But the marks of this ſovereignty were no more than homage and tribute; in every other particular the regal rights of Roderic are left inviolate. The Engliſh laws and government (as hath been already obſerved) were evidently to be enforced only in the Engliſh pale; and even within this diſtrict the Iriſh tenant might live in peace, as the ſubject of the Iriſh monarch, bound only to pay his quota of tribute, and not to take arms againſt the king of England.

This ſubmiſſion of Roderic, and his ſolemn recognition of Henry's ſovereignty, promiſed additional ſtrength to the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland. But the jealouſy and ſuſpicions which the king was ever ready to conceive of his barons in this kingdom, once more threatened to embarraſs and diſtreſs them. Hervey of Mountmorres, by marrying the daughter of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and couſin-german of Raymond, ſeemed to have formed a ſtricter and more friendly connection with this lord. A daughter of Strongbow was alſo given in marriage to a youth of the houſe of Fitz-Gerald. Maurice himſelf had lately returned from Wales, and was indulged with a grant of Wicklow-caſtle, added to a diſtrict which Henry had already given him in Ofally. Other leaders of reputation were rewarded by valuable poſſeſſions; ſo that the Engliſh lords ſeemed to be united more firmly than ever, and all nearly intereſted in extending and ſecuring their ſettlements. But Giraldus aſſures us that the envy and diſcontent of Hervey ſtill rankled in his breaſt; that he ſtudiouſly ſought an alliance with the daughter of Fitz-Gerald, to inſinuate himſelf into the confidence of Raymond, and watch the motions and deſigns of his old rival. Whether he had really obſerved any thing alarming in his conduct, or whether malice and jealouſy had invented matters of complaint againſt him, his emiſſaries were ſecretly diſpatched to Henry, by whom he made the moſt unfavourable repreſentations of Raymond's conduct. They aſſured the king, that this lord evidently aſpired to an independent ſovereignty in Ireland; that for this purpoſe he had practiſed all the arts of factious popularity with too great ſucceſs, and was no longer ſolicitous to conceal his diſloyal ſchemes; that he had ſecured Limerick to himſelf, and in this and other cities had ſtationed garriſons devoted to his ſervice, and ſworn ſecretly to ſupport his deſigns; that the infection had ſpread through the whole army, which waited but the command of Raymond to engage in any enterprize, however repugnant to the intereſt and authority of their prince. Such repreſentations, urged with a plauſible appearance, and fair profeſſion of loyalty, by a baron of diſtinguiſhed character and particular credit with the king,

and countenanced by the late tumultuous declarations of army in favour of Raymond, made the intended impreſ upon a prince who had ever dreaded this conſequence fi the increaſing power and ſucceſs of the adventurers in land. Four commiſſioners were immediately diſpatched Dublin; Robert de Poer, Oſbert of Hereford, William B deget, and Adam of Germeny, two of whom were to conc Raymond to the king, and two to remain in order to inſ the affairs of the kingdom, to watch the conduct of Stro bow, and to learn the diſpoſitions of the other lords.

The commiſſioners were received with due reſpect. R mond, who ſaw the machinations of his ſecret enemy, clared his readineſs to obey the pleaſure of his liege-lord, prepared for his departure; but was for ſome time detai by contrary winds. In this interval, intelligence arrives O'Brien of Thomond, the vigorous and formidable enem the Engliſh power, had laid ſiege to Limerick; that the riſon ſtationed there under the command of Meyler of David's had exhauſted their proviſions, were cut off fron further ſupplies, and muſt inevitably periſh either by fam or the ſword of an implacable enemy, if not immediately lieved. This intelligence was the more diſtreſſing to Strongbow, as he himſelf laboured under great bodily firmity, and was to be deprived of a commander on whon had the greateſt reliance in this critical emergency. however, muſtered his forces, and prepared for the relie Limerick with all the alacrity in his power, when the ſol once more clamoured for Raymond, inſolently refuſin march againſt O'Brien, unleſs their favourite general to command. The king's commiſſioners were conſu and readily agreed that they ſhould delay their depar and that Raymond ſhould undertake the conduct of this pedition. The utmoſt reluctance was affected on his p he was ſolicited and entreated both by the earl and the c miſſioners; and at length yielded, with conſcious triu over his malignant enemy.

His forces were compoſed of fourſcore knights, two l dred cavalry, and three hundred archers, together with Iriſh troops of Kenſelagh and Oſſory, whoſe chieftains u with the Engliſh on this occaſion, from a violent per hatred and jealouſy of O'Brien. As he advanced to N ſter, he was informed that the prince of Thomond had d doned the ſiege of Limerick, and leading his forces to C had ſtrongly entrenched himſelf in a defile, through v the Engliſh were to paſs, and there waited their appr He was ſoon witneſs of the ſituation of the enemy, an himſelf oppoſed by no inconſiderable army, poſted to a

tage behind their works. He diſpoſed his troops, and prepared for the aſſault. His Iriſh forces were ſtruck with the appearance of the enemy, and began to ſuſpect the reſolution of their allies, who marched to action, not with the violence nd tumult to which they had been accuſtomed, but with the calmneſs of experienced and determined valour. The prince of Oſſory thought it incumbent on him to remonſtrate with the Engliſh, and to ſhew them the neceſſity of exerting themſelves. He bluntly told them that they muſt conquer or be deſtroyed; for that they were far from refuge or ſupport; and ſhould they preſume to give way, he and his countrymen would inſtantly join the enemy. The only anſwer to this inſolence was a bold and vigorous onſet, which, though received with becoming ſpirit, was finally ſucceſsful; the men of Thomond were driven from their entrenchments with conſiderable ſlaughter; and in their flight ſpread the utmoſt terror and diſmay though the Iriſh of Munſter. O'Brien, wearied out by an unſucceſsful conteſt, determined to make his peace, and to this end propoſed an interview with the Engliſh general. At the ſame time Roderic, in purſuance of his late treaty, repaired to Raymond, to deliver his hoſtages, and take the oaths of fealty; ſo that in one day this lord had the honour of receiving the ſubmiſſions of the king of Connaught, and of the prince of Thomond, who renewed his engagements to the king of England and his heirs, and gave hoſtages as a ſecurity for his future allegiance.

An unnatural quarrel in the family of Mac Arthy, prince of Deſmond, not unuſual among the Iriſh chieftains, afforded Raymond a fair occaſion of continuing his progreſs in Munſter, and added to the honour he had already acquired. Cormac, eldeſt ſon of this prince, had riſen in rebellion againſt his father, deprived him of his territory, and impriſoned him. Mac Arthy, who had ſworn allegiance to the king of England, repreſented his wrongs to Raymond, and required his protection, promiſing conſiderable advantages to his general and his aſſociates, if, by their aſſiſtance, he ſhould be reſtored to his dominions. The Engliſh knights, ever ready to engage in any enterprize which promiſed to enrich them, earneſtly preſſed their leader to march without delay to the aſſiſtance of this injured prince, and ſoon prevailed. They entered the territories of Deſmond in an hoſtile manner, ravaging and plundering without mercy, till Cormac was compelled to ſtop their progreſs by ſubmiſſion. His father was re-inſtated in his territories; and to requite the baſeneſs of his ſon, caſt him into that priſon from which he himſelf was reſcued, and ſoon after put him to death. By this expedition Raymond not only ſupplied his forces and the garriſon of Limerick with proviſions, but obtained from Mac Arthy

a valuable grant of lands in that part of Deſmond calle Kerry, which he enjoyed unmoleſted, and tranſmitted to hi poſterity.

But now, in the midſt of his ſucceſs, he receives the alarming intelligence of the death of earl Strongbow, who expire in Dublin after a tedious indiſpoſition, occaſioned by a mortification in his foot. The fickleneſs of the Iriſh, their rea abhorrence of their invaders, notwithſtanding their pretende ſubmiſſions, and their precipitation in revolting and takin arms on any extraordinary emergency, were but too wel known, and made it neceſſary for the Engliſh government t keep this event concealed till their forces were collecte from the diſtant quarters of the kingdom; and leſt the ſecre ſhould be diſcovered by any miſcarriage of the letter whic Baſilia now ſent to her huſband, it was conceived in myſte rious terms. She informed him, that her great tooth, whic had acted ſo long, was at laſt fallen out, and therefore en treated him to return to Dublin with all imaginable ſpeed.

Raymond, who perfectly underſtood the meaning of thi enigmatical expreſſion, and the importance of a cautious and judicious procedure on an occaſion ſo critical, returned inſtantly to Limerick, and there held a ſecret conſultation with a few ſelect friends. It was readily agreed that the death of the chief governor, at a time when the next man in command was ſummoned into England, required an immediate attention to the peace and ſecurity of the Engliſh province; and that no troops could be ſpared from this firſt and neceſſary ſervice. It had coſt Raymond much pains and labour to gain the city of Limerick, and it was now peculiarly mortifying to find himſelf obliged to abandon this hardly acquired conqueſt. But the garriſon could by no means be left behind. He therefore ſent for Donald O'Brien; and with an affected eaſe and confidence acquainted him, that by his late ſubmiſſion he was become one of the king's barons, and entitled t the confidence of his liege lord; and therefore, as a mark o diſtinction due to his exalted rank, he entruſted him with th cuſtody of Limerick, which might give him an occaſion o approving his attachment, and meriting additional honour and rewards. The Iriſh chieftain received this propoſa with a ſecret exultation, concealed under the appearance o the moſt profound humility, and dutiful allegiance. He wa ſolemnly ſworn, with the moſt horrid diſſimulation, to tak cuſtody of Limerick for the king of England, and to reſtor it peaceably at the royal will and pleaſure. Raymond an his troops proceeded to evacuate the town; but ſcarcely ha they paſſed over one end of the bridge, when the other wa broken down; and they had the mortification to behold th city

city, which they had taken ſuch pains to fortify, and ſupply with ſtores of every kind, ſet on fire in four different quarters by order of O'Brien, who declared that Limerick ſhould no longer be the neſt of foreigners. We are told that whet this tranſaction was reported to king Henry, poſſibly in order to poſſeſs him with an unfavourable opinion of Raymond; this prince too generous and too wiſe to judge by the event obſerved, that the firſt gaining of Limerick was a noble exploit, the recovery of it ſtill nobler; but that the only act of wiſdom was the abandoning their conqueſt in this manner.

The obſequies of earl Strongbow, which had been deferred till the arrival of Raymond, were performed under the direction of this lord and archbiſhop Lawrence, with all due ſolemnity and magnificence. This nobleman was liberal and courteous in his manners; and what he could not gain by power, he frequently obtained by an inſinuating addreſs. In peace he was more diſpoſed to obey than to govern. His ſtate and authority were reſerved for the camp, and there ſupported with the utmoſt dignity. He was diffident of his own judgment, cautious of propoſing his own plans of operation; but in executing thoſe of others, undaunted and vigorous. In battle, he was the ſtandard on which his ſoldiers fixed their eyes; and by whoſe motions they were determined either to advance or to retreat. His temper was compoſed and uniform; not dejected by misfortune, nor elated by ſucceſs.

By the death of this earl, the Engliſh council at Dublin were to exerciſe an important power veſted in them by Henry, that of electing a chief governor, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known. Every circumſtance determined them to confer this office upon Raymond, the favourite of the army, and the terror of the Iriſh enemies. The king's commiſſioners readily concurred in this choice, and embarked in full perſuaſion that they had provided moſt effectually for the intereſts of their royal maſter, by leaving them to the conduct and direction of this lord.

But the jealouſies of Henry were by no means allayed by the moſt favourable repreſentations which theſe commiſſioners could make of Raymond and his conduct. He therefore determined to entruſt the government of Ireland to William Fitz-Andelm, a nobleman allied to him by blood, and of approved allegiance. He ſent him into Ireland with a train of twenty knights; and at the ſame time John de Courcey, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, were appointed to attend the new governor, with a train of ten knights to each. With theſe embarked Vivian, the pope's legate, and Nicholas

Wallingford, an Engliſh eccleſiaſtic, with the brief of p Alexander, lately granted to king Henry, in confirmatio his title to the dominion of Ireland. Fitz-Andelm and attendants landed at Wexford, where Raymond was at h to receive him with the reverence due to his commiſſion. reſigned his ſtate to the new governor, together with the tow hoſtages, and other truſts which he held for the king by vi of his temporary commiſſion; and thus having aſſumed reins of government, Fitz-Andelm began his adminiſtra by a ſtately progreſs along the coaſt, in order to inſpect forts and cities immediately veſted in the king; while eccleſiaſtics were on their part active in the ſervice of t maſter. An aſſembly of the Iriſh clergy was convene Waterford, in which the brief lately granted by Alexan and the bull of Adrian, were ſolemnly promulged, and king's title to the ſovereign dominion of Ireland aſſerted declared in form, with dreadful denunciations of the ſeve cenſures of the church, againſt all thoſe who ſhould impe the grant made by the holy ſee, or reſiſt the ſovereign aut rity of Henry, thus conſtituted rightful lord of Ireland.

The ambition and turbulence of Murrou
A. D. 1178. ſon of Roderic O'Connor, involved his fam and province in conſiderable diſorder. In venge of ſome ſuppoſed injury, or to favour ſome facti purpoſe, he ſeized the opportunity of his father's abſence a remote part of his territory, and invited Milo de Cogan march into Connaught, with an aſſurance of great advanta from ſuch an expedition. The invitation was readily ob ed; and Milo, full of hopes, inſtantly collected from Dub and the adjacent diſtrict, a body of forty knights, two hu dred horſe, and three hundred archers, and advanced with moleſtation to Roſcommon. Here he was joined by M rough, his new ally, who engaged to conduct him thro the province. Some plauſible pretext ſeems to have b alledged by Milo for this incurſion; (poſſibly that of red ing ſome refractory lords, who refuſed to pay tribute to Engliſh government) for he diſpatched a meſſenger to T deric notifying his arrival, and ſummoning him, upon his legiance, to join the Engliſh forces. The ſummons, ho ever, was neglected; and as it was well known that Engliſh adventurers ſought to enrich themſelves by plun the inhabitants, on the firſt notice of their approach, dr away their cattle, ſecreted their valuable effects, and redu the whole country to a deſert.

The monkiſh annaliſts of Ireland make the moſt affec complaints of the deſtruction of churches by the Engliſ

all their expeditions. They ſeem willing to repreſent them as a race of ſavage barbarians, who ſpared nothing ſacred or venerable, and were even poſſeſſed with an heatheniſh averſion to all religious houſes. But the truth is, that in Ireland, every part of which had been a ſcene of conſtant hoſtilities, it had long been a cuſtom for the inhabitants to depoſite proviſions and effects of greater value, in the churches, where they lay ſecure, amidſt all their domeſtic quarrels, as in a kind of ſanctuary, which it was deemed the utmoſt impiety to violate. But the Engliſh had no ſuch ſuperſtitious ſcruples; and their neceſſities were generally too preſſing not to ſeek proviſions wherever they might be found. The churches they conſidered as their ſure reſource; and oppoſition ſometimes occaſioned havock and devaſtation far beyond their intention. To remedy this inconvenience, Vivian, the legate, procured an ordinance in a ſynod held in Dublin, that the Engliſh, when engaged in any expedition, ſhould have liberty to take proviſions depoſited in the churches, provided they paid their juſt value.

But, in the preſent incurſion into Connaught, the Iriſh themſelves, to deprive their invaders of this reſource, burnt down their own churches, as their annals expreſſed it, *in ſpite to the foreigners*; who, in the vexation of diſappointment, could only commit ſome uſeleſs ravages. Reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs for ſubſiſtence in an enemy's country, left by Roderic to encounter all the conſequences of their precipitation, and threatened with a formidable attack from the united forces of Connaught and Munſter, they had no meaſure to purſue, but that of a mortifying and diſgraceful retreat. In this they were obliged to ſuſtain the repeated aſſaults of the Connacians; but at length regained their quarters at Dublin, though not without conſiderable loſs, leaving their ally Murrough, to the reſentment of his countrymen, who ſentenced him, with the concurrence of his own father, to have his eyes put out for his practices with the Engliſh, and his encouragement of their invaſion.

The imperfect and jejune accounts which remain of the local diſſentions and provincial conteſts in Ireland, at this period, give a ſhocking idea of the ſtate of this unhappy country. Deſmond and Thomond in the ſouthern province were diſtracted by the jealouſies of contending chiefs, and the whole land waſted by unnatural and bloody quarrels. Treachery and murder were revenged by treachery and murder, ſo as to perpetuate a ſucceſſion of outrages the moſt horrid and diſgraceful to humanity. The northern province was a ſcene of like enormities, though the new Engliſh ſet-

tlers, who were conſidered as a common enemy, ſhould ha
forced the natives to mutual union. A young prince of t
Hi-Nial race, and heir-apparent to the rights of that fami
fell be the hand of a rival lord; this rival was killed in r
venge; the partiſans on each ſide, as the ſeveral powers p
vailed, were butchered with every circumſtance of triumj
ant barbarity. In Connaught, the blinded ſon of Rode
was reſcued from priſon by his partiſans, and the flame
diſſention re-kindled. Nor were the Iriſh toparchs in Le
ſter more peaceable, or leſs barbarous in their conteſts.
were equally ſtrangers to the nobler virtues of humani
Nor was religion, in the form it then aſſumed, calculated
applied to reſtrain their violences, or to ſubdue their bru
paſſions. An effectual conqueſt, and general ſubjection
the whole iſland to one reaſonable and equitable governme
muſt have proved a ſingular bleſſing to theſe unhappy peo
But Providence was pleaſed to ordain, that their enormi
ſhould continue much longer to prove their own ſev
puniſhment.

CHAP. XI.

Title of Lord of Ireland given to John—Origin of Scottiſh invaſion—Edward Bruce invited into Ireland the Northern Chieftains—Landing of the Scots—Edwa Bruce is crowned King of Ireland at Dundalk—He duces Carrickfergus—Aſſociation of the Engliſh Lord Battle of Athunree—The Capital threatened by Bruc Preparations againſt him—Diſtreſſes of the Scots—P cipitation of Bruce, who is defeated and ſlain—Miſere Conſequences of the Scottiſh War.

HENRY gave the title of *lord* of Ire- A. D. 11
land to his ſon John, who went over
in perſon to that country; but John and his
giddy Norman courtiers made a very ill uſe of their pov
and rendered themſelves hateful to the Iriſh; who were otl
wiſe very well diſpoſed towards the Engliſh. Richard I.
too much taken up with the cruſades to pay any great reg
to the affairs of Ireland; but king John, after his acceſſi
made amends for his former behaviour towards the Ir
Gaveſt

Gaveſton, the famous favourite of Edward II. acquired great credit while he acted as lieutenant of Ireland; but the ſucceſſes of the Scotch king, Robert Bruce, had almoſt proved fatal to the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, and ſuggeſted to the Iriſh the idea of transferring their allegiance from the kings of England to Edward Bruce, king Robert's brother *. Of this prince's invaſion of Ireland, where he gave repeated defeats to the Engliſh governors and armies, whilſt he was ſupported by his brother in perſon, I ſhall here give a brief account.

The dominion gained over Scotland by Edward I. the moſt diſtinguiſhed acquiſition of his illuſtrious reign, had been exerciſed by this auſtere prince with that ſeverity, which haſtened the revolt of a ſpirited and warlike people. Not yet broken by the ill ſucceſs of *Wallace* and exaſperated at the ignominious execution of this their renowned partiſan, they were impatient to ſhake off the yoke of Engliſh government, and found a new and more fortunate leader in Robert Bruce, ſon to that Robert who had been competitor for the crown. The ardour of this young champion had juſt received the mortification of a ſingle defeat; when the death of Edward, in that critical moment when Scotland was to be overwhelmed by a numerous army, converted his precipitate revolt into a judicious and well-directed effort for the deliverance of his country. He iſſued from the Weſtern Iſles, whither he had been driven by his misfortunes, and ſoon became a terror to his enemies. Edward II. purſued the method dictated by his indolence and weakneſs, and to ſtop his progreſs, entered into a treaty with the Scottiſh prince, which was tranſacted in Ireland by the earl of Ulſter, and ended in a truce, which afforded Robert a favourable interval for conſolidating his power. This truce was ſoon violated; war recommenced; and the conteſt was finally decided in favour of the gallant Bruce by the victory of Bannockbourn.

The ſucceſsful progreſs of this young warrior, and his victorious acquiſition of the crown of Scotland were events by no means unnoticed in Ireland. They were heard with wonder and delight by thoſe natives who conſidered themſelves allied in conſanguinity to the Albanian Scots †, as they were ſtyled, and by conſequence peculiarly intereſted in their fortunes. They deſpiſed the weakneſs of the Engliſh prince; but were mortified at the reflection, that they alone had not ſeized the advantage of a contemptible and indolent reign in England to ſhake off the yoke which had ſo long and ſo ſeverely oppreſſed them. The chieftains of Ulſter in particular,

* Dr. Leland † Fordun.

grew

grew impatient to take the advantage of the preſent ſtate of Britain; and as their ſituation made it eaſier to hold a correſpondence with Scotland, they addreſſed themſelves to Robert Bruce, who ſtill purſued his advantage, and ravaged the northern parts of England without controul. They pathetically repreſented the diſtreſſes of their country; enlarged on the injuries they had ſuſtained; painted the inſolence and oppreſſion of their invaders in the moſt offenſive colours; entreating his aſſiſtance for an unhappy people, brethren and kinſmen to the Scots, who wanted but ſuch a leader to execute their vengeance upon the common enemy; and who, rather than languiſh under their preſent miſeries, were ready to receive a ſovereign from Scotland and pay due allegiance to a prince who had valour to reſcue them from ſlavery, and equity to receive and treat them as his ſubjects.

The genius of Robert was naturally formed for bold and adventurous enterprizes; and ſucceſs had inflamed the ambition of his youth. Edward his brother had attended him in all his fortunes, and was diſtinguiſhed by vigour and intrepidity. Scarcely had Robert been inveſted with the royal dignity of Scotland, when this aſpiring young lord boldly demanded, as the juſt reward of his ſervices, to be admitted to an equal ſhare in his authority. A requiſition evidently dictated by a turbulent and ambitious ſpirit, was juſtly alarming to a prince ſcarcely confirmed in his throne, and ſenſible of the dreadful conſequence of any civil commotion or inſurrection. Edward was for the preſent apparently ſatisfied with being declared and recognized heir apparent to the crown. But Robert, wiſely conſidering the neceſſity of finding employment for the active temper of his brother, preſented to his ambition the flattering proſpect of a new kingdom; urged him to take advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the Iriſh lords, and aſſured him of ſuch effectual ſupport as could not fail to exterminate his rivals, and ſeat him on the throne of Ireland. Edward was tranſported at this overture, and at once conſented to the enterprize. The chieftains of Ulſter were aſſured that this lord ſhould ſpeedily be ſent to their deliverance with a conſiderable force. The intelligence was ſpread through their province, every where received with joy, and the way prepared for a dangerous and extenſive inſurrection.

The impatience of young Edward * is ſaid to have driven him to a precipitate and injudicious attempt upon the northern coaſt of Ireland, before a ſufficient force could be provided for his enterprize, or his Iriſh partiſans prepared to declare in favour of his cauſe. The attempt, which was

* Cox.

ſpeedily

ſpeedily repelled, ſhould have given the alarm to an active and vigilant government: and lord Edmund Butler, now deputy to the king of England, actually proceeded to take meaſures for the defence and ſecurity of the realm. But the perpetual remonſtrances made to the king of the partial and irregular adminiſtration of juſtice, the degeneracy of the Engliſh, and the other manifold diſorders of Ireland, induced him to commiſſion John de Hothom, a clergyman in whom he placed peculiar confidence, to confer with the great lords on the ſtate and circumſtances of this kingdom. By his advice, as well as that of ſome of the great officers of ſtate, Richard earl of Ulſter, the lords Edmund Butler and Theobald de Verdun, noblemen of diſtinguiſhed eminence, and whoſe preſence in Ireland was abſolutely neceſſary upon any critical or alarming emergency, were ſummoned to parliament in England, to treat, as it expreſſed in the writ, with the king, his prelates, and nobles, about the affairs of Ireland, *and other of the king's arduous and urgent concerns.* Happily they returned early in the enſuing ſpring: and we find lord Edmund Butler, the chancellor, and the treaſurer of Ireland, inſtructed to deliver the reſult of their deliberation, not only to the prelates, nobles, and magiſtrates, but to the principal chieftains of the Iriſh race; whom the king directs to give due credence to his commiſſioners, and to aſſiſt in executing the ſchemes deviſed for the general intereſt, little ſuſpecting the inveterate averſion harboured by theſe chieftains, or the peſtilent deſigns now ripening for execution. A.D. 1314.

On the twenty-fifth day of May, lord Edward Bruce appeared on the north eaſtern coaſt of Ireland, and, from a fleet of three hundred barks, landed ſix thouſand hardy Scots, to aſſert his claim to the ſovereignty of this kingdom. The Iriſh lords of Ulſter who had invited and encouraged him to this enterprize, were now prepared to receive their new monarch, flocked with eagerneſs to his ſtandard, bound themſelves by ſolemn treaty to his ſervice, delivered their hoſtages, and marched under his command to wreak their vengeance upon the common enemy. The barbarous policy of the Scot, which obliged him to ſtrike terror into all his opponents, and the deſperate reſentment of the Iriſh, conſpired to mark their progreſs by deſolation and carnage. The Engliſh ſetlers of the north were butchered without mercy, or driven from their faireſt poſſeſſions in a moment; their caſtles levelled to the ground, and their towns ſet on fire. Dundalk, Atherdee, and other places of leſs note, felt the utmoſt fury of theſe mercileſs ravagers; the fame of whoſe progreſs A.D. 1315.

ſoon

ſoon reached the moſt diſtant quarters of the iſland, and was received with triumph and exultation by all the enemies of Engliſh government, though the weſtern and ſouthern chieftains had not as yet taken arms in favour of the Scottiſh prince.

The Engliſh lords who ſhould have oppoſed this dangerous invaſion, were neither cordially united by their common danger, nor duly prepared to repel it. Richard earl of Ulſter, indeed, roſe up with ſuch forces as he could collect, in defence of his poſſeſſions. He ſummoned his vaſſals to attend him at Roſcommon; from whence marching to Athlone, he was here joined by Fedlin O'Connor, the Iriſh prince of Connaught, with his provincial troops. So that, iſſuing forth through the territory of Meath, he entered the northern province, waſting and deſolating the diſtricts which he traverſed, to ſupply the neceſſities of his army. Butler, the lord deputy, at the ſame time, exerted his diligence to collect the troops of Leinſter, and joined the earl with a conſiderable reinforcement. But Richard, whoſe declining vigour was ſupplied by a proud and imperious ſpirit, and who had been accuſtomed to treat the king's vicegerent as his inferior, diſdained this aſſiſtance, declared that his own troops were more than ſufficient to repel the Scots, and puniſh their adherents; adviſing the deputy to return to the ſeat of government, and confine his attention to the ſecurity of Leinſter. Lord Edmund readily acquieſced; and the conduct of this war was entruſted ſolely to earl Richard.

But the proſecution of the war by no means correſponded with his magnificent promiſes; and the operations on both ſides were indeed neceſſarily retarded by a ſeaſon of remarkable dearth and diſtreſs, which had been felt through all the Britiſh iſlands. Bruce in the firſt ardour of ſucceſs had advanced into the county of Louth. The earl followed; but without coming to a deciſive action, ſkirmiſhed with the enemy. Bruce thus haraſſed, and oppreſſed by intolerable ſcarcity of proviſions, followed the advice of his chief aſſociate, O'Nial of Tirowen, and retreated into Ulſter. The earl purſued; and we are told, that after ſome inconſiderable actions, a general battle was fought near Colerain, which ended in the diſcomfiture of Richard. However this may be, the advantage could not be effectually improved, nor was the earl prevented from carrying on the war. Bruce was therefore obliged to recur to artifice and ſecret negociation, in order to weaken and divide the forces of his enemy.

Fedlim, the Iriſh prince of Connaught*, who had united

* Camden.

with

with the earl of Ulſter, was a youth of about twenty-two years, diſtinguiſhed by a military genius, ſpirited, and inexperienced. His preſent connection had been formed merely to ſecure his provincial intereſts, and to defend him againſt the attempts of factious rivals. The flattering idea of glory, and the pride of anceſtry, were ſtill predominant in his mind, and rendered him a proper object for the artifice of Bruce. To him the Scottiſh prince ſecretly applied; he repreſented his preſent union as highly diſhonourable to his ſtation, and injurious to his country; he reminded him of the power and poſſeſſions which his anceſtors had enjoyed, before the uſurpation of the Engliſh had confined the princely family of Connaught within the narroweſt and moſt inglorious limits: he entreated him no longer to turn his arms inconſiderately againſt thoſe who were come to deliver him and his countrymen from oppreſſion and uſurpation; promiſing to reinſtate him in the province of Connaught in as ample a manner as any of his moſt diſtinguiſhed predeceſſors had enjoyed it, provided he would deſert the Engliſh intereſt, and unite with his northern friends, as ſoon as it could be effected with ſafety to himſelf, and advantage to the common cauſe.

The young Iriſh prince liſtened to theſe overtures with eagerneſs, and ſoon found more than a plauſible pretence to detach himſelf from the earl of Ulſter. His abſence from his own territory had produced the effect uſually experienced by the Iriſh toparchs; and encouraged Roderic, one of his factious kinſmen, to endeavour to ſupplant him. The partiſans of this leader were collected; his opponents readily ſubdued; and thus ſeizing the Iriſh diſtrict of Connaught, he entered into a negociation with Edward Bruce, promiſing to expel the Engliſh from the whole province, if he were acknowledged as the rightful prince, and ſupported in the honours and poſſeſſions he had acquired. Bruce readily accepted his ſervices, and received him as his ally; repreſenting at the ſame time the extreme folly and danger of diviſion, entreating him to leave the poſſeſſions of Fedlim unmoleſted, and to ſuſpend the diſcuſſion of all particular claims and pretenſions, till the common enemy ſhould be firſt ſubdued, and the reſtoration of general peace allow them to be decided with due temper and propriety.

Roderic, little influenced by this counſel, continued to augment his forces, to haraſs the partiſans of his rival, to raze and burn down their towns, until he had obliged the ſeveral ſects to acknowledge his ſovereignty, and to give hoſtages for their faithful attachment to his intereſt; ſo that Fedlim was obliged to propoſe to the earl of Ulſter, to march with his whole army into Connaught to expel this

injurious uſurper. Although the northern enemy were too formidable to permit the earl to comply with this overture, yet he could not, with any appearance of equity, detain the Iriſh chieftain from his immediate intereſts. Fedlim was diſmiſſed with his provinciais, amuſing the earl with flattering aſſurances of an immediate return, when the diſorders of his territory ſhould be once compoſed. But the Iriſh prince was ſoon convinced that the progreſs of his rival had been too long neglected, and that his power was now too firmly eſtabliſhed. The northern Iriſh, unacquainted with his ſecret tranſactions with Bruce, and regarding him as a peſtilent enemy, haraſſed him inceſſantly through his whole march; and no ſooner had he reached a place of ſafety, than he had the mortification to find it neceſſary to diſmiſs his weakened and diſpirited followers.

He was ſoon followed into Connaught by the earl of Ulſter and the remaining part of his army. This diſmembered body had been obliged to retire before the northern and Scottiſh forces: nor could the leader ſecure his retreat without conſiderable loſs. As the general diſtreſs of famine prevented Bruce from purſuing his advantage, after ſome ineffectual progreſs, he again retired; and as the forces raiſed by the Engliſh government ſhared in this diſtreſs, he remained in Ulſter unmoleſted, aſſuming the parade of royalty, holding his courts of judicature, and affecting all the ſtate and buſineſs of a ſovereign, till new incidents enabled him to act a more vigorous and important part.

On the arrival of the earl of Ulſter in Connaught, the party which eſpouſed the cauſe of Fedlim immediately aſſembled in full confidence that their chieftain would now receive effectual ſupport. But the ſhattered remains of a diſgraced and diſcomfited army could but enable them to make a predatory war upon their antagoniſt, and to aggravate the diſtreſſes of the province, already worn out by peſtilence and famine; till the arrival of Sir John Bermingham, a valiant and diſtinguiſhed commander, with a ſelect body of Engliſh forces, enabled Fedlim to meet his rival in the field. An engagement, which ended in the total defeat and death of Roderic, reinſtated Fedlim in his poſſeſſions, as well as in the dignity of an Iriſh prince: and as gratitude had no place in his mind, the very firſt uſe made of his re-eſtabliſhment, was to declare openly and zealouſly in favour of the Scottiſh intereſt, and to draw the ſword againſt his deliverers. The example was inſtantly followed by O'Brien of Thomond, and other Iriſh chieftains of Munſter and Meath. Induſtrious agents were every where employed to foment the ſpirit of inſurrection. The clergy extolled Bruce as the protector

protector and deliverer of their country; inveighed bitterly againſt the Engliſh government, and exhorted the ignorant laity to take up arms againſt the enemies of the church and the oppreſſors of the people. To improve theſe favourable impreſſions, Edward Bruce was ſolemnly crowned at Dundalk. To enable him to ſupport his dignity, his brother Robert landed in Ireland with a powerful army; and although the general dearth and ſeverity of the ſeaſon obliged him to return before he could perform any diſtinguiſhed ſervice, yet that part of his forces which he left behind him was no inconſiderable reinforcement to his brother; and was ſtill further increaſed by a conflux of diſcontented Iriſh, together with numbers of degenerate Engliſh, and among theſe the Lacies and their numerous followers. The town of Carrickfergus, which had long ſupported the moſt vigorous aſſaults of the Scottiſh troops, and patiently endured the moſt afflicting want and diſtreſs, now ſurrendered to Bruce; who, quitting his deſolated quarters in the remoter diſtricts of Ulſter, marched ſouthward with a barbarous army, inflamed to madneſs by the violent cravings of nature, and prepared to glut their frantic malice and allay the rage of hunger by the bloodieſt hoſtilities and moſt ruthleſs depredations.

In the mean time the Engliſh lords, alarmed at the danger of their own lands and poſſeſſions, as well as that of the realm, proceeded to the moſt effectual meaſures in their power to repel the invaſions with which they were threatened, both from Connaught and from Ulſter. Amidſt the treacherous revolts of many Engliſh ſubjects, and ſome of conſiderable note, the allegiance of all became in ſome degree ſuſpicious*. Several of the moſt diſtinguiſhed lords had therefore entered into an aſſociation to ſupport the intereſts of king Edward with their lives and fortunes, and gave hoſtages to Hotham, his commiſſioner, as a ſurety for their faith and allegiance. To enliven and propagate this ſpirit of loyalty, the royal favour was extended to the moſt deſerving and diſtinguiſhed among them. John Fitz-Thomas, baron of O'Phaly, was created earl of Kildare: lord Edmond Butler received the title of earl of Carrick. The chiefs of the noble houſes of Deſmond and Kildare † exerted themſelves with particular vigour, and took a principal part in the conduct of the war and the proviſions neceſſary for the public defence. At the ſame time that they made ſuch preparations as were in their power, to repel the irruptions of the Scots, an army was detached into Connaught, under the command of William de Burgho, brother to the earl of Ulſter, and

* Rymer. † Davis.

Richard de Birmingham, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of Fed O'Connor. This chieftain had ſeconded the efforts of ward Bruce, by many ſpirited irruptions on the Engliſh tlements. Stephen of Exeter, Milo Cogan, William P dergaſt, John Staunton, and other gallant knights, had b ſurpriſed and ſlain in his incurſions. But he ſoon found hi ſelf encountered by an army which required all his po and vigour to withſtand. His forces were collected; a with the ſpirit of a warlike young chieftain, he marc againſt his formidable invaders. The contending par met near the town of Athunree, where a deſperate enga ment was at length determined in favour of the Engl army; and Fedlim ended his ſhort career by falling in field of battle. The loſs of the Iriſh in this action is m nified to eight thouſand men. And the number was certa ly conſiderable; for even the Iriſh writers declare, that engagement had ever been ſo bloody and ſo deciſive from time of the firſt Engliſh invaſion.

The fall of his Iriſh confederate of Connaught ſeemed have little influence on the operations of Edward Bruc who proceeded in his enterprize, and continued his deſtru tive progreſs, without reſtraint or moleſtation, to the v walls of Dublin*. Hither the earl of Ulſter had retire and in this time of fear and ſuſpicion, his former inactive a inglorious conduct added to the circumſtance of his ſiſ being married to Robert king of Scotland, raiſed ſuch app henſions of his ſecret diſloyalty, that the chief magiſtrate the city ſeized and impriſoned him; nor could all the auth rity of Engliſh government immediately effect his enlarg ment. Bruce was now at hand, to increaſe the terror a conſternation of the citizens. They ſet fire to the ſubu with ſuch precipitation, that their cathedral did not eſca the fury of the flames; and retiring within their walls ma ſuch preparations for a vigorous defence, that the Scott prince deemed it expedient to turn aſide towards the ter tory of Kildare; through which he marched with the m terrifying execution, under the direction of Waller de La who had, but juſt now, ſolemnly diſavowed all connecti with the Scot, and renewed his oath of allegiance to t crown of England. He traverſed the territory of Oſſo penetrated into Munſter, and continued his ravages, not lik gallant conqueror, but a ſavage, driven on furiouſly by hung and neceſſity.

In this time of diſtreſs and confuſion, the friends of En liſh government abandoned to their own reſources, in an e

* Camden.

hauſt

haunted country, ſurrounded by ſecret enemies, and every where haraſſed by petty depredations, could not without the utmoſt difficulty collect a force ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the Scot. An army ſaid to conſiſt of thirty thouſand, including a vaſt number of irregular, unprovided, and ineffective men, was at length aſſembled at Kilkenny. The Geraldines, who had now forgotten all their private jealouſies and conteſts with other noble families, prepared to march out againſt the ravager, when intelligence arrived, that Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a nobleman who, in right of his wife, claimed large poſſeſſions in Meath, and who is ſaid by ſome hiſtorians to have already taken a part in the preſent war, and to have been defeated by Bruce, had arrived at Youghal, with a train of about forty knights and their attendants, to take upon him the adminiſtration of government; and was on his march to join the main body. The motions of his enemies were not unknown to Bruce; who, conſcious of his own real weakneſs, determined to avoid an engagement. His only reſource was to lead his haraſſed army back to Ulſter. By forced marches they arrived in Meath, unmoleſted; and halting for ſome days in the neighbourhood of Trim, from thence proceeded to their northern quarters.

The Engliſh forces were unable to purſue the enemy through a deſolated country to a remote corner of the iſland. The new governor therefore diſmiſſed his army, repaired to Dublin, convened the nobles to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken, and, with their concurrence, prevailed on the magiſtracy to releaſe the earl of Ulſter from his confinement. Thence proceeding to Meath, he endeavoured to compoſe the diſorders of this diſtrict, and particularly to reduce the proud and rebellious family of de Lacey. They were formerly ſummoned to appear and defend themſelves againſt a charge of a treaſonable intercourſe with the king's enemies. But inſtead of abiding a judicial examination, they treated the ſummons as an indignity to their grandeur, and ſlew the meſſenger by whom it was delivered. To revenge this outrage, their lands were invaded, ravaged, and ſeized, and they themſelves driven for ſhelter into Connaught, where they waited a favourable opportunity to unite once more with their Scottiſh ally.

The chief employment of the governor was now to repreſs the Iriſh inſurgents of Leinſter, to regulate this province, to correct the abuſes of former adminiſtrations, and to apply the moſt effectual remedies in his power to the manifold diſtreſſes which the Engliſh ſubjects had long experienced, as well as the Iriſh natives. The Engliſh intereſt

ſeemed to revive under a ſpirited and well ſupported gov
ment, while the affairs of the invaders became every
more deſperate. The ſentence of excommunication
thundered from the papal chair againſt all the enemie
king Edward. Robert and Edward Bruce were excom
nicated by name. The ſame dreadful ſentence was
nounced againſt the Iriſh clergy of every order, who
preached with ſo much zeal to excite their countryme
inſurrection. This interpoſition of the pontiff had been
pected; and to guard againſt it, thoſe Iriſh who had ur
with the Scots had the precaution to diſpatch their emiſſ
to Rome with an affecting remonſtrance preſented in
name of O'Neil*, on the preſent ſtate of their nation,
the cruel hardſhips they had long endured from Engliſh
vernment. They recited the conditions on which Ac
had firſt permitted Henry II. to enter into Ireland.
from ſhewing the leaſt attention to theſe, both he and his
ceſſors, they alleged, had loaded the natives with unhea
afflictions and oppreſſions, reducing them to a ſtate of in
rable ſlavery; in which they had long remained wit
compaſſion or redreſs, till, no longer able to endure th
verity of their ſufferings, they had been forced to withd
themſelves from the dominion of England, and to invite
other power to the government of their realm. And
was the effect of this remonſtrance upon the pope, that
after the ſentences of excommunication were promulge
tranſmitted it to king Edward, attended with an earneſ
hortation to weigh the complaint, and to redreſs their gr
ances; that ſo the Iriſh who had taken arms in favour o
Scottiſh prince might be induced to return to their
giance, or be left without excuſe, ſhould they perſiſt in
revolt.

This application doth not appear to have been atte
nor in the preſent ſtate of things could it be attended,
any immediate conſequences. In the mean time the diſtr
of Edward Bruce in his ſtate of inactive retirement, roſe
degree of ſuffering, horrible to be related. A country
lated by famine, peſtilence, and war, afforded no ſubſiſt
to his wretched followers. Every miſerable proviſion
the neceſſities of life had been exhauſted by their rep
excurſions. They daily fell in great numbers, under the
preſſion of diſeaſe and famine. Their carcaſes, we ar
fured, became the ſubſiſtence of the wretched ſurvi
The hideous incident is related, not only without the
expreſſion of ſenſibility, but with ſuch hardened indiffer

* Fordun. Buller.

and a folly ſo provoking, that it is imputed as a judgment on their enormous offence of eating meat in Lent. In thoſe parts of the kingdom where agriculture had not been totally interrupted, the return of a fruitful ſeaſon proved a critical relief, and enabled the Engliſh to reſume their military operations. A defeat, which they had ſuſtained in Thomond, and which had been attended with conſiderable loſs, obliged them to take vigorous meaſures to repair the misfortune, and to maintain their intereſt in this province. The northern enemies, however, were by no means neglected. On the return of Mortimer into England, the archbiſhop of Caſhel and Dublin were ſucceſſively deputed to the adminiſtration. This latter prelate aſſigned the command of the forces deſtined againſt the Scots to Sir John Birmingham, who marched into Ulſter with ſeveral diſtinguiſhed officers in his train, and about fifteen hundred choſen troops. Bruce, after all his loſſes, had ſtill an army more than double of this number; and weakened and diſordered as they were, the romantic valour of their leader was ſtill confident and violent. He is ſaid to have received advice that his brother Robert was on the point of coming to his aſſiſtance, and jealous of admitting him to ſhare his military honours, purpoſely haſtened his march to decide the conteſt by his A. D. 1318. own proweſs. The two parties met near Dundalk; the Scots and their aſſociates, animated by the hopes of putting an happy end to their diſtreſſes, encouraged by the impetuous valour of their leader, and relying on their ſuperior numbers, were impatient to encounter an enemy, who had often fled before them. The Engliſh conducted by an able general, well provided and appointed, were equally impatient to exterminate thoſe invaders who had ſo ſeverely haraſſed and diſtreſſed the whole nation. The prelate of Armagh, a zealous partizan of the Engliſh intereſts, went through their ranks*, exhorting them to behave with due valour againſt the enemies of their nation, and the mercileſs ravagers of their poſſeſſions; diſtributing his benedictions, and pronouncing abſolution on all thoſe who ſhould fall in a cauſe ſo juſt and honourable. The conflict was violent, and ſuſtained on each ſide with equal bravery; but at length decided againſt the enfeebled northerns. The body of Maupas, a brave Engliſh knight, who had ruſhed into the ranks to encounter Edward Bruce, was found ſtretched on that of his antagoniſt, who had fallen by his arm. Robert Bruce arrived with his forces only to hear of the defeat of his unhappy brother, and inſtantly retired. The Engliſh leader

* Buchan.

when he had firſt expelled O'Neil, the chief ſupporter of the Scots, from his territory of Tirowen, led back his victorious troops, and ſoon after received the earldom of Louth, and manor of Atherdee, as the reward of his diſtinguiſhed ſervices.

Such was the event of this Scottiſh invaſion; an enterprize raſhly undertaken by an aſpiring young prince, who for almoſt three years had purſued the wild ſcheme of his ambition, through danger and calamity, involving the nation, which he ſought to govern, in greater diſtreſs than a diſtreſſed and afflicted nation had experienced for ages; and cloſing the bloody roll of thoſe his madneſs had deſtroyed, by his own untimely end. Unhappily for Ireland, the calamities, which this war had introduced, were of ſuch a kind as could not ceaſe with their immediate cauſe. The diſmal effects of war, eſpecially in a country circumſtanced as Ireland was at this time, are not to be eſtimated ſolely by the troops loſt in battle, or the towns taken: thoſe which hiſtory deigns not to record were yet more afflicting and extenſive. The oppreſſion exerciſed with impunity in every particular diſtrict; the depredations every where committed among the inferior orders of the people, not by open enemies alone, but thoſe who called themſelves friends and protectors, and who juſtified their outrages by the plea of lawful authority; their avarice and cruelty, their plundering and maſſacres, were ſtill more ruinous than the defeat of an army, or the loſs of a city. The wretched ſufferers had neither power to repel, nor law to reſtrain or vindicate their injuries. In times of general commotion, laws the moſt wiſely framed and moſt equitably adminiſtered, are but of little moment. But now the very ſource of public juſtice was corrupted and poiſoned. In the diſtinction maintained between the Iriſh foedary and the Engliſh ſubject, and the different modes of juriſdiction by which each was governed, every day demonſtrated, by its miſerable effects, the iniquity of thoſe who had favoured this horrid and infatuated policy.

The murder of an Iriſhman was puniſhable only by a fine; a ſlight reſtraint on the rage of inſolence and rapine; while the murder of an Engliſhman was a capital offence in the Iriſh native. On the other hand, the Engliſhman who robbed or plundered one of his own countrymen was condemned to death: the Iriſhman convicted of the like crime was remitted to his Brehon, who might allow him to compound for his offence: an indulgence which tempted numbers of diſordered Engliſh to renounce their names and nation, to adopt the manners, and conform to the wretched polity of the natives; a meaſure productive of dangerous relaxation and abuſe even in

in the Engliſh tribunals. The judges, either by the force of pernicious example, or from the neceſſity of a diſtempered ſtate, aſſumed an authority of compounding by fine even for the crimes of robbery and homicide; which increaſed the number of delinquents, and gave full ſcope to their lawleſs violence, confident that a ſum of money could atone for their exceſſes, and leave them at full liberty to wreak the bloodieſt vengeance on their accuſers. This evil was ſo ſeverely felt during the Scottiſh war, that the Iriſh council repreſented the pernicious innovation to the king of England, with all its dreadful conſequences, earneſtly petitioning that no pardon or redemption for any murder or robbery of an Engliſh ſubject ſhould be granted, but in full parliament*; and for this purpoſe particularly, that a parliament ſhould be held in Ireland once every year. And there is authority for aſſerting that an ordinance was made in conſequence of this application, and in full compliance with the requeſt.

But whatever ſalutary inſtitutions might be ordained, a general diſinclination in the people to obey them, and too good grounds to hope for impunity in their neglect or reſiſtance, proved ſufficient to defeat their good effects. Such was the blind rage with which the degenerate Engliſh ruſhed into the exceſſes of rapine, that they renounced their rights as ſubjects, at the imminent danger of their lives, which were thus rendered more precarious and defenceleſs; and even the Iriſh who were denizened, could not at once diveſt themſelves of prejudice and habit. They were aſtoniſhed to find, that felony was to be puniſhed capitally, and abſolutely refuſed obedience to ſo ſevere a juriſdiction. So that a ſpecial ordinance was made in the fourteenth year of Edward II. that all the Iriſh who had received, or ſhould receive, charters of denization, were for the future to be ſtrictly obedient to the Engliſh laws in this particular inſtance.

But neither a lawleſs diſpoſition in the people to be governed, nor any irregular and partial execution of juſtice in the miniſters, who appear to have been at this time notoriouſly corrupt and inſufficient†, were the only evils which had ariſen during the courſe of this unhappy war; for the ſupport whereof, as Davis obſerves, "the revenue of the land "was far too ſhort, and yet no ſupply of treaſure was ſent "out of England." The compendious Iriſh method of quartering ſoldiers on the inhabitants, and leaving them to ſupport themſelves by arbitrary exactions, which ſeemed to have been pointed out by the urgent occaſion, was adopted with alacrity, and executed with rigour. Riot, rapine, maſſacre, and

* Coke. † Rymer.

all the tremendous effects of anarchy, were the natural conſequences. Every inconſiderable party, who, under pretence of loyalty, received the king's commiſſion to repel the adverſary in ſome particular diſtrict, became peſtilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their properties, their lives, the chaſtity of their families, were all expoſed to barbarians, who ſought only to glut their brutal paſſions; and by their horrible exceſſes ſaith the annaliſt, purchaſed the curſe of God and man. The Engliſh freeholder abandoned his lands rather than endure the burden of impoſitions intolerably ſevere, attended with ſuch dreadful circumſtances of outrage: he fled to the haunts of the Iriſh inſurgents, connected and allied himſelf with theſe, learned their language and manners, and marched out with them againſt the common enemy; while his lands were reſumed by the barbarous natives as their original and rightful property.

The ſame method of arbitrary exactions *, or *coyne* and *livery*, as it was called, for the maintenance of the ſoldiery, was alſo adopted by lords of conſiderable note and conſequence; and, particularly, began at this time to be exerciſed with great ſeverity by Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Deſmond. His miniſters of rapine, in a ſhort time, baniſhed all the Engliſh ſettlers from the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford; whoſe lands were ſeized by the followers of this lord, a mixed rabble, moſtly of the Iriſh race, and all infected with the moſt pernicious part of Iriſh manners. Deſmond himſelf, ſaith ſir John Davis, taking what ſcopes he beſt liked for his demeſnes in every country, and reſerving an Iriſh ſeniory out of the reſt.

Poſſeſſions thus acquired could not be maintained by the juſt and equitable law of England, whoſe ſentence muſt have diſpoſſeſſed the uſurpers, and reſtored the rightful owners to their lands. Maurice and his partizans had therefore but one method to ſecure their preſent acquiſitions, an utter renunciation of Engliſh law and government. He degenerated into an Iriſh chieftain, and ſupported a barbarous ſtate over all his followers: they ſoon united into one maſs, Engliſh and Iriſh equally diſdaining all ſalutary diſcipline and polity, and ſinking into the utmoſt rudeneſs of manners; knowing and acknowledging no other power but that of their immediate chieftain. The pernicious example was followed by other lords: for the power and influence thus acquired by Maurice was an enviable object. In various quarters of the iſland, the more powerful of the Engliſh race, by the ſame arbitrary exactions and oppreſſions, baniſhed the inhabitants, and erected themſelves into independent ſovereigns. The

* Davis.

diſcontented

diſcontented natives were thus encouraged to riſe up in arms, even in the territories of Leinſter, when the Engliſh ſettlers had been driven either into their native country, or to the Iriſh ſepts. The only meaſure taken in the diſtractions of England, and the weakneſs of Iriſh government, was that of enacting ſome futile ordinances againſt thoſe impoſitions which had been the cauſe of all this diſorder, without power to enforce obedience.

In a country where the Engliſh intereſt was thus ſenſibly declining, one would imagine that few reſources could be found or ſought, for the neceſſities of England. Yet the weak and injudicious attempt on Scotland, was made the pretence for calling off thoſe forces A. D. 1323. from Ireland, which ſhould have been employed againſt domeſtic enemies. And the pope, with a compoſed inſenſibility to the diſtreſſes of a diſtant country, granted to king Edward a tenth of all the Engliſh revenues in Ireland for two years. The laity were duly obedient, and led their troops into Scotland. The clergy were more refractory. They might have pleaded the general diſtreſs of their nation, and their own total inability. But they had to deal with thoſe who were not to be influenced by arguments of reaſon and equity. They had therefore recourſe to evaſion: they demanded the pope's original bull; and as this was not produced, they refuſed to pay the ſubſidy.

The diſordered ſtate of England, which had encouraged this ſpirit of diſobedience, and aggravated, if not originally occaſioned all the diſtreſſes of Ireland, ended at length in the ruin of the weak and wretched Edward; who, in the extremity of diſtreſs, made a fruitleſs effort to throw himſelf into the arms of his Iriſh ſubjects. Had he gained this iſland, the horrible cataſtrophe of his death might have been prevented; and even his depoſition at leaſt ſuſpended. But the triumph of his enemies was complete. Among the articles of accuſation urged againſt the king, they inſulted him with the loſs of his dominions in Ireland, as if this were not more juſtly chargeable to their own perfidy and rebellion.

CHAP. XII.

The Earl of Desmond was the first Irish Chieftain that was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—Irish Massacre—Commercial advantages granted to the Irish—Address presented to the Prince of Wales respecting the Regency—Literature.

DURING the minority of Edward III. the commotions were again renewed in Ireland, and not suppressed without great loss and disgrace on the side of the English. In 1333 a rebellion broke out, in which the English inhabitants had no inconsiderable share. A succession of vigorous, brave governors, at last quieted the insurgents; and about the year 1361, prince Lionel, son to Edward III. having married the heiress of Ulster, was sent over to govern Ireland, and, if possible, to reduce its inhabitants to an entire conformity to the laws of England. In this he made a great progress, but did not entirely accomplish it. It appears, that at this time the Irish were in a very flourishing condition, and that one of the greatest grievances they complained of was, that the English sent over men of mean birth to govern them. In 1394, Richard II. finding that the execution of his despotic schemes in England must be abortive without farther support, he passed over to Ireland with an army of thirty-four thousand men, well armed and appointed. As he made no use of force, the Irish regarded his presence as a high compliment to their nation, and admired the magnificence of his court. Richard, on the other hand, courted them by all the arts he could employ, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on their chiefs. In short, he behaved so as entirely to win their affections. But in 1399, after having acted in a very despotic manner in England, he undertook a fresh expedition into Ireland, to revenge the death of his lord-lieutenant, the earl of March, who had been killed by the wild Irish. His army again struck the natives with consternation, and they threw themselves upon his mercy. It was during this expedition, that the duke of Lancaster landed in England; and Richard, upon his return, finding himself deserted by his English subjects on account of his tyranny, and that he could not depend upon the Irish, surrendered his crown to his rival.

The Irish after Richard's death, still retained a warm affection for the house of York; and upon the revival of that family's claim to the crown, embraced its cause. Edward IV. made the earl of Desmond lord-lieutenant of Ireland for his services

ſervices againſt the Ormond party and other adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, and he was the *firſt Iriſh chieftain* that obtained this honour*. Even the acceſſion of Henry VII. to the crown of England did not reconcile the Iriſh to his title as duke of Lancaſter; they therefore readily joined Lambert Simnel, who pretended to be the eldeſt ſon of Edward IV. but for this they paid dear, being defeated in their attempt to invade England. This made them ſomewhat cautious at firſt of joining Perkin Warbeck, who was, however, at laſt recognized as king by the Iriſh; and in the preceding pages under the hiſtory of England, the reader may learn the event of his pretenſions. Henry behaved with moderation towards his unfortunate partizans, and was contented with requiring the Iriſh nobility to take a freſh oath of allegiance to his government. This lenity had the deſired effect, during the adminiſtration of the two earls of Kildare, the earl of Surry, and the earl of Ormond. Henry VIII. governed Ireland by ſupporting its chiefs againſt each other, but they were tampered with by the emperor Charles V. upon which Henry made his natural ſon, the duke of Richmond, his lord-lieutenant. This did not prevent the Iriſh from breaking out into rebellion under Fitz-Gerald, who had been lord deputy, and was won over by the emperor, but was at laſt hanged at Tyburn. After this the houſe of Auſtria found their account in the quarrels with England, to form a ſtrong party among the Iriſh. A. D. 1540.

James V. king of Scotland formed ſome pretenſions to the crown of Ireland, and was favoured by a ſtrong party among the Iriſh themſelves†. It is hard to ſay, had he lived, what the conſequence of his claim might have been. Henry underſtood that the Iriſh had a mean opinion of his dignity, as the kings of England had hitherto aſſumed no higher title than that of lords of Ireland. He therefore took that of king of Ireland, which had a great effect with the native Iriſh, who thought that allegiance was not due to a lord; and indeed, it was ſomewhat ſurpriſing that this expedient was not thought of before. It produced a more perfect ſubmiſſion of the native Iriſh to Henry's government than ever had been known; and even O'Neil, who pretended to be ſucceſſor to the laſt paramount king of Ireland, ſwore allegiance to Henry, who created him earl of Tyrone. The pope, however, and the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, by remitting money, and ſometimes ſending over troops to the Iriſh, ſtill kept up their A. D. 1542.

* Smollett. † Buchanan.

intereſt,

intereſt in that kingdom, and drew from them vaſt numbers of men to their armies, were they proved as good ſoldiers as any in Europe. This created inexpreſſible difficulties to the Engliſh government, even in the reign of Edward VI. but it is remarkable, that the reformation took place in the Engliſh part of Ireland with little or no oppoſition. The Iriſh ſeem to have been very quiet during the reign of queen Mary; but they proved thorns in the ſide of queen Elizabeth. The perpetual diſputes ſhe had with the Roman catholics, both at home and abroad, gave her great uneaſineſs; and the pope and the houſe of Auſtria always found new reſources againſt her in Ireland.

In the reign of Charles I. the Iriſh Roman Catholics in general, were influenced by their prieſts to hope not only to repoſſeſs the lands of their forefathers, but to reſtore the popiſh religion in Ireland. They therefore entered into a deep and deteſtable conſpiracy for maſſacring all the Engliſh proteſtants in that kingdom. In this they were encouraged by the unhappy diſſentions that broke out between the king and his parliament in England and Scotland. Their bloody plan being diſcovered by the Engliſh government at Dublin, prevented the city from falling into their hands. They, however, partly executed in 1641 their horrid ſcheme of maſſacre: but authors are not agreed as to the numbers who were murdered, perhaps they have been exaggerated by warm proteſtant writers. "By ſome computations," ſays an elegant hiſtorian, "thoſe, who periſhed by all thoſe cruelties, are made to amount to an hundred and fifty, or two hundred thouſand; by the moſt moderate, and probably the moſt reaſonable account, they muſt have been near forty thouſand *." Cromwell retaliated the cruelties of the Iriſh Papiſts upon themſelves; and they ſmarted ſo ſeverely, that they were quiet during the reign of Charles II. His popiſh ſucceſſor, and brother to James II. even after the revolution took place, found an aſylum in Ireland; and was encouraged to hope that, by the aſſiſtance of the natives there, he might remount his throne: but he was deceived and his own puſillanimity co-operated with his diſappointment. He was driven out of Ireland by his ſon-in-law, after the battle of the Boyne, the only victory that king William ever gained in perſon, a victory, however, on which depended the ſafety of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the Britiſh empire. Had James been victorious, he probably would have been reinſtated on the throne, and nothing elſe could be expected than that being irritated by oppoſition, victorious over

* Mr. Hume.

his

his enemies, and free from every reſtraint, he would have trampled upon all rights, civil and religious, and purſued more arbitrary deſigns than before.

The forfeitures that fell to the crown, on account of the Iriſh rebellions and the revolution, are almoſt incredible; and had the acts of parliament which gave them away been ſtrictly enforced, Ireland muſt have been peopled with Britiſh inhabitants. But many political reaſons occurred for not driving the Iriſh to deſpair. The friends of the revolution and the proteſtant religion were ſufficiently gratified out of the forfeited eſtates. Too many of the Roman catholics might have been forced abroad; and it was proper that a due balance ſhould be preſerved between the Roman catholic and the proteſtant intereſt. It was therefore thought prudent to relax the reins of government, and not to put the forfeitures too rigorouſly into execution. The experience of half a century has confirmed the wiſdom of the above conſiderations *. The lenity of the meaſures purſued in regard to the Iriſh Roman Catholics, and the great pains taken for the inſtruction of their children, with the progreſs which knowledge and the arts have made in that country, have greatly diminiſhed the popiſh intereſt. The ſpirit of induſtry has enabled the Iriſh to know their own ſtrength and importance; to which ſome accidental circumſtances have concurred. All her ports were opened for the exportation of wool to any part of Great Britain; and of late years, acts of parliament have been made occaſionally for permitting the importation of ſalt beef, pork, butter, cattle, and tallow, from Ireland to Great Britain.

But though ſome laws and regulations had occaſionally taken place favourable to Ireland, it muſt be acknowledged, that the inhabitants of that country laboured under conſiderable grievances, in conſequence of ſeveral injudicious reſtraints of the parliament of England reſpecting their trade. Theſe reſtraints had injured Ireland without benefiting Great Britain. The Iriſh had been prohibited from manufacturing their own wool, in order to favour the woollen manufactory of England. The conſequence of which was, that the Iriſh wool was ſmuggled over into France, and the people of that country were thereby enabled to rival us in our woollen manufactory, and to deprive us of a part of that trade. An embargo had alſo been laid on the exportation of proviſions from Ireland, which had been extremely prejudicial to that kingdom. The diſtreſſes of the Iriſh manufacturers, as well as thoſe of Great Britain, had likewiſe been

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

much

much increaſed by the conſequences of the American war. Theſe circumſtances occaſioned great murmuring in Ireland, and attempts were made in the Britiſh parliament, for the relief of the inhabitants of that kingdom; but for ſome time without ſucceſs. Several incidents, however, which happened afterwards, at length operated ſtrongly in favour of that kingdom. When a large body of the king's troops had been withdrawn from Ireland, in order to be employed in the American war, a conſiderable number of Iriſh gentlemen, farmers, traders, and other perſons, armed and formed themſelves into volunteer companies and aſſociations, for the defence of Ireland againſt any foreign invaders. By degrees theſe volunteer aſſociations became numerous; and it was ſoon diſcovered, that they were inclined to maintain their rights at home, as well as to defend themſelves againſt foreign enemies. When theſe armed aſſociations became numerous and formidable, the Iriſh began to aſſume a higher tone than that to which they had before been accuſtomed: and it was ſoon manifeſt, than their remon-
A. D. 1779. ſtrances met with unuſual attention, both from their own parliament and from that of Great Britain. The latter preſented an addreſs to the king, recommending to his majeſty's moſt ſerious conſideration the diſtreſſed and impoveriſhed ſtate of the loyal and well deſerving people of Ireland, and deſiring him to direct that there ſhould be prepared, and laid before parliament, ſuch particulars relative to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland, as ſhould enable the national wiſdom to purſue effectual meaſures for promoting the common ſtrength, wealth, and commerce of his majeſty's ſubjects in both kingdoms. To this addreſs the king returned a favourable anſwer; and in October, the ſame year, both houſes of the Iriſh parliament alſo preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, in which they declared, that nothing but granting Ireland a free trade could ſave it from ruin. In the mean time the members of the oppoſition, in the Engliſh parliament, very ſtrongly repreſented the neceſſity of an immediate attention to the complaints of the people of Ireland, and of a compliance with their wiſhes. Laws were accordingly paſſed, by which all thoſe acts were repealed, which had prohibited the exportation of woollen manufactures from Ireland, and other acts by which the trade of that kingdom to foreign countries had been reſtrained; and it was likewiſe enacted, that a trade between Ireland and the Britiſh colonies in America, and the Weſt Indies, and the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, ſhould be allowed to be carried on in the ſame manner, and ſubject to ſimilar regulations and reſtrictions, as it

that carried on between Great Britain and the ſaid colonies and ſettlements. Theſe laws in favour of Ireland were received with much joy and exultation in that kingdom: and the Iriſh nation, being indulged in their requiſitions reſpecting trade, now began alſo to aim at important conſtitutional reformations; and in various counties and cities of Ireland, the rights of the Britiſh parliament to make laws which ſhould bind that kingdom, was denied in public reſolutions. By degrees, the ſpirit which had been manifeſted by the Iriſh parliament ſeemed a little to ſubſide; and a remarkable inſtance of this was, their agreeing to a perpetual mutiny bill, for the regulation of the Iriſh army, though that of England had always been paſſed, with a true conſtitutional caution, only from year to year. This was much exclaimed againſt by ſome of the Iriſh patriots; and it is indeed not eaſy to clear their parliament from the charge of inconſiſtency: but this bill was afterwards repealed, and the commercial advantages afforded them by late acts in their favour, have greatly contributed to promote the proſperity of Ireland. By the act repealing the ſtatute of the 6th of George I. they are now fully and completely emancipated from the juriſdiction of the Britiſh parliament. The appellant juriſdiction of the Britiſh houſe of peers in Iriſh cauſes, was likewiſe given up. But though the Iriſh have obtained ſo great an extenſion of their liberties, it is very queſtionable whether it will terminate to their country's real advantage. Their parties and diſſentions increaſe, and it remains to eſtabliſh ſuch a commercial and political connection between the two kingdoms as will promote the intereſt and happineſs of both countries, and make them one great, ſtable, and invulnerable body.

Upon the occaſion of the ſevere illneſs by which the king was afflicted, the lords and commons of Ireland came to a reſolution to addreſs the Prince of Wales, requeſting him to take upon him the government of that kingdom during his majeſty's indiſpoſition, under the ſtyle and title of *Prince Regent* of *Ireland*, and to exerciſe and adminiſter, according to the laws and conſtitution of the realm, all the royal authorities, juriſdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereto belonging. The marquis of Buckingham, being then lord lieutenant, having declined preſenting the addreſs, as contrary to his oath and the laws, the two houſes reſolved on appointing delegates from each: the lords appointed the duke of Leinſter, and the earl of Charlemont; and the commons, four of their members. The delegates proceeded to London, and preſented the addreſs to his Royal Highneſs, by whom they were moſt graciouſly received; but his majeſty having, to the infinite joy of all his ſubjects, recovered

covered from his ſevere indiſpoſition, the prince returned them an anſwer fraught with the warmeſt ſentiments of regard for the kingdom, and of gratitude to parliament, for the generous manner in which they propoſed inveſting him with the regency, but, that the happy recovery of his royal father had now rendered his acceptance of it unneceſſary.

No *literary* monuments have been diſcovered in Ireland earlier than the introduction of Chriſtianity into it. About the middle of the ſeventh century, many nobles, and other orders of the Anglo-Saxons, retired from their own country into Ireland, either for inſtruction, or for an opportunity of living in monaſteries of ſtricter diſcipline; and it is recorded that the Iriſh maintained them, taught them, and furniſhed them with books, without fee or reward *;—"a moſt honourable teſtimony, not only to the learning, but likewiſe "to the hoſpitality and bounty of that nation †." In modern times the Iriſh have greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the republic of letters. Archbiſhop Uſher does honour to literature itſelf. Dean Swift, who was a native of Ireland, has perhaps never been equalled in the walks of wit, humour, and ſatire. The ſprightlineſs of Farquhar's wit is well known to all lovers of the drama. And among the men of diſtinguiſhed genius whom Ireland has lately produced, may alſo be particularly mentioned ſir Richard Steele, biſhop Berkeley, Parnel, Sterne, and Goldſmith.

CHAP. XIII.

Curious Particulars reſpecting Ireland, and the Language, Religion, Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Ancient Iriſh.

SIR William Temple is of opinion, that the name of Ireland is derived from the river Ierne in that iſland, whence the Saxons ſtyled it Irenland, and by abbreviation Ireland. But why ſhould it not acquire the name of Iron-land, and ſo from thence Ireland, from the great number of mines of that kind of ore with which it abounded?

Amongſt thoſe who pretend to account for the name Hibernia, there are ſcarcely two who agree together. Some

* Venerable Bede. † Lord Lyttelton.

Some

ſay that the ſons of *Mileſius*, who invaded the iſland, gave it this name, either from the river *Iberus* in Spain from whence they came, or from *Heber* one of their brethren. Other hiſtorians ſuppoſe that foreigners finding this iſland an odd end of the world, moiſt and foggy, took it at firſt for a cold country, and therefore named it *Hibernia*, in order to expreſs the winter-land. But as a very ſhort experience would diſprove this ſuppoſition, ſo the name thus given to it would ſcarcely have been continued, even by thoſe who might firſt impoſe it. A late writer is of opinion, "that as Iberia ſignified in the ancient Celtic, any country or place that was "ſituated over or on the other ſide of a ſea or river, ſo theſe "might naturally be called Iberians, on account of their "ſituation with reſpect to Gaul or Germany, by thoſe who "lived there and trafficked with them *." The corruption afterwards to Hibernians, he adds, to diſtinguiſh them from Spaniards, is not material.

According to the report of all hiſtory and tradition, nothing venomous is brought forth or can be nouriſhed and live in Ireland: but whether this be owing to the air or the ſoil, naturaliſts do not agree. The old hiſtorians indeed entertain their readers with many ſtrange accounts of experiments that have been made of the ſovereign virtue of this iſland in deſtroying venomous creatures; and they carry it ſo far as to ſay, not only that the ſmell of the land will kill them, but that water, in which the ſcrapings of books from Ireland had been ſteeped, had cured the ſtings of adders. Our venerable Bede himſelf relates this very gravely: but many of the ancient Iriſh attribute this virtue, not to the climate nor the ſoil, but to the prayers of *St. Patrick* who converted the iſland. Nay *Keating* goes further than this, and tells us, that it is in conſequence of a prophecy which Moſes made to a Scythian prince, that wherever his poſterity ſhould inhabit, the country ſhould not be infeſted with poiſonous creatures. But however fabulous this may be, one cannot help being aſtoniſhed, that ſo pleaſant, healthy, and temperate a climate as Ireland, ſhould have remained ſo many ages as it did, in the depth of barbariſm and ignorance, uncultivated and unimproved.

There was ſo much wood in Ireland, in the earlieſt ages, that one of the names which it had from foreigners was the "Iſland of Woods;" given to it, ſay the old hiſtorians, by one whom *Ninu* the ſon of *Bel* ſent to diſcover it. Whether there be any truth in the old Iriſh ſaying or not, "*that Ire-*"*land was thrice under the plow-ſhare, thrice it was wood,*

* Dr. Warner.

"*and*

"*and thrice it was bare,*"—it is evident, by all the writings and monuments of ancient time, that, as long as the land was in poſſeſſion of the native Iriſh, it was full of woods on every ſide. Thus in digging out the earth for a new canal from Loughneagh to Dublin for an inland navigation, a foreſt, as it may be called, was diſcovered under ground; a vaſt number of fallen trees of aſh, oak, alder, &c. lying near a mile in length under a covering of earth, in ſome places ſix, in others eight feet deep, many of which were of a large ſize, tumbled down one over another, ſome lying in ſtraight lines, and others in a tranſverſe or oblique poſition. Many diſcoveries of this kind have been made all over the iſland.

Of the mines which are now in Ireland, there were none that we know of that were diſcovered by the ancient Iriſh, nor by the Engliſh, till the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth. Since that period many mines of iron, and ſome of lead and ſilver mixed, have been found in divers parts of the iſland. This hath given riſe to an opinion of many ſkilful people that the mountains of Ireland are full of metals; and that if the ſame care and diligence had been uſed by the inhabitants of that country in former ages, as ſince the period abovementioned, many more might have been diſcovered; not of the ſame kind only with thoſe which are now worked, but of others alſo, and perhaps even of gold itſelf.

The iron mines are of three ſorts, the bog, the rock, and the mountain mine; which laſt is again diſtinguiſhed, into white, pin, and ſhell mine. Beſides theſe there are three mines of lead and ſilver mixed; ſo rich, that from one in the county of Antrim, every thirty pounds of lead yielded pound of pure ſilver. The veins of another mine in the county of Tipperary, which gives the name of Silver-mine to a market town there, commonly riſe within three or four ſpit deep from the ſurface, the land being mountainous and barren. They yield two different ſorts of ore; the one, which is moſt uſual, is of a reddiſh colour, hard and gliſtering; and the other, like marl, bluiſh and ſofter than the firſt, though judged much the beſt, and productive of the greateſt quantity of ſilver. The ore has yielded generally about three pounds of ſilver out of a tun, beſides a great deal of lead, and ſome quickſilver, which made it very valuable. Lord Strafford, during the time of his adminiſtration, ſent an ingot of ſilver to king Charles I. of three hundred ounces from the royal mines of Ireland: and in about four years after, he tells the ſecretary of ſtate in one of his letters, "that the lead mines "in Munſter were ſo rich, that every fodder of lead," which may be meant of a load, had in it to the value of thirty pounds of fine ſilver.

The

The *language* of the Iriſh is fundamentally the ſame with the Britiſh and Welch, and a dialect of the Celtic, which is made uſe of by the Scotch Highlanders, oppoſite to the Iriſh coaſts. It is, however, in a great meaſure defaced by provincial alterations, but not ſo altered as to render the Iriſh, Welch, and Highlanders, unintelligible to each other.

As the Britons and Hibernians had the ſame origin, ſo in their *religion* it is probable they were not very different. But as the Druids, who had almoſt the ſole management of all public affairs in theſe iſlands, never committed any of their polity to writing, at leaſt in legible characters, there is very little handed down concerning the religion of theſe ancient people. This much however ſeems to be pretty clear, that it had a near reſemblance, if it was not the very ſame, with the principles and the worſhip of the Gauls their progenitors, deduced from thoſe of the old Celtæ. What this original Celtic religion was, we learn not only from the Iriſh hiſtory, but from the concurrent teſtimony of foreign authors. It was the ſame with that of the old patriarchs. They worſhipped one Supreme Being, not in temples but in groves; which being open at the top and ſides, were, in their opinion, more acceptable to the divine and unconfined Being whom they adored. They believed a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments ſuitable to their behaviour here: they offered victims to the Deity, and celebrated ſome feſtivals in honour of him; and in moſt things obſerved a great ſimplicity in their religious rites. This is a ſhort and conciſe ſyſtem, which it is probable the old Celtæ brought with them from Gaul into Britain, and which came thence with the firſt inhabitants into Ireland; till the fair face of religion became clouded and obſcured, as well as in other nations, by idolatry and impious rites. There are many remains of ancient altars ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral parts of the iſland; which from the rude unhewn ſtones they are built with, and the manner in which they are placed, afford an almoſt certain conjecture that they were intended for ſacrifice; agreeable to the antediluvian practices founded upon Abel's offering the firſtlings of his flock. There is a paſſage in the book of Exodus which countenances this conjecture. "If "thou wilt make me an altar of ſtone, thou ſhalt not build "it of hewn ſtone; for, if thou lift thy tool upon it, thou "haſt polluted it."

If we inquire into the *manners* of the ancient Iriſh from Engliſh writers, we find their repreſentations odious and diſguſting: if from writers of their own race, they frequently break out in to the moſt animated encomiums of their great anceſtors. [illegible] one can ſcarcely allow them any virtue;

the other, in their enthuſiaſtic ardour, can ſcarcely diſcover the leaſt imperfection in their laws, government, or manners. The hiſtorian of England ſometimes regards them as the moſt deteſtable and contemptible of the human race. The antiquary of Ireland raiſes them to an illuſtrious eminence, above all other European people. Yet, when we examine their records, without regard to legendary tales or poetic fictions, we find them, even in their moſt brilliant periods, advanced only to an imperfect civilization, a taſte which exhibits the moſt ſtriking inſtances both of the virtues and the vices of humanity. As each province was governed by a prince, ſo one monarch was choſen to preſide over the whole collection of dynaſties. The dignity of this monarch was ſupported by tributes paid by inferior princes, at leaſt from the time that Meath ceaſed to be his peculiar appendage. They were paid in every kind of cattle, mantles, clothes, and utenſils; not as tributes of bondage, ſay the old records, but as benevolence granted in return for the benefits of his laws and the benedictions of his clergy. Yet the number and quality of the tributes to be paid by every inferior dynaſty were accurately aſcertained. The monarch on his part was bound to purchaſe the ſervice and attachment of his inferiors, by large donations of kine, ſheep, horſes, ſwine, arms, mantles, drinking-cups, of which every chieftain claimed his particular portion, and in return was bound to entertain the monarch, in his progreſs *, for a ſtated time, and to attend him for ſome certain days or months, and no longer, in his military expeditions.

Such is the account collected from an old Iriſh record called "the Book of Tributes." The obligations of the monarch and his ſubjects were mutual; each had their rights defined; and each lived in perpetual jealouſy of the encroachments of the other. The factious eaſily deviſed pretences for withholding tribute from the monarch; the monarch, in this caſe, could ſeek redreſs only by making war upon his ſubjects. If the preſents demanded by every inferior prince were denied, delayed, or not exactly proportioned to his claims, he refuſed his ſervices. The monarch was left to the reſources of his hereditary province; and in the moſt dangerous emergencies was frequently without an army. Hence ſudden revolutions, and tragical cataſtrophes, the effects of pride, ambition, and reſentment. Even when the military ſervice was performed, chieftains muſt have oftentimes marched to the field, with a ſecret indifference

* The chriſtian clergy were particularly careful to inculcate this virtue of hoſpitality.

diſtaſte to the cauſe in which they were engaged; and theſe they eaſily contrived to propagate among their followers. Hence, in the hour of danger, they frequently fled on the firſt attack. Men, who at other times diſplay ſuch intrepidity, could ſcarcely yield with ſo much eaſe and apparent indifference, if they had not thought their intereſt and their honour totally unconcerned in the quarrel; if they had not been diſcontented with their leader; and their leader too weak to reſtrain or puniſh them.

The military genius of the ancient Iriſh, from the nature of their government and domeſtic warfare, it is natural to imagine, muſt hold one of the higheſt ranks in the ſtate. Their princes were inured to fatigue and martial diſcipline, from their infancy, as much as any of their ſubjects, and made military ſtratagems a great part of their ſtudy. The kings gave the order of knighthood to their ſons at ſeven years of age, with the following ceremony: At the time of the creation, the boys were armed with light and ſlender ſpears in proportion to their ſtrength, ran ſeveral courſes againſt a ſhield that was ſet up and faſtened in the midſt of a plain for that purpoſe; and he that broke moſt ſpears had the principal honour of the day. The Iriſh, like their progenitors, never made uſe of fortified towns for their defence, thinking them a check upon heroic bravery, and a ſort of coat of mail for cowards. They placed their defence as well as confidence in martial fury, and they dreaded ſlavery more than death itſelf. They began their onſets with the utmoſt enthuſiaſm, and yet they rallied with coolneſs and dexterity. Their kings were ſo jealous of their glory, and this glory was ſo much envied, that, from the beginning to the end of the hiſtory, there is ſcarce an inſtance to be found of any monarch's ſurviving the loſs of his crown; which he always wore in the day of battle. Their horſemen, who rode at firſt without ſaddles and afterwards without ſtirrups, were armed with arrows and javelins, and ſome with coats of armour. They had ſervants on foot who had only darts, and who took care of their horſes. Their military chariots were in great uſe, before the cavalry were introduced, to break the enemy's ranks and to throw them into confuſion; at which they were ſo expert, that many great feats are recorded of their ancient martial charioteers. In the middle age they had two ſorts of infantry, ſome called Galloglaſſes, armed with an helmet, a coat of mail, and a long ſword; and in the right hand they carried a pole-ax with which they often did terrible execution. The light armed foot were furniſhed with darts and daggers or two-edged javelins, in the uſe of which they were very expert. Military muſic was much ſtudied and delighted in by

this warlike people, as it fired them with courage, enthuſiaſm, and contempt of danger; and by the help of this alone they ſounded the charge, rallied, or retreated.

The power and government of a provincial king were exactly ſimilar to thoſe of the monarch. His ſucceſſor or Tanift was elected in his life-time; he received tributes from inferior chieftains, paid for their ſervices, was entertained in his viſitations, and attended by them in his wars. Inferior toparchs governed their reſpective diſtricts in the ſame manner: and to theſe again a number of lords were ſubordinate, who dwelt in their raths, as they were called, or encloſures of a dwelling-houſe and offices; parcelled out lands to their inferiors, who again poſſeſſed their ſmaller raths, and commanded a ſmaller number of independents. In theſe petty ſocieties we may view the manners of the Iriſh more diſtinctly. No man was bound to continue in them longer than he found it neceſſary for his intereſt. On his admiſſion, he took the name of the Chieftain or Flath as he was called; on his death, or departure, a new partition was made of all the lands belonging to the particular diſtrict, by virtue of the law of "Gavel-"kind," as the Engliſh called it. Through the whole country the tenure of lands determined with the life of the poſſeſſor; and as the crimes or misfortunes of men frequently forced them from one tribe to another, property was eternally fluctuating, and new partitions of lands made almoſt daily. Hence, the cultivation of grounds was only in proportion to the immediate demands of nature, and the tributes to be paid to ſuperiors. And whatever magnificient ſtructures might have been erected for occaſions of ſtate, or for religious worſhip, it is certain that both princes and people dwelt in houſes ſlightly compoſed of hurdles.

Among a rude people, hoſpitality was a principal virtue. It was enjoined by law: and as neither lords nor tenants were bound to each other, as the whole tribe might migrate to ſome more favourable diſtrict, the Brehon inſtitutes expreſsly enjoin that no rath ſhall break up ſuddenly, leſt the traveller ſhould be diſappointed of his expected reception. But neither the duties to be received by the lord, nor the entertainment he was to expect from his inferiors, were determined by his arbitrary will and pleaſure. They were proportioned to the benefits received from him, and aſcertained by the laws: ſo that the lord could exact his coſhering, his cuddies, his bonnaught, names denoting particular modes of proviſion for the temporary ſupport of himſelf and his attendants; and which in latter times were found ſo grievous, and ſo ſeverely condemned, under the denominations of "coyne "and livery." Even the loweſt of the people claimed recep-

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tion and refreſhment, by an almoſt perfect right: and ſo ineffectual is the flux of many centuries to efface the ancient manners of a people, that at this day the wandering beggar enters the houſe of a farmer or gentleman, with as much eaſe and freedom as an inmate. The benevolent ſpirit of Chriſtianity ſerved to enforce and countenance ſuch manners. "The moſt holy men of heaven," ſay the Iriſh laws, "were "remarkable for hoſpitality; and the goſpel commands us to "receive the ſojourner, to entertain him, and to relieve his "wants."

Theſe laws not only provide againſt murder, rapes, adultery, theft, robbery; but ſuch crimes as are not generally cognizable by human tribunals; ſuch as ſlander, tale-bearing, or diſreſpect to ſuperiors. But at this day it will not be regarded as a diſtinguiſhing mark of barbarity that the moſt outrageous offences were puniſhable only by an *eric* or fine. That for murder was to be paid by the perpetrator or his family, to the ſon, or relations of the deceaſed, and in proportion to their degrees of conſanguinity; that for adultery, to the huſband of the offender, by her father or neareſt relations; or, if a bond-woman, by the tribe which entertained her, or, by the church which ſhe ſerved. The inceſtuous perſon not only paid his eric, but was inſtantly expelled from his tribe. Nor could any man be admitted into a new tribe, until he had paid eric for all the offences committed in his former reſidence. The fine paid to a ſon for the murder of his father was rated at ſeven *cumpals*, as they were called, or twenty-one kine. Hence we may form a judgment of the lenity of their penal laws in other inſtances. The property and ſecurity of woods, the regulation of water-courſes, but above all the property of bees, on which depended the principal beverage of the people, were guarded by a number of minute inſtitutions, which breathe a ſpirit of equity and humanity.

Of all the cuſtoms of the Iriſh, that of *foſterage*, as it is called, hath been a particular ſubject of ſpeculation. Their writers generally agree, that children were mutually given, from different families, to be nurſed and bred up in others; and that inferiors, inſtead of expecting any reward for their care, purchaſed the honour of foſtering the children of the rich. Hence, we are told, a ſtricter connection and confederacy were formed between different families and different tribes. There is no doubt, but that children bred from their infancy together, in the ſame family, under the ſame parental care, in the ſame ſports and occupations, with minds untainted by pride, and inattentive to wordly diſtinctions, conſidered each other as real brethren, and contracted warm affections, which time could not extinguiſh: that they regarded their

foſterers with a filial reverence; and were oftentimes, through life, attended by the children of theſe foſterers with a zealous and ſteady attachment. But I cannot allow that foſterage was purpoſely deviſed by politicians to produce theſe effects, that there was a mutual exchange of children, or any mutual alliances intended or concerted by ſuch an exchange. The Brehon laws ſeem to intimate, that foſtering was the occupation of thoſe whoſe inferior condition rendered them incapable of doing other ſervices to the public. "No man," ſay they, "ſhall in any caſe be entitled to *eric* but he who pays "tribute or *foſters*: and, in their injunctions on *all* orders of "women, their expreſſion is from the queen to the *foſtereſs*." So far are the fragments of theſe laws from favouring the notion that the honour of breeding children was ever purchaſed, that they are exact in aſcertaining the wages that ſhall be paid to foſterers in proportion to the time that children continue under their care, and the inſtructions they have received: nor do they omit the prices which the ſeveral maſters may demand from the appointments of a foſterer. And here they diſcover the ſecret of a complete Iriſh education; at leaſt for thoſe of the middle ranks of life. The youth in his ſtate of foſterage, was not employed in a tedious and painful practice of various forms and meaſures of poetry, as we are ſometimes told: the ſyſtem of his education was more uſeful, and indeed more honourable. He was inſtructed in the management of cattle, in huſbandry and tillage; in navigation, which the laws diſtinguiſh into the higher and lower, but without explaining the difference; and laſtly, in the knowledge of letters, or reading, as the loweſt part of education.

In a word, it appears from all their legal inſtitutions yet diſcovered, that the Iriſh, in their ſtate of greateſt compoſure, were indeed by no means barbarous, but far from that perfect civility which their enthuſiaſtic admirers ſometimes deſcribe as their peculiar characteriſtic. They cultivated thoſe arts of peace which ſubſiſt among a people ſtrangers to extenſive commerce, or the refinements of an opulent and luxurious age. Rights were accurately defined in their ſocieties, and the people might have been impreſſed with an habitual love of juſtice; but their ſenſe of injuries was, in proportion, lively; and their paſſions irritable. Redreſs, in many caſes, was only to be obtained by force; and to force they perpetually recurred. Their boaſted triennial aſſemblies do not appear to have ever ſerved the purpoſe of a ſtrict and peaceable connection between the different inhabitants of a country, which for many ages had full leiſure for improvement. The influence of their monarchs was weak; their power neglected, controuled, and reſiſted. The provinces, and even

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the inferior ſepts into which the iſland was parcelled, lived in a kind of federal union with each other; which the pride, the injuſtice, the ambition, the avarice, the revenge of different chieftains were ever ready to interrupt. Their hiſtories record the effects of theſe dangerous paſſions: the virtues of private life are not generally the ſubject of hiſtory.

Both the males and the females of the ancient Iriſh, were generally tall, well made, and of a ſtrong and hardy conſtitution; very patient of cold and hunger, revengeful, proud and ſlothful. Their dreſs, which was as ſimple as their manners, was the produce and manufacture of their own country. The men wore a mantle and trowſers; the women a mantle and petticoat. Both had brogues upon their feet, thicker than pumps, and ſewed with leather. The men had a cappeen and the women a kircher upon their heads, throwing their mantles over them when they went out, to keep off the ſun or rain. At this period, linen-cloth was ſo extenſive a manufacture in Ireland, "that the native Iriſh gentry uſed to wear thirty "or forty ells in a ſhirt, all gathered and wrinkled, and "coloured with ſaffron, becauſe they never put them off till "they were worn out *." The dreſs of the great was much the ſame as that of the lower rank, allowing for the fineneſs of the texture, and the number of the colours. Indeed it was the number of them in any garment which properly diſtinguiſhed the rank of the wearer; and thoſe entitled to ſix were next in honour to the ſupreme monarch. This law did more, it is ſaid, towards gaining eſteem and reſpect than all the golden trappings of the Eaſt, and yet coſt nothing. Beſides it produced a noble emulation among men of letters; who, on proving themſelves thoroughly ſkilled in the learning and philoſophy of the country, received the veſture allotted for the provincial ſovereigns, and conſequently were next to them in honour. The education of their youth was begun in their early infancy, by taking them from habits of idleneſs and training them up to laborious exerciſes of body, at the ſame time that their minds were not left uncultivated. The pleaſures of the chaſe ſuperſeded at ſtated times all other diverſions, and no people in the world purſued them with greater eagerneſs. In this exerciſe they underwent inexpreſſible fatigues; which contributed greatly to their muſcular ſtrength, and gave them agility and firmneſs againſt the ſeverity of the weather. In ſhort the chaſe was ſuch a ſchool for teaching them vigilance, a ſkill in archery, patience under labour, and long abſtinence from food, that few foreign enemies could ſtand before them.

Moriſon.

It is probable that the firſt and moſt ancient manner of burying their dead was that of burning; as we may learn from an old canon after their converſion to Chriſtianity, in which it ſaid, that "kings only were buried in churches, and that all other men "were either buried in the fire, or under an heap of ſtones; that "no ſtranger ſhall have liberty of cutting the church, that is, "making a grave in it, without the leave of the prince; and "whoſoever ſhall attempt to do ſo, ſhall give ſatisfaction ac-"cording to the dignity of the place." Beſides the cuſtom of burning, we may conclude from this canon, as well as from other circumſtances of their antiquities, another cuſtom in burying their dead, which was under an heap of ſtones. There are many remains of this cuſtom in ſeveral parts of the iſland; and we know it was an ancient practice in many other countries, for men that had been eminent either for virtues, or notorious for villanies. An inſtance of the latter kind we find as early as amongſt the children of Iſrael, when they buried *Achan*; of whom it is ſaid, "that they raiſed over "him a great heap of ſtones unto this day." Many bones and arms have been diſcovered under theſe heaps in ſeveral parts of Ireland; and it is not improbable, that the cuſtom may have been derived from the Jews, who were commanded to put to death their vileſt malefactors, by ſtoning, or heaping ſtones upon them. But however it had its origin, the cuſtom is to this day ſtill retained among the common native Iriſh. For as they carry a corpſe to the grave, they ſet it down in a convenient place, and all the people who accompany it bring ſtones and raiſe an heap over it after it is interred. It was uſual for the women (and is ſo ſtill) to howl and clap their hands at the funeral of their friends; and ſometimes they were hired for this purpoſe, when they thought there was not a ſufficient number. The Scythians from whom they ſprung, and even the Romans and Germans had the ſame cuſtom; and the expreſſion of a celebrated Roman hiſtorian on this ſubject is, "that in women it is commend-"able to lament, in men to remember *."

Theſe are the outlines of the manners of the ancient Iriſh; let us now turn to thoſe of the preſent. According to the author of the Political Anatomy of Ireland †, "they may be "deduced from their original conſtitution of body, from the "air, from their ordinary food, from their ſtate and condi-"tion, from the influence of their teachers, and laſtly from "their ancient cuſtoms which affect as well their con-"ſciences as their nature." In their ſtature, ſhape, and complexion, they have not degenerated from their anceſtors,

* Tacitus. † Sir William Petty.

and

and are not inferior to any other people. In their courage and intrepidity alſo, it is well known that they do not diſgrace their origin. Above three parts in four of the mere Iriſh live in little huts or cabins, without chimnies, doors, or windows. Their principal diet is potatoes, and ſweet milk, as well as ſour, which in ſummer is alſo their drink. In winter they drink water, and whiſky, when they can get it. But tobacco and ſnuff ſeem to be the great pleaſure of their lives; inſomuch that the chief part of their expence is to procure them. Notwithſtanding the great plenty of fleſh, they ſeldom eat any, unleſs it be of the ſmaller animals; and they are yet ſo far from being civilized, eſpecially in villages diſtant from cities, and where the Engliſh manners have not prevailed, that their habitations, furniture, and apparel are as ſordid as thoſe of the ſavages in America.

Whether the lazineſs which is attributed to them be derived from their anceſtors, or from their original conſtitution, it is hard to ſay: but it is certain that there is ſtill among the native Iriſh, a very ſtrong and remarkable antipathy to all labour; and that moſt of them poſſeſs a cynical content in dirt and beggary, to a degree beyond any other people in Chriſtendom. The cabin of an Iriſh peaſant is the cave of poverty: within you ſee a pot and a little ſtraw, and without a heap of children almoſt naked tumbling on the dunghill. Their fields and gardens are a lively counterpart of *Solomon's* deſcription of the field of the ſlothful, and of the vineyard of the man void of underſtanding. In every road the ragged enſigns of poverty are diſplayed: the traveller often meets caravans of theſe miſerable wretches, whole families in a drove, without clothes to cover, or bread to feed them; both which might be procured with moderate labour. But the work of one man in the field will ſuſtain a family of forty with potatoes; and they build a hut or cabin in three days. The milk of one cow will afford food and drink enough for three men in the ſummer; and they can get cockles, oyſters, muſcles, and crabs, almoſt every where near the ſea in great abundance. What occaſion have they therefore, to labour hard, who can content themſelves with this wretchedneſs? Beſides they have been taught, and they teach it one another, that this way of living is more like the patriarchs, their anceſtors of old, and their ſaints of later times, by whoſe prayers and merits they are to be relieved, and whoſe examples they are therefore to follow. But if ſuch are the manners of the loweſt ſort, yet the Iriſh gentry, who approve themſelves to be the deſcendants of a free and learned nation, in their diet, houſes, and apparel, reſemble the Engliſh. Their behaviour is polite, their table elegant, and their hoſpitality more extenſive and general than that of their neighbours.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

WALES.

Ancient hiſtory of this country.—Diviſion of it by Roderic.—A colony of Flemings ſettle in it.—Lewellyn ſubmits to Edward I.—The Welſh revolt, and are again ſubdued.—Maſſacre of the Welch Bards.---Mountainous and romantic ſituation of Wales.---Antiquities.---Literature.

THE ancient hiſtory of Wales is uncertain, on account of the number of petty princes who governed it. That they were ſovereign and independent, appears from the Engliſh hiſtory. It was formerly inhabited by the three different tribes of Britons, the *Silures*, the *Dimetæ*, and the *Ordovices*. Theſe people made ſuch violent oppoſition to the Romans, that they do not appear ever to have been entirely ſubdued; though part of their country, as appears from the ruins of caſtles, was bridled by garriſons. Though the Saxons conquered the counties of Monmouth and Hereford, yet they never penetrated farther; and the Welch remained an independent people, governed by their own princes and their own laws. Roderic, king of Wales, divided
A. D. 870. his dominions among his three ſons; and the names of theſe diviſions were Demetia, or South Wales; Poreſia, or Powis-land; and Venedolia, or North Wales. This diviſion gave a mortal blow to the independency of Wales. About the year 1112, Henry I. of England planted a colony of Flemings on the frontiers of Wales, to ſerve as a barrier to England; none of the Welſh princes being powerful enough to oppoſe them. They made, however, many brave attempts to maintain their liberties againſt the Norman kings of England. The crown of England was firſt ſupplied with a handle for the future conqueſt of Wales; their old and infirm prince
A. D. 1237. Llewellyn, in order to be ſafe from the perſecutions of his undutiful ſon Griffin, having put himſelf under ſubjection and homage to king Henry III.

But no capitulation could ſatisfy the ambition of Edward I. who reſolved to annex Wales to the crown of England; and Llewellyn, prince of Wales, diſdaining the ſubjection to which old Llewellyn had ſubmitted, Edward raiſed an army at great expence. The Welch prince had no reſource againſt the ſuperior force of Edward but the inacceſſible ſituation of his mountains, which had hitherto protected his forefathers againſt all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors. He accordingly retired with the braveſt

braveſt of his ſubjects among the hills of Snowdon. But Edward, no leſs vigorous than cautious, pierced into the heart of the country, and approached the Welch army in its laſt retreat. Having carefully ſecured every paſs behind him, he avoided putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independency. He truſted to the more ſlow but ſure effects of famine for ſucceſs; and Llewellyn was at length obliged to ſubmit, and received the terms impoſed upon him by the Engliſh monarch *.

Theſe terms, though ſufficiently ſevere, were but ill obſerved by the victors. The Engliſh oppreſſed and inſulted the inhabitants of the diſtricts which were yielded to them. The indignation of the Welch was roufed: they flew to arms; and Edward again entered Wales with an army, not diſpleaſed with the occaſion of making his conqueſt final. This army he committed to the command of Roger Mortimer, while he himſelf waited the event in the caſtle of Rudhlan, and Llewellyn, having ventured to leave his faſtneſſes, was defeated by Mortimer and ſlain, together with two thouſand of his followers. All the Welch nobility ſubmitted to Edward, and the laws of England were eſtabliſhed in that principality †. A. D. 1283.

In order to preſerve his conqueſt, Edward had recourſe to a barbarous policy. He ordered David, brother to Llewellyn, and his ſucceſſor in the principality of Wales, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for taking arms in defence of his native country, which he had once unhappily deſerted, and for maintaining by force his own hereditary authority. He alſo ordered all the Welch bards to be collected together and put to death; from a belief, and no abſurd one, that he ſhould more eaſily ſubdue the independent ſpirit of the people, when their minds ceaſed to be roufed by the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, preſerved in the traditional poems of theſe minſtrels, and recited or ſung by them on all public occaſions and days of feſtivity ‡. A. D. 1284.

Perceiving that his cruelty was not ſufficient to complete his conqueſt, Edward ſent his queen to be delivered in Caernarvon caſtle, that the Welch, having a prince born among themſelves, might the more readily recogniſe his authority. This prince was the unhappy Edward II. and from him the title of Prince of Wales ever ſince deſcended to the eldeſt ſons of the Engliſh kings. The hiſtory of Wales and England became thenceforth the ſame. It is proper, however, to ob-

* T. Wykes, † Sir J. Wynne. ‡ Warrington's Hiſtory of Wales.

ſerve,

ſerve, that the kings of England have always found it their intereſt to ſoothe the Welch with particular marks of their regard. Their eldeſt ſons not only held the titular dignity, but actually kept a court at Ludlow; and a regular council, with a preſident, was named by the crown, for the adminiſtration of all the affairs of the principality. This was thought ſo neceſſary a piece of policy, that when Henry VIII. had no ſon, his daughter Mary was created princeſs of Wales.

The *mountains* in Wales are very numerous. *Snowdon*, in *Caernarvonſhire*, and *Plinlimmon*, which lies partly in *Montgomery* and partly in *Cardiganſhire*, are the moſt famous; and their mountainous ſituation greatly aſſiſted the natives in making ſo noble and long a ſtruggle againſt the Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman powers. "During our "abode amid thoſe ſuperb mountains," ſays an elegant writer, "neither ſun nor ſtars appeared to our ſight for ſeve- "ral days; and, wrapt up in an impenetrable miſt, we were "perpetually enveloped with a twilight obſcurity. Our ſitu- "ation was like a ſcene of enchantment, impreſſing a ſuper- "ſtitious extaſy on our ſenſes, while we contemplated the "ſublime operations of nature around us. But on our emerg- "ing from theſe romantic viſions, the firſt view of the "cheerful rays of the long abſent ſun, gave an inexpreſſible "refreſhment to our ſpirits: it ſaluted our immediate ap- "proach to the vale of Caernarvon. We changed the cli- "mate in an inſtant: we breathed a freer air. Here I ſenſi- "bly felt the force of an expreſſion in the whimſical life of "Benvenuto Cellini, which directly occurred to my memory. "He had been long impriſoned, in a dark ſubterraneous "dungeon, in the caſtle of St. Angelo at Rome. He bore "with fortitude his miſerable deſtiny, and would have been "even eaſy with it, if a ſingle beam of light had been per- "mitted to enter his melancholy den: in vain he prayed for "a momentary view of the ſun; his cruel guard denied him "that common privilege. At length a dream repreſents the "glorious luminary to his ſight, when, in a tranſport, he ex- "claims—O brilliant orb! whom I have ſo long ardently "languiſhed to behold! Henceforth let me gaze on thy "brightneſs for ever, though blindneſs be the conſe- "quence!*"

Wales contains no cities or towns that are remarkable either for populouſneſs or magnificence. Beaumaris is the chief town of Angleſey, and has a good harbour. Brecknock trades in cloathing. Cardigan is a large populous town, and

* Lord Lyttelton.

lies in the neighbourhood of lead and ſilver mines. Caermarthen has a large bridge, and is governed by a mayor, two ſheriffs, and aldermen, who wear ſcarlet gowns, and other enſigns of ſtate. Pembroke is well inhabited by gentlemen and tradeſmen; and part of the country is ſo fertile and pleaſant, that it is called *Little England.*—The view of Pembroke and its caſtle, from the river, is very grand. The town is ſituated upon the ridge of a long and narrow rock, gradually aſcending to the higheſt point, on which ſtands the caſtle, at the edge of the precipice. If we may be allowed to compare ſmall things with great, it reſembles much the ſituation of Edinburgh.

There is a particularity in the dreſs of the Pembrokeſhire women, which, becauſe it differs from the reſt of the Welch, ſays the ſame author, I ſhall here deſcribe. "The women "even in the midſt of ſummer, generally wear a heavy cloth "gown; and inſtead of a cap, a large handkerchief wrapt "over their heads, and tied under their chins. On firſt ſeeing this fantaſtic head-dreſs, I really imagined that there was "an epidemical ſwelling or tooth-ache in the country. It is "poſſible that this faſhion might originate from Flanders, as "Pembrokeſhire was formerly ſettled by Flemings. In that "low country, this head-dreſs might have been thought a neceſſary preſervation againſt the damps, and a national prejudice may have continued it in Wales, for more than ſix "centuries. This cuſtom is certainly peculiar to Pembrokeſhire; for in the other parts of Wales, the women, as "well as the men, wear large beaver hats, with broad brims, "flapping over their ſhoulders."

Wales abounds in remains of antiquity. Several of its caſtles are ſtupendouſly large; and in ſome the remains of Roman architecture are plainly diſcernible. The architecture of others is doubtful; and ſome appear to be partly Britiſh, and partly Roman. In Brecknockſhire are ſome rude ſculptures, upon a ſtone ſix feet high, called the Maiden-Stone; but the remains of the Druidical inſtitutions, and places of worſhip, are chiefly diſcernible in the iſle of Angleſey, the ancient Mona, mentioned by Tacitus, who deſcribes it as being the chief ſeminary of the Druidical rites and religion. To give a deſcription of the Roman altars, antiquities, and utenſils, which have been diſcovered in Wales, would be endleſs; but antiquaries, perhaps, may yet make great diſcoveries from them.

The large and well built town of Holywell, is ſo called from the famous ſpring of St. Winifred. This ſpring is ſo ſtrong, that it actually flows at leaſt a tun of water in a minute, which has been experimentally proved. But the whole legend of the ſaint is a mere modern invention; for Giraldus,

Giraldus, who never neglected an opportunity of celebrating Welch miracles, is entirely ſilent on this head, though he lodged one night at Baſingwerk, within a mile of Holywell. The counteſs of Richmond, mother of king Henry the Seventh, founded the elegant little cloyſter which covers the well; and over it a chapel, which is now uſed as a public ſchool. The well is ſtill in ſome eſtimation, particularly among the catholics, for the ſalubrity of its ſpring; and not without reaſon, if we may credit the numerous trophies of hand-barrows, and crutches, which adorn the roof; and which have been left at different times by pious patients, whoſe faith contributed undoubtedly not a little towards making them whole.

The biſhop of St. David's palace, which was founded in the reign of Edward III. is now an immenſe ruin; ſeveral of the apartments are uncommonly large, the walls of which are ſtill entire. The whole parapet is Gothic, and open in arches like that at Swanſea, a circumſtance peculiar to theſe two remains of antiquity. The nave of the cathedral was built in the reign of king John; the circular arches of it are remarkably wide: but the other parts of the church have been the production of different ages, as the variety of architecture plainly demonſtrates. Biſhop Vaughan's chapel was annexed to it in the time of Henry VIII. and has a light elegant roof of ſtone, quite perfect. There are ſeveral ancient monuments, both within the church, and among the ruined chapels without. Edmund, earl of Richmond, father of Henry VII. lies under a raiſed tomb, near the middle of the choir, and at a little diſtance from it, is the monument of Owen Tudor. The graves are raiſed within the cathedral, in the ſame manner as in common church-yards. Some little fee, perhaps, is due to the church, for burying within the walls of the cathedral, which is readily paid by the Cambrians, for the honour of laying their bones under the ſame roof with Owen Tudor.

There is ſomething ſimple and pleaſing in the idea of ſtrewing flowers and ever-greens over the grave of a departed friend, which is the cuſtom in many parts of Wales.

> " With faireſt flow'rs, whilſt ſummer laſts,
> " I'll ſweeten thy ſad grave. Thou ſhalt not lack
> " The flow'r that's like thy face, pale primroſe; nor
> " The azur'd hare-bell, like thy veins; no, nor
> " The leaf of Eglantine; which, not to ſlander,
> " Out-ſweeten'd not thy breath *.
>
> SHAKESPEARE's Cymbeline.

The

The river Dee is a noble object, as ſeen from the bridge at Llangollen; it rages furiouſly down the broad, ſhelving, ſolid rock, which is worn to a kind of gloſſy poliſh by the run of the water, and which forms the bed of the river for a conſiderable ſpace. "On our arrival at the inn at Llangollen," ſays a late traveller, "we found it in the poſſeſſion of "ſome mourners who were juſt returned from the funeral "of a friend; however ſome tolerable quarters remained for "us. The diſmal ſolemnity of theſe weeping countenances "ſoon evaporated, and the ſorrows and ſenſes of the company "were quickly drowned in large potations of ale. Such is "the general concluſion of a Welſh meeting, whether it be "merry or melancholy. I was here informed, that a burial "was eſteemed the moſt profitable function of a Welſh "clergyman. The neighbours and relations of the deceaſed "attend in large numbers at the funeral, and make conſiderable offerings to the officiating prieſt; for they are taught "to believe that their reſpect to their friend's memory is in "proportion to the oblations they give. Though the man "who was here interred was but a common tradeſman, yet "the collection at the church amounted to more than five "pounds. This cuſtom is evidently derived from the ancient *maſs money* collected for purgatory indulgences; and it "is fortunate for the clergy of Wales, whoſe income is generally moderate, that the ſuperſtition has ſuffered no reformation *."

Llantoney abbey, built in the form of a croſs, is alſo a noble object. It was founded in the year 1137, and is a regular compoſition of Norman architecture mixed with Gothic †. It may juſtly be called regular, becauſe all the underſtructure is Gothic, and the upper Norman, the arches below being all pointed, and thoſe above circular; and becauſe it was built upon one entire plan, and manifeſtly at one and the ſame time. The whole nave, the roof excepted, remains, from eaſt to weſt; and is, by meaſurement, two hundred and twelve feet in length, and twenty-ſeven feet four inches in breadth.

The following elegant deſcription of this abbey cannot fail to pleaſe every reader of taſte. "In the deep vale of "Ewyas, which is not more than a bowſhot wide, ſtands, "encircled with an amphitheatre of immenſe mountains, the "church of St. John; it is covered with lead, and not inelegantly built, with an arched roof of ſtone. This ſpot is "juſtly ſuited for religious exerciſes, and the moſt proper for "canonical diſcipline of any other monaſtery in the Britiſh

* Tour through Wales. † Speed.

" iſland. The church was firſt founded, ſolitary and remote " from all wordly noiſe, by two hermits, to the honour of a " monaſtic life, and is ſituated on the river Hodney, which " runs through the length of the vale. The cloiſtered monks " may view, from within their walls, the mountains riſing " above them and almoſt touching heaven with their exalted " ſummits, and abounding with deer feeding aloft, at the ex- " tremity of the lofty horizon. The ſun is never viſible to " this gloomy receſs, till between the afternoon hours of one " and three; and even then is rarely ſeen, except in the " cleareſt ſeaſon *."

Wales was a *ſeat of learning at a very early period*; but it ſuffered an eclipſe by the repeated maſſacres of the bards and clergy. The Welch and Scotch diſpute about the nativity of certain learned men, particularly four of the name of Gildas. Giraldus Cambrenſis, whoſe hiſtory was publiſhed by Camden, was certainly a Welchman; and Leland mentions ſeveral learned men of the ſame country, who flouriſhed before the reformation. The diſcovery of the famous king Arthur's and his wife's burying-place was owing to ſome lines of Thalieſſin, which were repeated before Henry II. of England, by a Welch bard. Since the reformation, Wales has produced ſeveral excellent antiquaries and divines. Rowland, the learned author of the *Mona Antiqua*, was a Welchman; as was that great ſtateſman and prelate, the lord keeper Williams, archbiſhop of York, in the time of king Charles I. We have another inſtance of Welch erudition in the excellent hiſtory of Henry VIII. written by lord Herbert of Cherbury. Some of the Welch of the preſent day make a conſiderable figure in the republic of letters.

* Giraldus Cambrenſis.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

BRITISH ISLES.

Man—Wight—Jerſey—Guernſey—Scilly Iſlands—Shetland Iſles—Orkney Iſles—Hebrides—Antiquities—Singular Diſcovery made by Sir Joſeph Banks—Second Sight—Dr. Johnſon's Sentiments on that Subject.

THE Iſle of *Man*, ſituated in St. George's Channel, is almoſt at an equal diſtance from the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Its length from north to ſouth is rather more than thirty miles, its breadth from eight to fifteen. It contains ſeventeen pariſhes, and four towns on the ſea coaſts.

During the time of the Scandinavian rovers on the ſeas, this iſland was their rendezvous, and their chief force was here collected; from whence they annoyed the Hebrides, Great Britain, and Ireland. The kings of Man are often mentioned in hiſtory; and though we have no regular account of their ſucceſſion, and know but a few of their names, yet they undoubtedly were for ſome ages maſters of thoſe ſeas. Alexander II. king of Scot- A. D. 1263.
land, a ſpirited prince, having defeated the Danes, laid claim to the ſuperiority of Man, and obliged Owen, or John, its king, to acknowledge him as lord paramount. It ſeems to have continued, either tributary or in property of the kings of Scotland, till it was reduced by Edward I. and the kings of England, from that time, exerciſed the ſuperiority over the iſland; though we find it ſtill poſſeſſed by the poſterity of its Daniſh princes, in the reign of Edward III. who diſpoſſeſſed the laſt queen of the iſland, and beſtowed it on his favourite, Montague, earl of Saliſbury. His family honours and eſtate being forfeited, Henry IV. beſtowed Man, and the patronage of the biſhoprick, firſt upon the Northumberland family, and, that being forfeited, upon ſir John Stanley, whoſe poſterity, the earls of Derby, enjoyed till, by failure of male heirs, it devolved upon the duke of Athol, who married the ſiſter of the laſt lord Derby. Reaſons of ſtate rendered it neceſſary for the crown of Great Britain to purchaſe the cuſtoms and the iſland from the Athol family; and the bargain was completed by 70,000l. being paid to the duke. The duke, A. D. 1765.
however, retains his territorial property in the iſland, though the form of his government is altered; and

the king has now the ſame rights, powers, and prerogatives, as the duke formerly enjoyed. The inhabitants alſo retain many of their ancient conſtitutions and cuſtoms.

This iſland affords ſome curioſities which may amuſe an antiquary. They conſiſt chiefly of Runic ſepulchral inſcriptions and monuments, of ancient braſs daggers, and other weapons of that metal, adorned with pure gold; which indicates the ſplendor of its ancient poſſeſſors. The *language*, which is called the Manks, and is ſpoken by the common people, is radically Erſe, or Iriſh, but with a mixture of other languages.

The *Iſle of Wight* is oppoſite to the coaſt of Hampſhire, from which it is ſeparated by a channel, varying in breadth from two to ſeven miles; it is conſidered as part of the county of Southampton, and is within the dioceſe of Wincheſter. Its greateſt length, extending from eaſt to weſt, meaſures nearly twenty-three miles; its breadth from north to ſouth about thirteen. The air is in general healthy, particularly the ſouthern parts; the ſoil is various, but ſo great is its fertility, that more wheat grows here in one year, than can be conſumed by the inhabitants in eight. The interior parts of the iſland, as well as its extremities, afford a great number of beautiful and picturesque proſpects, not only in the paſtoral, but alſo in the great and romantic ſtyle. Of theſe beauties, the gentlemen of the iſland have availed themſelves, as well in the choice of ſituation of the houſes, as in their other improvements. Such is the purity of the air, the fertility of the ſoil, and the beauty and variety of the landſcapes of this iſland, that it has been called the garden of England, and it is often viſited by parties of pleaſure on account of its delightful ſcenes. It contains about twenty thouſand inhabitants. The three principal ſtreets of Newport, the capital, extend from eaſt to weſt, and are croſſed at right angles by three others, all which are ſpacious, clean, and well paved. Cariſbrooke Caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, has been rendered remarkable by the confinement of king Charles the Firſt who, taking refuge here, was detained a priſoner for thirteen months.

Jerſey, *Guernſey*, and *Alderney*, ſituated in the Engliſh channel, though much nearer to the coaſt of Normandy than to that of England, are within the dioceſe of Wincheſter.

Jerſey, anciently *Cæſarea*, was known to the Romans, and is remarkable for its fine honey. The iſland is not above twelve miles in length; but the air is ſo ſalubrious, that a celebrated writer * ſays there was no buſineſs in it for a phy-

* Camden.

phyſician, in his time. The property of this iſland belong-
d formerly to the Carterets, a Norman family, who have
een always attached to the royal intereſt, and gave protection
o Charles II. both when king and prince of Wales, at a
ime when no part of the Britiſh dominions durſt recogniſe
im. The language of the inhabitants is French, with
vhich moſt of them intermingle Engliſh words; yet French
s moſt generally the language of the pulpit and the bar. The
overnor is appointed by the crown of England, but the
ivil adminiſtration reſts with a bailiff, aſſiſted by twelve
urats. As this iſland is the principal remain of the duchy
of Normandy depending on the kings of England, it pre-
ſerves the old feudal forms, and particularly the aſſembly of
ſtates, which forms a miniature of the Britiſh parliament, as
ſettled in the time of Edward I.

Guernſey is likewiſe part of the ancient Norman patri-
mony. Though this be naturally a finer iſland than that of
Jerſey, yet it is far leſs valuable, being poorly cultivated and
thinly inhabited.—*Alderney* is ſeparated from Normandy by
a narrow ſtrait, called the *Race* of Alderney, which is a dan-
gerous paſſage in ſtormy weather, when the two currents
meet. To the weſt lie a range of rocks for near three
leagues together called the *Caſkets*; among which are ſeveral
whirpools or eddies, very dreadful to mariners. The ſons of
king Henry I. were caſt away and drowned here, paſſing to
Normandy. This ſtrait alſo proved fatal to the *Victory* man
of war, commanded by admiral *Blacken*.

The *Scilly Iſlands* and *Rocks*, anciently called the *Silures*,
are a cluſter of dangerous rocks to the number of one hun-
dred and forty, lying about thirty miles from the *Land's End*
in *Cornwall*, of which county they are reckoned a part, and
to which they are ſuppoſed to have been formerly joined, but
ſeparated from it and from each other, by ſome violent erup-
tion of the ſea, which is here between forty and ſixty fathoms.
Scilly, which gives name to all the reſt, was once the chief;
but St. Mary's Iſland, though only nine miles in circumfer-
ence, is the largeſt, as well as the moſt fruitful, and has a
very good harbour, fortified with a caſtle, which was built
by queen Elizabeth. St. Mary's contains more inhabitants
than all the reſt put together, and who are alſo the richeſt.
In this, and in two or three others of the largeſt iſlands, there
are various antiquities, particularly the remains of a temple
of the Druids, and ancient ſepulchres. But the greateſt or-
nament of this iſland is the light-houſe, in height fifty-one
feet, and the gallery four. The ſaſh lights are eleven feet three
inches high, by three feet two inches broad; it ſtands on
high land, and makes a very fine appearance. By their ſitu-

ation, between the Engliſh channel and St. George's ch
nel, they have been the deſtruction of many ſhips and li

The iſlands belonging to Scotland, are thoſe of *Shetla Orkney*, and the *Hebrides*, or *Weſtern Iſles*. The largeſ the Shetland iſles, which are forty-ſix in number, is *Ma laind*, whoſe length is ſixty miles, and its breadth twe The largeſt of the Orkney iſles, or Orcades, which about thirty in number, is called *Pomona*. Its lengt thirty-three miles, and its breadth, in ſome places, nine The iſlands of Shetland and Orkney were formerly ſub to the Normans, who conquered them in 1099, a few y after they landed in England under William the Conque In the year 1263 they were in poſſeſſion of Magnus of N way, who ſold them to Alexander king of Scots, and gave them as fiefs to a nobleman of the name of Sp After this, they became ſubject to the crown of Denm Chriſtian I. in the reign of James III. conveyed them property to the crown of Scotland, as a marriage por with his daughter Margaret; and all future pretenſions w entirely ceded on the marriage of James VI. of Scotl with Anne of Denmark. The iſles of Shetland and Ork form a ſtewartry, or ſhire, which ſends a member to par ment. At preſent the people in general differ little from Lowlanders of Scotland; only, perhaps, their manners more ſimple, and their minds leſs cultivated. Men of tune have improved their eſtates wonderfully of late ye and have introduced into their families many elegancies luxuries. They build their dwellings, and other houſes, a modern taſte; and are remarkable for the fineneſs of t linen.

The *Hebrides*, or Weſtern iſles, are numerous, and ſ of them large. The iſle of *Mull*, in the Hebrides, is twe four miles long, and, in ſome places, almoſt as broad. other principal iſlands are *Lewis* or *Herries*, *Sky*, *Bute*, *Jura*, *St. Kilda*, and *Iona*. The iſle of Sky, belongin the ſhire of Inverneſs, is forty miles long, and, in ſ places, thirty broad, fruitful and well peopled. Bute famous for containing the caſtle of Rothſay, which gave title of duke to the eldeſt ſons of the kings of Scotland; it now does to the prince of Wales. Iona, once the ſeat ſanctuary of weſtern learning, and the burying place of m kings of Scotland, Ireland, and Norway, is ſtill famous its reliques of ſanctimonious antiquity. Innumerable inſc tions, referring to ancient cuſtoms and ceremonies, are cernible in this iſland; which gives countenance to the known obſervation, that when learning was nearly extinc

the continent of Europe, it found a refuge in Scotland, or rather in theſe iſlands *.

The inhabitants, ſtill preſerve the moſt profound reſpect and affection for their ſeveral chieftains, notwithſtanding all the pains that have been taken by the Britiſh legiſlature to break thoſe connections. The common people are but little better lodged than the Norwegians and Laplanders; though they certainly fare better, for they have oatmeal, plenty of fiſh and fowl, cheeſe, butter-milk, and whey; and alſo mutton, beef, goat, kid and veniſon. They indulge themſelves, like their fore-fathers, in a romantic poetical turn, and the agility of both ſexes, in the exerciſes of the field, and in dancing to their favourite muſic, is remarkable.

"A man of the Hebrides," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "as ſoon "as he appears in the morning ſwallows a glaſs of whiſky; "yet they are not a drunken race, at leaſt I never was pre- "ſent at much intemperance; but no man is ſo abſtemious "as to refuſe the morning dram, which they call a ſkalk. "The word whiſky ſignifies water, and is applied by way of "eminence to ſtrong water, or diſtilled liquor. The ſpirit "drank in the North is drawn from barley. I never taſted "it except once for experiment at the inn in Inverary, when "I thought it preferable to any Engliſh malt brandy. It "was ſtrong, but not pungent, and was free from the em- "pyreumatic taſte or ſmell. What was the proceſs I had no "opportunity of inquiring, nor do I wiſh to impove the art "of making poiſon pleaſant.

"Not long after the dram may be expected the breakfaſt, "a meal in which the Scots, whether of the lowlands or "mountains, muſt be confeſſed to excel us. The tea and "coffee are accompanied not only with butter, but with "honey, conſerves and marmalades. If an epicure could "remove by a wiſh, in queſt of ſenſual gratifications, where- "ever he had ſupped he would breakfaſt in Scotland.

"A dinner in the Weſtern iſlands differs very little from "a dinner in England, except that in the place of tarts, there "are always ſet different preparations of milk. This part "of their diet will admit ſome improvement. Though they "have milk, and eggs, and ſugar, few of them know how to "compound them in a cuſtard. Their gardens afford them "no great variety, but they have always ſome vegetables on "the table. Potatoes at leaſt are never wanting, which, "though they have not known them long, are now one of "the principal parts of their food. They are not of the "mealy, but the viſcous kind. Their more elaborate cook-

* Pennant.

" ery, or made diſhes, an Engliſhman at the firſt taſte is not " likely to approve, but the culinary compoſitions of every " country are often ſuch as become grateful to other nations " only by degrees; though I have read a French author " who, in the elation of his heart, ſays, that French cookery " pleaſes all foreigners, but foreign cookery never ſatisfies a " Frenchman.

" Their ſuppers are, like their dinners, various and plen- " tiful. The table is always covered with elegant linen. " They uſe ſilver plates on all occaſions where it is common " in England, nor did I ever find the ſpoon of horn, but in " one houſe. The knives are not often either very bright " or very ſharp. They are indeed inſtruments of which the " highlanders have not been long acquainted with the gene- " ral uſe. They were not regularly laid on the table, before " the prohibition of arms, and the change of dreſs. Thirty " years ago the highlander wore his knife as a companion to " his dirk or dagger, and when the company ſat down to " meat, the men who had knives, cut the fleſh into ſmall " pieces for the women, who with their fingers conveyed it " to their mouths.

" In the iſlands the plaid is rarely worn. The law by " which the Highlanders have been obliged to change the " form of their dreſs, has, in all the places that we have vi- " ſited, been univerſally obeyed. I have ſeen only one gen- " tleman completely clothed in the ancient habit, and by " him it was worn only occaſionally and wantonly. The " common people do not think themſelves under any legal " neceſſity of having coats; for they ſay that the law againſt " plaids was made by lord *Hardwicke*, and was in force " only for his life: but the ſame poverty that made it then " difficult for them to change their clothing, hinders them " now from changing it again. The fillibeg, or lower gar- " ment, is ſtill very common, and the bonnet almoſt univer- " ſal; but their attire is ſuch as produces, in a ſufficient de- " gree, the effect intended by the law, of aboliſhing the diſ- " ſimilitude of appearance between the Highlanders and the " other inhabitants of Britain; and, if dreſs be ſuppoſed to " have much influence, facilitates their coalition with their " fellow ſubjects.

" What we have long uſed we naturally like, and there- " fore the Highlanders were unwilling to lay aſide their " plaid, which yet to an unprejudiced ſpectator muſt appear " an incommodious and cumberſome dreſs; for hanging " looſe upon the body, it muſt flutter in a quick motion, or " require one of the hands to keep it cloſe. The Romans " always laid aſide the gown when they had any thing to do.

" It

" It was a dreſs ſo unſuitable to war, that the ſame word " that ſignified a gown ſignified peace. The chief uſe of a " plaid ſeems to be this, that they could commodiouſly wrap " themſelves in it, when they were obliged to ſleep without " a better cover *."

In the Hebrides, there are many veſtiges of Druidical temples, ſome of which muſt have required equal labour with the famous Stonehenge near Saliſbury. Others ſeem to be memorials of particular perſons, or actions, conſiſting of one large ſtone, ſtanding upright: ſome have been ſculptured, and others have ſerved as ſepulchres, and are compoſed of ſtones cemented together. Burrows, as they are called in England, are frequent in theſe iſlands; and the monuments of Daniſh and Norwegian fortifications might long employ an able antiquary to deſcribe. The gigantic bones found in many burial-places here give room to believe, that the former inhabitants were of larger ſize than the preſent.

Some of the moſt aſtoniſhing appearances in nature have remained undeſcribed, and, till lately, unobſerved, even by the natives. One ſingular diſcovery, in particular, was reſerved for the inquiſitive genius of an Engliſh naturaliſt †. " In the iſland of Staffa," ſays he, " we were ſtruck with a " ſcene of magnificence which exceeded our expectations. " One of the ſides of that iſland, a mile in length and half a " mile in breadth, is ſupported by ranges of natural pillars, " moſtly above fifty feet high, ſtanding in colonnades upon a " firm baſis of rock; above theſe the ſtratum which reaches " to the ſoil or ſurface of the iſland, varied in thickneſs as " the iſland itſelf formed into hills or vallies; each hill, " which hung over the columns below, compoſed an ample " pediment; ſometimes ſixty feet in thickneſs from the baſe " to the point, and formed, by the ſloping of the hill on " each ſide, almoſt into the ſhape of thoſe uſed in architec- " ture. Compared to this, what are the cathedrals or palaces " built by men? mere models or play-things. Imitations as " diminutive, as his works will always be, when compared " to thoſe of nature. Where is now the boaſt of the archi- " tect? regularity, the only part in which he fancied himſelf " to exceed his miſtreſs nature, is here found in perfection." Sir Joſeph particulariſes ſundry other appearances in this, and a neighbouring iſland, which is wholly compoſed of pillars without any ſtratum. In ſome parts of Staffa, inſtead of being placed upright, the pillars were obſerved to lie on their ſides, each forming a ſegment of a circle; but the moſt ſtriking object in this pictureſque ſcene is *Fingal's Cave*, which

* Journey to the Weſtern Iſlands. † Sir Joſeph Banks.

he deſcribes in the following manner:---"With our minds "full of ſuch reflections, we proceeded along the ſhore, "treading upon another *Giant's Cauſeway*, every ſtone being "regularly formed into a certain number of ſides and angles; "till, in a ſhort time, we arrived at the mouth of a cave, "the moſt magnificent, I ſuppoſe, that has ever been de- "ſcribed by travellers. The mind can hardly form an idea "more magnificent than a ſpace, ſupported on each ſide by "ranges of columns, and roofed by the bottoms of thoſe "which have been broken off in order to form it; between "the angles of which, a yellow ſtalagtitic matter has exuded, "which ſerves to define the angles preciſely, and at the ſame "time vary the colour, with a great deal of elegance; and "to render it ſtill more agreeable, the whole is lighted from "without; ſo that the ſartheſt extremity is very plainly ſeen "from without; and the air within being agitated by the "flux and reflux of the tide is perfectly dry and wholeſome, "free entirely from the damp and vapours with which natu- "ral caverns in general abound."

A very remarkable gift of prophecy diſtinguiſhes the inhabitants of the Hebrides, under the name of the *ſecond ſight*. It would be equally abſurd to attempt to diſprove the reality of ſome inſtances of this kind that have been brought by reputable authors, and to admit all that has been ſaid upon the ſubject. The adepts of the ſecond ſight pretend that they have certain revelations, or rather preſentations, either really or typically, which ſwim before their eyes, of certain events that are to happen in the compaſs of twenty-four or forty-eight hours. But, from the beſt information, no two of thoſe adepts agree as to the manner and forms of theſe revelations, or that they have any fixed method for interpreting their typical appearances. The truth ſeems to be, that thoſe iſlanders, by indulging themſelves in lazy habits, acquire viſionary ideas, and overheat their imaginations, till they are preſented with thoſe phantaſms, which they miſtake for fatidical or prophetic manifeſtations. They inſtantly begin to propheſy; and it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe, that amidſt many thouſands of predictions, ſome did not happen to be fulfilled; and theſe, being well atteſted, gave a ſanction to the whole.

The ſentiments of a late learned writer * on this ſubject are as follow. "We ſhould have had little claim to the "praiſe of curioſity, if we had not endeavoured with parti- "cular attention to examine the queſtion of the Second Sight. "Of an opinion received for centuries by a whole nation,

* Dr. Johnſon.

"and

" and ſuppoſed to be confirmed through its whole deſcent,
" by a ſeries of ſucceſſive facts, it is deſirable that the truth
" ſhould be eſtabliſhed, or the fallacy detected. The Second
" Sight is an impreſſion made either by the mind upon the
" eye, or by the eye upon the mind, by which things diſtant
" or future are perceived, and ſeen as if they were preſent.
" A man on a journey far from home falls from his horſe, an-
" other, who is perhaps at work about the houſe, ſees him
" bleeding on the ground, commonly with a landſcape of the
" place where the accident befalls him. Another ſeer, driv-
" ing home his cattle, or wandering in idleneſs, or muſing
" in the ſunſhine, is ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the appearance of
" a bridal ceremony, or funeral proceſſion, and counts the
" mourners or attendants; of whom, if he knows them, he
" relates the names, if he knows them not, he can deſcribe
" the dreſſes. Things diſtant are ſeen when they happen.
" Of things future I know not that there is any rule for de-
" termining the time between the ſight and the event.

" This receptive faculty, for power it cannot be called, is
" neither voluntary nor conſtant. The appearances have no
" dependence upon choice: they cannot be ſummoned, de-
" tained, or recalled. The impreſſion is ſudden, and the ef-
" fect often painful.

" By the term Second Sight, ſeems to be meant a mode of
" ſeeing, ſuperadded to that which Nature generally beſtows.
" In the earſe it is called *Taiſch*; which ſignifies likewiſe a
" ſpectre, or a viſion. I know not, nor is it likely that the
" Highlanders ever examined, whether by *taiſch*, uſed for
" the ſecond ſight, they mean the power of ſeeing, or the
" thing ſeen. I do not find it to be true, as it is reported,
" that to the ſecond ſight nothing is preſented but phantoms
" of evil. Good ſeems to have the ſame proportion in thoſe
" viſionary ſcenes, as it obtains in real life: almoſt all re-
" markable events have evil for their baſis; and are either
" miſeries incurred, or miſeries eſcaped. Our ſenſe is ſo
" much ſtronger of what we ſuffer, than of what we enjoy,
" that the ideas of pain predominate in almoſt every mind.
" What is recollection but a revival of vexations, or hiſtory
" but a record of wars, treaſons, and calamities? Death,
" which is conſidered as the greateſt evil, happens to all.
" The greateſt good, be it what it will, is the lot but of a
" part. That they ſhould often ſee death is to be expected;
" becauſe death is an event frequent and important. But
" they ſee likewiſe more pleaſing incidents. A gentleman
" told me, that when he had once gone far from his own
" iſland, one of his labouring ſervants predicted his return,
" and deſcribed the livery of his attendant, which he had

" never

" never worn at home; and which had been, without any " previous deſign, occaſionally given him.

" It is the common talk of the lowland Scots, that the " notion of the ſecond ſight is wearing away with other ſu- " perſtitions. How far its prevalence ever extended, or " what ground it has loſt, I know not. The iſlanders of all " degrees, whether of rank or underſtanding, univerſally ad- " mit it, except the miniſters, who univerſally deny it, and " are ſuſpected to deny it, in conſequence of a ſyſtem, againſt " conviction. One of them honeſtly told me, that he came " to Sky with a reſolution not to believe it.—By pretenſions " to ſecond ſight, no profit was ever ſought or gained. It " is an involuntary affection, in which neither hope nor fear " are known to have any part. Thoſe who profeſs to feel " it, do not boaſt of it as a privilege, nor are conſidered by " others as advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed. They have no " temptation to feign; and their hearers have no motive to " encourage the impoſture."

Nothing can be mentioned as to the population of the Scottiſh iſles. We have the moſt undoubted evidences of hiſtory, that about 400 years ago they were much more populous than they are now: for the Hebrides themſelves were often known to ſend ten thouſand fighting men into the field, without prejudice to their agriculture. At preſent, their numbers are ſaid not to exceed forty-eight thouſand. The people of the Hebrides are clothed, and live like the Scotch highlanders. They are ſimilar in perſons, conſtitutions, cuſtoms, and prejudices; with this difference, that the more poliſhed manners of the lowlanders are every day gaining ground in the highlands: perhaps the deſcendants of the ancient Caledonians, in a few years, will be diſcernible only in the Hebrides.

" The inhabitants of Sky," ſays Dr. Johnſon, " and of " the other iſlands, which I have ſeen, are commonly of the " middle ſtature, with fewer among them very tall or very " ſhort, than are ſeen in England; or perhaps, as their num- " bers are ſmall, the chances of any deviation from the com- " mon meaſure are neceſſarily very few. The talleſt men " that I ſaw are among thoſe of higher rank. In regions of " barrenneſs and ſcarcity, the human race is hindered in its " growth by the ſame cauſes as other animals. The ladies " have as much beauty here as in other places, but bloom " and ſoftneſs are not to be expected among the lower claſſes, " whoſe faces are expoſed to the rudeneſs of the climate, and " whoſe features are ſometimes contracted by want, and " ſometimes hardened by the blaſts. Supreme beauty is " ſeldom found in cottages or workſhops, even where no

" real

"real hardſhips are ſuffered. To expand the human face "to its full perfection, it ſeems neceſſary that the mind "ſhould co-operate by placidneſs of content, or conſciouſ- "neſs of ſuperiority. Their ſtrength is proportionate to "their ſize, but they are accuſtomed to run upon rough "ground, and therefore can with great agility ſkip over the "bog, or clamber the mountain. For a campaign in the "waſtes of America, ſoldiers better qualified could not have "been found. Having little work to do, they are not will- "ing, nor perhaps able to endure a long continuance of ma- "nual labour, and are therefore conſidered as habitually idle.

"It is generally ſuppoſed, that life is longer in places "where there are few opportunities of luxury; but I found "no inſtance here of extraordinary longevity. A cottager "grows old over his oaten cakes, like a citizen at a turtle "feaſt. He is indeed ſeldom incommoded by corpulence. "Poverty preſerves him from ſinking under the burden "of himſelf, but he eſcapes no other injury of time. In- "ſtances of long life are often related, which thoſe who hear "them are more willing to credit than examine. To be "told that any man has attained a hundred years, gives hope "and comfort to him who ſtands trembling on the brink of "his own climacterick. Length of life is diſtributed impar- "tially to very different modes of life in very different "climates; and the mountains have no greater examples of "age and health than the lowlands, where I was introduced "to two ladies of high quality, one of whom, in her ninety- "fourth year, preſided at her table with the full exerciſe of "all her powers; and the other has attained her eighty- "fourth, without any diminution of her vivacity, and with "little reaſon to accuſe time of depredations on her beauty."

The iſles of Scotland alone retain the ancient uſages of the Celts, as deſcribed by the oldeſt and beſt authors; with a ſtrong tincture of the feudal conſtitution. Their ſhanachies or ſtory-tellers ſupply the place of the ancient bards, ſo famous in hiſtory, and are the hiſtorians, or rather the genealogiſts, as well as poets, of the nation and family. The chief is likewiſe attended, when he appears abroad, with his muſician, "who is generally a bagpiper, and dreſſed in the "ſame manner as the Engliſh minſtrels of former times, but "rather more ſumptuouſly*." Notwithſtanding the contempt into which that muſic is fallen, it is almoſt incredible with what care and attention it was cultivated among theſe iſlanders ſo late as the beginning of the preſent century. They had regular colleges and profeſſors, and the ſtudents took degrees according to their proficiency.

* Percy's Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry.

SWEDEN.

CHAP. XVI.

SWEDEN.

Ancient Scandinavians—Margaret Waldemar—Chriſtiern II. —The celebrated Chriſtina—Charles XII.—The famous Revolution—Aſſaſſination of the late King—Linnæus the Naturaliſt.

THE preſent kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, formed part of ancient Scandinavia. The rude and warlike inhabitants of this wild deſert, known by the general name of Goths, ſeeking a milder climate, and lands more fertile than their foreſts and mountains, made frequent incurſions on the continent, and at laſt became ſo formidable that they broke the Roman empire, and eſtabliſhed powerful monarchies in Gaul, Spain, and Italy. The religion of the ancient Goths, or Scandinavians, if the wild opinion of ſavages can deſerve that name, was like themſelves, bloody and barbarous; but formed to inſpire the moſt enthuſiaſtic courage, and the moſt unremitted perſeverance in toil*.

That part of Scandanavia, now called Sweden, is bounded by the Baltic on the ſouth; by the Norwegian Lapland on the north; by Muſcovy on the eaſt; and on the weſt by the mountains of Norway. No authentic annals of it's early inhabitants now remain. In the firſt periods of its hiſtory, we find it, like the other northern regions of Europe, parcelled into ſmall independent ſtates, which were governed by their reſpective general or chieftain, who had commonly the title of king†.

There is no relying on what has been written concerning Sweden, till Chriſtianity was introduced, about the middle of the ninth century. From this period to the year 1150, when King Eric IX. compelled the Finlanders to receive the Chriſtian faith, and ordered the ancient laws and conſtitutions of the kingdom to be collected into one volume, under the title of King Eric's laws, nothing occurs in the Swediſh hiſtory that merits a particular review. The chronology of this kingdom, which before was very doubtful, from this time is more certain.

A. D. 1275. Magnus Ladeſlaus appears to be the firſt king of Sweden who purſued a regular ſyſtem to increaſe his authority; and with this view ma

* Gibbon. † Univerſal Hiſtory.

the augmentations of the revenues of the crown his particular care. This able prince ſucceeded in making himſelf independent of his people; but his ſucceſſors, not maintaining their authority with equal ability, the kingdom was thrown into the greateſt diſorder, and continual revolutions ſucceeded till the union of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in the fourteenth century, under Margaret Waldemar, ſurnamed the Semiramis of the north.

Margaret was daughter of Waldemar III. king of Denmark. She had been married to Hacquin, king of Norway, and ſon of Magnus III. king of Sweden. On the death of her ſon Olaus, the laſt male heir of the three northern crowns, (which were, however, more elective than hereditary) ſhe ſucceeded, by the conſent of the ſtates, to the Daniſh throne. She was elected Queen of Norway, which ſhe had governed as regent; and the Swedes being oppreſſed by their king Albert, made Margaret a ſolemn tender of their crown. She marched to their aſſiſtance, expelled Albert, and aſſumed the reins of government. Thus poſſeſſed of theſe three kingdoms, ſhe formed the grand political deſign of a perpetual union, which proved the ſource of thoſe wars which raged in Sweden and Denmark upwards of a century. Under Eric, the ſucceſſor of Margaret, the Swedes revolted, chuſing their Grand Marſhal, Charles Canutſon, king. They however, returned to their allegiance under Chriſtiern I. of Denmark. But they again revolted from the ſame prince; again renewed the union of Calamar, under John his ſucceſſor; revolted a third time; and were finally ſubdued by the arms of Chriſtiern II. who reduced them to the condition of a conquered people.

A. D. 1394.

To ſecure himſelf on the throne of Sweden, Chriſtiern II. commanded the ſenators and chief of the nobility to be maſſacred at Stockholm, on the 9th of November. This perhaps was one of the moſt tragical ſcenes in the hiſtory of the human race. Under the diſguiſe of friendſhip, he had invited the ſenators and grandees to a ſumptuous entertainment. In the unſuſpicious hour of of conviviality, the hall was filled with armed men, and ninety-four perſons of diſtinction were led from the palace to the ſcaffold erected before the door and there executed*.

A. D. 1520.

From his tyrannical government the Swedes were delivered by the fortitude and zeal of Guſtavus Vaſa, a deſcendant of the ancient kings, and whoſe father had been put to death in the late maſſacre. This brave prince, to eſcape the fury of the tyrant, concealed himſelf among the mountains

* Vertot.

of

of Delicarlia. There, bewildered, deſtitute of every nec
ſary, and ready to periſh with hunger, he entered him
among the miners, and worked under ground for bread.
afterwards made himſelf known unto them at their ann
feaſt, and exhorted them to aſſiſt him in recovering the lib
ties of their country. Animated with rage againſt their oppr
ſors, they fled to arms. Guſtavus gaining partiſans in all c
ners of the kingdom, ſaw himſelf every where victorio
Every thing yielded to his valour and good fortune, and
regal dignity was conferred on him as the reward of his me
This brave and patriot prince introduced and eſtabliſhed
law the proteſtant religion, and made commerce and the a
flouriſh by his wiſe policy. The affairs of
A. D. 1544. kingdom being thus happily ſettled, the cro
was declared to be hereditary.

Eric Vaſa, his ſon and ſucceſſor, proving a diſſolute a
cruel prince, was dethroned and impriſoned in 1568.
was ſucceeded by his brother John, who ventured to int
duce a new liturgy, and attempted in vain to re-eſtabliſh
catholic religion. He left the crown to his ſon Sigiſmu
who had been elected king of Poland. This prince, like
father, being a zealous catholic, endeavoured to reſt
popery, for which he was depoſed, and his heirs exclu
from the ſucceſſion. His uncle, Charles IX. was raiſed to
ſovereignty by the ſtates. He had been chiefly inſtrumen
in preſerving their religious liberties. On his death,
ſceptre paſſed to his ſon the celebrated Guſtavus Adolph
whoſe reign is one of the moſt illuſtrious periods in the
nals of this or any other kingdom. He ſubdued Ingr
Livonia, and Pomerania; but in the midſt of all his victor
over the ableſt of the Auſtrian generals, he was unfortuna
ly killed at the battle of Lutzen, near Leipſic.

His daughter, Chriſtina, ſucceeded. She is not leſs n
morable for her paſſion for literature, and generous patron
of learned men, than for her reſignation of the crown. H
ſtudies, by occupying too much of her attention, were inj
rious to her reputation as a queen. "I think I ſee
"devil," ſaid ſhe, "when my ſecretary enters with his c
"patches*." In order to enable the queen to purſue l
literary amuſements, without diſadvantage to the ſtate,
ſenate of Sweden propoſed, that ſhe ſhould marry her cou
Charles Guſtavus, prince Palatine of Deux Ponts, for wh
ſhe had been deſigned from her infancy. But although t
prince appears to have been a favourite, and Chriſtina's co
duct proves that ſhe was by no means inſenſible to the paſſion

* Memoirs de Chriſtine.

the ſexes, like our Elizabeth, ſhe did not chuſe to give herſelf a maſter.

But the Swedes, among whom refinement had made little progreſs, but whoſe martial ſpirit was now at its height, and among whom policy was well und rſtood, could not bear to ſee the daughter of the great Guſtavus devote her time and her talents ſolely to the ſtudy of dead languages; to the diſputes about vortexes, innate ideas, and other unavailing ſpeculations; to a taſte for medals, ſtatues, pictures, and public ſpectacles, in contempt of the nobler cares of royalty. An univerſal diſcontent, therefore, aroſe, and Chriſtina was again preſſed to marry. The diſguſt occaſioned by this importunity firſt ſuggeſted to her the idea of quitting the throne. She accordingly ſignified her intention of reſigning, in a letter to Charles Guſtavus, and of ſurrendering her crown in full ſenate; but ſhe was prevailed upon to reign for ſome time, on condition that ſhe ſhould be no more preſſed to marry*. Finding it impoſſible, however, to reconcile her literary purſuits, or more properly her love of eaſe and her romantic turn of mind, with the duties of her ſtation, Chriſtina finally reſigned her crown; A. D. 1654. and Charles Guſtavus aſcended the throne of Sweden, under the name of Charles X. After deſpoiling the palace of every thing curious or valuable, ſhe left her capital and her kingdom, as the abodes of ignorance and barbariſm. She travelled through Germany in men's clothes; and having a deſign of fixing her reſidence at Rome, that ſhe might have an opportunity of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity, ſhe embraced the catholic religion at Bruſſels, and ſolemnly renounced Lutheraniſm at Inſpruck. The catholics conſidered this converſion as a triumph, and the proteſtants were not a little mortified at the defection of ſo celebrated a woman; but both without reaſon; for the queen of Sweden, who had an equal contempt for the peculiarities of both religions, meant only to conform, in appearance, to the tenets of the people among whom ſhe intended to live, in order to enjoy more agreeably the pleaſures of ſocial intercourſe. Her letters afford ſufficient evidence, to ſilence the [illegible] of either party.

But Chriſtina, like moſt ſovereigns who have [illegible] throne, in order to eſcape from the cares of [illegible] herſelf no leſs uneaſy in private life: ſo true [illegible] pineſs depends on the mind, not on the conditi[illegible] diſcovered, that a queen without power was [illegible] vant character in Italy, and is ſuppoſed to [illegible]

* Puffendorf.

her reſignation. But, however that may be, it is certain ſhe became tired of her ſituation, and made two journeys into France; where ſhe was received with much reſpect by the learned, whom ſhe had penſioned and flattered, but with little attention by the polite, eſpecially of her own ſex. Her maſculine air and libertine converſation kept women of delicacy at a diſtance. Nor does ſhe ſeem to have deſired their acquaintance; for when, on her firſt appearance, ſome ladies were eager to pay their civilities to her, "What," ſaid ſhe, "make theſe women ſo fond of me? Is it becauſe I am ſo "like a man?" The celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, whoſe wit and beauty gave her the power of pleaſing to the moſt advanced age, and who was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the multiplicity of her amours than by the ſingularity of her manner of thinking, was the only woman in France, whom Chriſtina honoured with any particular mark of her eſteem *. She loved the free converſation of men; or of women, who like herſelf, were above vulgar reſtraints.

The modeſt women in France, however, repaid Chriſtina's contempt with ridicule. And happy had it been for her character, had ſhe never excited, in the mind of either ſex, a more diſagreeable emotion; but that was ſoon ſucceeded by thoſe of deteſtation and horror. As if not only ſovereignty but deſpotiſm had been attached to her perſon, in a fit of libidinous jealouſy, ſhe ordered Monaldeſch, her favourite, to be aſſaſſinated in the great gallery at Fontainbleau, and almoſt in her own preſence. Yet the woman, who thus terminated an amour by a murder, did not want her apologiſts among the learned; and this atrocious violation of the law of nature and nations, in an enlightened age, and in the heart of a civilized kingdom, was allowed to paſs, not only without puniſhment, but without inquiry! Chriſtina found it neceſſary, however, to leave France, where ſhe was now juſtly held in abhorrence. She therefore returned to Rome; where, under the vicar of Chriſt, the greateſt criminals find ſhelter and conſolation; and where the queen of Sweden, a dupe to vanity and caprice, ſpent the remainder of her life, in ſenſual indulgencies and literary converſation, with cardinal Azzolini, and other members of the ſacred college; in admiring many things for which ſhe had no taſte, and in talking about more which ſhe did not underſtand †.

While Chriſtina was thus rambling over Europe, and amuſing herſelf in a manner as unworthy of her former character as of the daughter of the great Guſtavus, her ſucceſſor, Charles X. was indulging the martial ſpirit of the

* D'Alembert. † Univerſal Hiſtory.

Swedes,

Swedes, by the conqueſt of Poland. This he accompliſhed after ſeveral ſignal victories, in which he diſcovered both courage and conduct. He alſo drove the Danes out of the provinces of Schonen, Smaland, Halland, Blekingen, and Bohus-Lehn, which he added to his dominions.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles XI. in whoſe reign the power of the Swediſh monarchs became abſolute. On his death, the vacant throne was A. D. 1697. filled by his minor ſon, Charles XII. one of the moſt extraordinary men that ever appeared on the earth. This young hero, when ſcarcely eighteen, had ſucceſſively defeated Frederic IV. of Denmark; Auguſtus, king of Poland, whom he afterwards dethroned; and the czar Peter the Great. His reſtleſs ambition ſuggeſted to him the entire conqueſt of Ruſſia. With this view, he collected a powerful army. The Muſcovites in all quarters fled before him; and, after ſeveral advantages gained over the czar's forces, he marched towards the Ruſſian capital, Moſcow. But at the battle of Pultowa he was defeated, his army cut to pieces, himſelf wounded, and obliged to fly into Turkey. The Ottoman court giving him no hopes of aſſiſtance, he fortified himſelf in his ſmall retreat at Bender, and with only forty domeſtics, defended it againſt the Ruſſian army, not abandoning it till they had ſet it on fire. From Bender he fled to Demotika, but diſpleaſed with his ſituation there, he reſolved to keep his bed as long as he ſhould be obliged to ſtay in it. This he actually did for ten months, feigning himſelf ill *. At length, travelling poſt, with only two companions, through Franconia, and Mecklenburgh, he arrived at Stralſcend. Beſieged in this city, he eſcaped to Sweden in the moſt deplorable condition. Yet theſe misfortunes did not abate his rage for fighting. He raiſed a new army, attacked Norway, and laid ſiege to Fredericſhall, where he was killed by a half-pound ball, from A. D. 1718. a cannon loaded with grape-ſhot, as he was viewing their approaches by ſtar-light. Many, however, have ſuppoſed, that Charles was not in reality killed by a ſhot from the walls of Fredericſhall, but that a piſtol, from one of thoſe about him, gave the deciſive blow which put an end to the life of this celebrated monarch. This opinion is very prevalent in Sweden. And it appears, that the Swedes were tired of a prince, under whom they had loſt their richeſt provinces, their braveſt troops, and their national forces; and who yet, untamed by adverſity, purſued an unſucceſsful war, nor would ever have liſtened to the

* Voltaire.

voice of peace, or conſulted the internal tranquillity o country *.

On the death of Charles, the ſtates of the kingdom, free and voluntary choice, elected his ſiſter, Ulrica nora, for their Queen. But they obliged her, by a ſo act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, tha might hold it entirely by the ſuffrage of the people; ſhe bound herſelf by the moſt ſacred oaths, never to att the re-eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power. Sacrificing after the love of royalty to conjugal affection, ſhe relinq ed the crown to her huſband, the Prince of Heſſe, whc choſen by the States, and mounted the throne on the conditions with his royal conſort, under the title of Fre By the new plan of government which was now eſtabli the legiſlative authority was placed in the diet, and the cutive reſted in the diet. Frederic dying without iſſue ſtates elected Adolphus Frederic, a near relation to the monarch; a prince of but moderate abilities. His reign made troubleſome and uneaſy by the factio
A. D. 1771. the ſenate. On his death, the Swediſh ſc was given to his ſon Guſtavus Adolphus who poſſeſſed abilities greatly ſuperior to thoſe of his fa

He had a well cultivated underſtanding, an inſinuatin dreſs, and a graceful and commanding elocution. He about five and twenty years of age when he was procla King of Sweden; and, on his acceſſion to the throne adopted every method which the moſt profound diſſimul and the utmoſt dexterity could ſuggeſt, to increaſe his p larity. Three times a week he regularly gave audienc all who preſented themſelves. Neither rank, fortune, intereſt, were neceſſary to obtain acceſs to him. It was ficient to have been injured, and to have a legal cau complaint to lay before him. He liſtened to the meane his ſubjects with affability, and entered into the minuteſ tails that concerned them. He informed himſelf of private affairs, and ſeemed to intereſt himſelf in their bu neſs. This conduct made him conſidered as truly the f of his people. He ſeemed intent on baniſhing corrup and promoting union. He declared he would be of no p but that of the nation, and that he would ever pay the implicit obedience to whatever the diet ſhould enact. T profeſſions lulled the many into a fatal ſecurity, th they created ſuſpicions among a few of greater penetra who thought his majeſty promiſed too much to be in ear In the mean time there happened ſome contentions bet

* Coxe's Travels.

the different orders of the Swediſh ſtates, and no methods were left untried to foment theſe jealouſies. Emiſſaries were likewiſe planted in every part of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of ſowing diſcontent among the inhabitants, of rendering them diſaffected to the eſtabliſhed government, and of exciting them to an inſurrection. At length, when the king found his ſcheme ripe for execution, having taken the proper meaſures for bringing a conſiderable number of the officers and ſoldiers into his intereſt, he totally overturned the Swediſh conſtitution of government *. In leſs than an hour he made himſelf maſter of all the military force of Stockholm. He planted grenadiers, with bayonets fixed, at the door of the council chamber, in which the ſenate were aſſembled, and made all the members of it priſoners. And that no news might be carried to any other part of Sweden, of the tranſaction in which the king was engaged, till the ſcheme was completed, cannon were drawn from the arſenal, and planted at the palace, the bridges, and other parts of the town, and particularly at all the avenues leading to it. Soldiers ſtood over theſe with matches ready lighted; all communication with the country was cut off, no one, without a paſſport from the king, being allowed to leave the city. The ſenators were then confined in ſeparate apartments in the palace, and many others, who were ſuppoſed to be zealouſly attached to the liberties of Sweden, were put under arreſt. The remainder of the day the king employed in viſiting different quarters of the town, in order to receive oaths of fidelity to him from the magiſtrates, the colleges, and city militia. Oaths were alſo tendered the next day to the people in general, to whom he addreſſed a ſpeech, which he concluded by declaring, that his only intention was to reſtore tranquillity to his native country, by ſuppreſſing licentiouſneſs, overturning the ariſtocratic form of government, reviving the old Swediſh liberty, and reſtoring the ancient laws of Sweden, ſuch as they were before 1680. "I renounce now," ſaid he, "as I have already "done, all idea of the abhorred abſolute power, or what is "called ſovereignty, eſteeming it now, as before, my greateſt "glory to be the firſt citizen among a truly free people."

Aug. 19, 1772.

Thus was this great revolution completed without any bloodſhed, in which the Swedes ſurrendered that conſtitution, which their forefathers had bequeathed, after the death of Charles XII. as a bulwark againſt any deſpotic attempts of their future monarchs. The Swedes, at ſome periods, have diſcovered an ardent love of liberty; at others, they have

* Charles Francis Sheridan.

ſeemed fitted only for ſlavery; and when they were labouring to render themſelves free, they have wanted that ſound political knowledge, which would have pointed out to them the proper methods for ſecuring their future freedom. The moſt capital defect of the Swediſh conſtitution was the total want of all balance of its parts: and the diviſion of the Swediſh nation into three diſtinct claſſes of nobles, burghers, and peaſants, whoſe intereſts were perpetually claſhing, has been a circumſtance very unfavourable to the liberty of the Swedes. The power of their kings was much reſtrained; but no ſufficient regulations were adopted for ſecuring the perſonal freedom of the ſubject. Theſe defects in the Swediſh conſtitution paved the way for the late revolution.

A. D. 1788. Hoſtilities commenced on the frontiers of Finland, between a body of Ruſſian light troops and a detachment of the Swedes poſted on the bridge of Pomalaſund. After various engagements both by land and ſea, in which Guſtavus III. gave a diſplay of the moſt extraordinary abilities, an agreement for eſtabliſhing an everlaſting peace, and fixing the frontiers of Ruſſia, as they were before the war broke out, was ſigned between the plenipotentiaries of the Empreſs of Ruſſia and the King of Sweden.

A. D. 1792. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that the ſteps which Guſtavus had taken to render himſelf abſolute, would procure him many enemies, and he at laſt fell by the hand of an aſſaſſin. He was ſhot at a maſquerade by one of his own ſubjects. The Duke of Sudermania, the king's brother, was appointed regent during the minority of the young prince, who was born on the firſt of November, 1778.

Of his majeſty's tragical death I ſhall give a particular account. On the 16th of March, as he was preparing to attend a maſquerade at the Opera-houſe, he received the following anonymous letter.

"Sire,

"Deign to liſten to the advice of a man, who neither be-
"ing attached to your ſervice, nor deſirous of your favour,
"flatters not your crimes, but is deſirous of averting the
"danger with which your life is menaced. Be aſſured, that
"a plot is formed to aſſaſſinate you. Thoſe who have en-
"tered into it, are furious at being foiled laſt week, by the
"ball's being countermanded. They have reſolved to exe-
"cute their ſcheme this day. Remain at home, avoid balls
"during the preſent year: thus the fanaticiſm of criminality
"will be ſuffered to evaporate. Avoid the road to Haga*

* The king's country reſidence.

'in fine, be upon your guard for at leaſt a month. Do not 'endeavour to diſcover the author of this letter; the dam- 'nable project againſt your life is come to his knowledge by 'accident; be aſſured, however, that he has not any intereſt 'whatever in forewarning you of your intended fate."

The king, on reading the note, it is ſaid, was obſerved to urn pale. He, however, affected to hear it with contempt, nd to conſider it as an inſult to his courage, to attempt to eter him from enjoying his evening's entertainment. It as farther remarked that it was late before he entered the all room; but after ſome time he ſat down in a box with he Count D'Eſſen, and obſerved that he was not deceived n his contempt for the letter, ſince had there been any de- ign againſt his life, no time could be more favourable than hat moment. He then mingled, without apprehenſion, mong the crowd; and juſt as he was preparing to retire in ompany with the Pruſſian ambaſſador, he was ſurrounded by everal perſons in maſks, one of whom fired a piſtol at the ack of the king, and lodged the contents in his body. A cene of dreadful confuſion immediately enſued. The con- pirators, amidſt the general tumult and alarm, had time to etire to other parts of the room; but one of them had pre- iouſly dropped his piſtol and a dagger cloſe by the wounded king. A general order was given to all the company to un- maſk, and the doors were immediately cloſed; but no perſon appeared with any particular diſtinguiſhed marks of guilt. The king was immediately conveyed to his apartment, and the ſurgeon, after extracting a ball and ſome ſlugs, gave fa- vourable hopes of his majeſty's recovery.

The 17th was a day of apprehenſion and terror. The Swediſh guards were all under arms; patroles and pickets were ordered to traverſe the ſtreets of Stockholm both night and day; and the houſes of the citizens were to be ſhut after eight in the evening. Suſpicions immediately fell upon ſuch of the nobles as had been notorious for their oppoſition to the meaſures of the court. The anonymous letter was traced up to colonel Liljehorn, major in the king's guards, and he was immediately apprehended. But the moſt ſucceſsful clue that ſeemed to offer was in conſequence of the weapons which had fallen from the aſſaſſin. An order was iſſued di- recting all the armourers, gunſmiths, and cutlers in Stock- holm, to give every information in their power to the officers of juſtice concerning the weapons. A gunſmith who had repaired the piſtols recognized them to be the ſame which he had repaired ſome time ſince for a *nobleman* of the name of *Ankarſtrom*, a captain in the army; and the cutler, who had made the dagger, referred at once to the ſame perſon.

Ankarſtrom was no ſooner apprehended, than he confeſſed, with an air of manifeſt triumph, that he was the perſon, "*who had endeavoured to liberate his country from a monſter* "*and a tyrant.*" Suſpicions at the ſame time fell on the counts Horn and Ribbing, baron Pechlin, baron Ehrenſvard, baron Hartſmandorf, Von Engerſtrom the royal ſecretary, and others. Baron Beilke, the king's private ſecretary, being alſo apprehended on ſuſpicion, declared without heſitation that he was privy to the plot, but, added, that he had provided againſt the puniſhment which he knew awaited him, and againſt the riſk of being compelled by torture to betray thoſe who were aſſociated with him. He had in fact ſwallowed poiſon, and expired ſhortly after this declaration. His body was afterwards drawn on a hurdle, and expoſed to public view at the common place of execution.

From the confeſſion of Ankarſtrom it appeared, that he had been himſelf a principal in the conſpiracy from the beginning; and that in conſequence of an intimacy which exiſted between him and count Horn, they had often been led to converſe upon political ſubjects, on which they were perfectly agreed. They deplored the annihilation of their country's liberty and conſtitution, and reſented the recent calamities which the falſe ambition of Guſtavus had brought upon the nation; and concluded, that the only means of redreſſing the grievances under which it laboured, and of reſcuing it from others which were ſtill more to be apprehended, would be to aſſaſſinate the king, or at leaſt to remove him from the government. In conſequence of this determination, they concerted a plan for carrying him off by night from his Villa at Haga, where he uſually ſlept; and in the beginning of January they walked round through the park and woods of Haga, but found every avenue too ſecurely guarded. Count Ribbing was informed of the conſpiracy through count Horn, and readily acceded to it. Ankarſtrom undertook to be the immediate agent for the aſſaſſination; and with this intention, in company with count Horn, he attended the theatre on the 16th of January, and ſat in the next box to the king's, but his majeſty did not appear at the theatre that evening. With the ſame purpoſe in view they went to the maſquerade, which was given by the king on the 19th of the ſame month; but as the concourſe of people did not appear ſufficient to afford them any hopes of concealment, the deſign was deferred. Ankarſtrom and Ribbing followed the king to the diet at Geffle, and returned with him to Stockholm. They determined to effect their purpoſe at a maſquerade on the 2nd of March, but that entertainment was put off. Count Ribbing informed Liljehorn, and

Pechlin of the plot, which both of them approved, and promiſed their aſſiſtance. On the fatal 16th of March, when Ankaſtrom had fired his piſtol, not ſeeing the king fall immediately, he drew his dagger in order to effect his purpoſe, but was ſeized with a tremor, and dropped both the dagger and the piſtol on the floor. He, however, had preſence of mind to mingle immediately with the crowd, and to join in a cry of fire, which probably aroſe, at firſt, from the appearance of that confuſion which it afterwards contributed to increaſe. In a ſubſequent examination, Ankarſtrom apologized for having ſo far expoſed the ſecrets of his friends, by obſerving that no torture ſhould have wreſted this confeſſion from him, had he not been informed that Liljehorn, who wrote the anonymous letter, and count Horn, were both in cuſtody, and that his letters to the latter had been ſeized by the government. He mentioned ſlightly, that his private misfortunes, by which he probably alluded to ſome ſlights which he ſuffered from the king, had contributed to render him deſperate. After a very fair and ample trial, Ankarſtrom was condemned to be publicly and ſeverely whipped, on three ſucceſſive days, his right hand and his head to be cut off, and his body impaled; which ſentence he ſuffered not till the 17th of May, long after the death of the king.—His property was given to his children, who, however, where compelled to change their name.

The counts Horn and Ribbing were condemned to loſe their right hands and to be decapitated. Colonel Liljehorn, and lieutenant Ehrenjwerd, were alſo to be beheaded. All theſe conſpirators were degraded from the rank of nobles, and their property declared to be confiſcated. Major Hartmanſdorf was to forfeit his rank in the army, and to be impriſoned for one year. Engerſtrom was to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment, and baron Pechlin and ſecretary Lilleſtrahle, to be impriſoned during pleaſure. Four others, accuſed of being concerned in the conſpiracy, were pardoned, and ſome were acquitted.

The king languiſhed from the 17th to the 29th of March. At firſt the reports of his medical attendants were favourable; but on the 28th a mortification was found to have taken place, which terminated his exiſtence in a few hours. On opening his body, a ſquare piece of lead and two ruſty nails were found unextracted within the ribs. During his illneſs, and particularly after he was made acquainted with the certainty of his approaching diſſolution, Guſtavus continued to diſplay that unſhaken courage which he had manifeſted on every occaſion during his life. A few hours before his deceaſe, he made ſome alterations in the arrangement of

public affairs. He had before, by his will, appointed a council of regency; but convinced, by recent experience, how little he could depend on the attachment of his nobles, and being alſo aware of the neceſſity of a ſtrong government in difficult times, he appointed his brother, the duke of Sudermania, ſole regent, till his ſon, who was then about fourteen, ſhall have attained the age of eighteen years. Immediately on the death of the king, the young prince was proclaimed by the title of Guſtavus IV.

Thus fell, by the hand of treaſon, in his forty-ſixth year, Guſtavus III. He was a prince of high ambition, but rather a man of addreſs than of ability. His manners, as we have already obſerved, were popular and inſinuating, his eloquence fluent and bold. His conduct was, however, ſeldom tempered with judgment, or his ſpeeches replete with ſolid information. He was too deſirous of being great, to permit himſelf or his people to be happy; and the unfortunate predilection which he had imbibed for arbitrary power, made him, in reality, a ſlave and a dependant during the greater part of his reign. A paſſion for *war* in a ſovereign, is the greateſt curſe that can afflict a ſtate; and if a revolutionary power could be eſtabliſhed conſiſtently with the ſafety of a limited monarchy, the great diſqualification ſhould be, the love of war. If in private life a turbulent diſpoſition unfits a man for ſociety, ſurely the evil is increaſed in an infinite proportion, where the lives of millions, and the treaſures of nations are wantonly ſquandered. By the imprudence of Guſtavus, in this reſpect, Sweden was exhauſted of its reſources, and reduced in its population; and had he proceeded on his wild enterprize againſt France, his country would probably, at the termination of the cruſade, have fallen an unreſiſting prey to the inſatiable ambition of Ruſſia. As the king of Sweden was deſirous of emulating, in every inſtance, the character of his uncle, the late king of Pruſſia, he was not ſuperior to the vanity of appearing as an author. Some dramatic compoſitions, which were acted at the national [illegible] have been ill ſpoken of; but his writings, in general, [illegible] much commendation, and his oratorical [illegible] Swediſh academy, in particular, [illegible] in matter and abounding only in [illegible] add, that, except his love [illegible] betes a want of feeling [illegible] of Guſtavus appear [illegible] ſtanding than of the [illegible] he does not ſeem [illegible] abuſe it, for he [illegible] of his life was [illegible] ſuch

ſuch indeed as ought to blot from remembrance a long catalogue of crimes. His laſt words were a declaration of pardon to the conſpirators againſt his life. The actual murderer alone was excepted; and he was excepted only at the ſtrong inſtance of the regent, and thoſe who ſurrounded his majeſty in his dying moments.

With this mixture of character as a man, in which the good ſeems almoſt to be predominant, it cannot be doubted that Guſtavus was a bad king. His perfidy, his uſurpation, his military ſpirit, all conſpired againſt the good of his country. The mild and equal conduct of the regent, however, has preſerved Sweden from the horrors of internal war; while the wiſdom, ſpirit, and patriotiſm of his councils, will probably ſave it from the inſidious attacks of a reſtleſs and dangerous neighbour. Wiſely averſe to hoſtility, the duke of Sudermania has cultivated ſucceſsfully the friendſhip of all the belligerent powers, except Ruſſia. In the mean time, his attention has been laudably directed to exciting the dormant ſpirit of induſtry in the nation; to the encouragement of their domeſtic manufactures, and to the enforcing of rigid economy among all the dependents of government; in order that the example of the court, co-operating with his own, may exert a ſalutary influence over the people in oppoſing the increaſe of luxury, gambling, and diſſipation. It is a pleaſure to contemplate ſuch diſpoſitions in ſo elevated a ſtation, and while the regent perſeveres in this conduct, he will undoubtedly merit the enviable title of the Father of his Prince and of his Country.

With regard to *learning*, the famous queen Chriſtina may be accounted to have been a genius in many branches of knowledge. That able civilian, ſtateſman, and hiſtorian Puffendorff, was a native of Sweden; and ſo was the late celebrated Linnæus, whoſe memory will be ever dear to all the lovers of ſcience, but particularly the ſcience of botany. The name of Linnæus may be claſſed amongſt thoſe of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, and other great philoſophers, who were friends to religion. He always teſtified in his converſations, writings, and actions, the higheſt reverence for the Supreme Being; and was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea of omnipreſence, that he wrote over the door of his ſtudy; "Innocui vivite, Numen adeſt *."

The great merits of Linnæus as a naturaliſt are to be eſtimated from the rude ſtate in which he found all the branches of natural ry, and the perfection to which he carried them; in order from confuſion, and perſpicuity from

* Live innocent; the Deity is preſent

dark-

darkneſs. His underſtanding comprehenſive, yet accurate, was capable of combining and arranging an almoſt infinite variety of objects, which the magnitude of the greateſt could not fatigue, nor the inſignificance of the ſmalleſt elude. The mere catalogue of his works would make an ordinary pamphlet; and it would require no ſmall volume to trace even the outlines of his ſyſtem now diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Linnæan, which new methodized and reformed the whole compaſs of natural hiſtory. In theſe extenſive and various purſuits, we know not which to admire moſt, his intimate knowledge, his fertility of invention, his indefatigable induſtry, his ſcientific arrangement, or that wonderful exactneſs in diſcriminating, where the minuteſt ſhades of difference are ſcarcely perceptible *.

CHAP. XVIII.

DENMARK.

The Danes Land in the Iſle of Shepey—Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by Chriſtian III.—Copenhagen reduced to Aſhes —Pragmatic Sanction—Chriſtian VII.—Queen Matilda —Struenſee and Brandt—Literature.

DENMARK, which is part of the ancient Scandinavia, is at preſent bounded on the ſouth by Holſtein, on the north and on the weſt by the German Ocean, and on the eaſt by the Baltic. The old inhabitants of this northern region of Europe, were rude, fierce and martial. Strangers to art and induſtry, they ſubſiſted by hunting, paſturage, and plunder. Neglecting agriculture, their uncultivated territories ſoon became over-ſtocked, and colonies iſſued forth from to time, under chieftains or generals, which at laſt almoſt deluged every part of Europe. In theſe migrations they occaſionally bore the appellations of Cimbri, Goths, Lombards, Normans, and Danes. Theſe northern adventurers, after having haraſſed the coaſts of France with their robberies and piracies, under the name of Normans, from their northern ſituation, extended their ravages to Britain, where they were known by the general name of Danes. They firſt landed in the iſle of Shepey, in the reign of Eg-

* Dr. Pulteney, on the writings of Linnæus. Coxe's Travels.

bert, and carried off their booty with impunity. The plunderers continued their incurſions, till their king, Sweyn, made a complete conqueſt of England, and left it to his ſon, Canute, who was king of England, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. About this time, Denmark may be ſaid to have been in its zenith of glory, as far as extent of dominion can give ſanction to the expreſſion. A. D. 1018.

From this period, Daniſh hiſtory is involved in great uncertainty, for upwards of three centuries. Few important and intereſting events, which may be depended on, have been recorded, prior to the reign of Margaret Waldemar, who, as we have already ſeen, united in her own perſon, the crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway *. She held her dignity with ſuch firmneſs and courage, that ſhe was juſtly ſtyled the Semiramis of the North. This union did not laſt longer than the beginning of the 16th century, when Chriſtiern II. one of the completeſt tyrants that have diſgraced the annals of hiſtory, was obliged to claim to Denmark and Norway. Frederic, duke of Holſtein, was unanimouſly called to the throne, on the depoſition of his cruel nephew, who openly embraced the opinions of Luther; and the proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed in Denmark, by that wiſe and politic prince, Chriſtian III. The Dutch perſuaded Chriſtian's grandſon Frederic III. to declare war againſt Charles Guſtavus king of Sweden, which had almoſt coſt him his crown. Charles marched his army over the ice to the iſland of Funen, where he ſurpriſed the Daniſh troops, and marched over the great Belt to beſiege Copenhagen itſelf. Cromwell, who then governed England under the title of Protector, interpoſed, and Frederic defended his capital with great magnanimity till peace was concluded. A. D. 1536.

Frederic IV. was perpetually engaged in wars with the Swedes; and while Charles XII. was an exile at Bender, he made a deſcent upon the Swediſh Pomerania. In the year 1716, the ſucceſſes of Frederic were ſo great, that his allies began to ſuſpect he was aiming at the ſovereignty of all Scandinavia. Upon the return of Charles of Sweden from his exile, he renewed the war againſt Denmark with a moſt imbittered ſpirit; but on the death of that prince, Frederic durſt not refuſe the offer of his Britannic majeſty's mediation between him and the crown of Sweden; in conſequence of which a peace was concluded at Stockholm, which left him in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Sleſwick. Frederic died in the year 1730, after having two years before ſeen his capital re-

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

duced

duced to aſhes by an accidental fire. His ſon and ſuc
Chriſtian VI. guaranteed the pragmatic
A. D. 1734. tion. This was an agreement, by whicl
princes of Europe engaged to ſupport the F
of Auſtria in favour of the queen of Hungary, daught
the emperor Charles VI. who had no male iſſue. He
ſix thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the emperor, durin
diſpute of the ſucceſſion. Though he was pacific, y
was tenacious of his rights. He had ſo great a party i
kingdom of Sweden, that it was generally thought, hi
would be declared ſucceſſor to his then Swediſh maj
Some ſteps for that purpoſe were certainly taken; but v
ever Chriſtian's view might have been, the deſign was
trated by the jealouſy of other powers, who could not
the thoughts of ſeeing all Scandinavia ſubject to one fa
Chriſtian died in 1746, with the character of being th
ther of his people. His ſon, Frederic V. in 1743, m
ried the princeſs Louiſa daughter to his Britannic ma
George II. He improved upon his father's plan, for
happineſs of his people, but took no concern except that
mediator in the German war. It was by this interven
that the treaty of Cloſter-ſeven was concluded between
late duke of Cumberland and the French general Rich
Upon the death of his firſt queen, who was mother t
preſent Daniſh majeſty, he married a daughter of the duk
Brunſwic Wolfenbuttle; and died in 1766.

His ſon Chriſtian, born in 1749, married his
preſent Britannic majeſty's youngeſt ſiſter, the A. D. 1
princeſs Carolina-Matilda. This alliance, though
it wore at firſt a very promiſing appearance, had a very
fortunate termination. This is partly attributed to the
trigues of the queen-dowager, mother-in-law to the pre
king; who has a ſon named Frederic, and whom ſhe is
preſented as deſirous of raiſing to the throne. When
princeſs Carolina-Matilda came to Copenhagen, ſhe rece
her with all the appearance of friendſhip and affection,
quainting her with the king's faults, and at the ſame t
telling her, that ſhe would take every opportunity,
mother, to aſſiſt her in reclaiming him. By this cond
ſhe became the depoſitary of all the young queen's ſec
whilſt at the ſame time, it is ſaid, ſhe placed people about
king, to keep him conſtantly engaged in all kinds of ri
debauchery. W[illegible] the king was upon his travels,
queen [illegible] quently to viſit the young qu
and, [illegible] affection, told he
th[illegible] in Holland, E
to live with

But as ſoon as the king returned, the queen gently reproaching him with his conduct, his mother-in-law endeavoured to perſuade the king to give no ear to her counſels, as it was preſumption in a queen of Denmark to direct the king. Matilda now began to diſcover the deſigns of the queen-dowager, and afterwards lived upon good terms with the king. The young queen alſo now aſſumed to herſelf the part which the queen-dowager had been complimented with in the management of public affairs. This ſtung the old queen; and her thoughts were now entirely occupied with ſchemes of revenge. But her views of this kind at firſt appeared the more difficult to carry into execution, becauſe the king had diſplaced ſeveral of her friends who were about the court, who had been increaſing the national debt in times of the moſt profound peace, and who were rioting on the ſpoils of the public. However, ſhe at length found means to gratify her revenge in a very ample manner. About the end of the year 1770, it was obſerved that Brandt and Struenſee were particularly regarded by the king, the former as a favourite, and the latter as a miniſter; and that they had paid great court to queen Matilda, and were ſupported by her. This opened a new ſcene of intrigue at Copenhagen; all the diſcarded placemen paid their court to the queen-dowager, and ſhe became the head of the party. Struenſee and Brandt wanted to make a reform in the adminiſtration of the public affairs at once, which ſhould have been the work of time; and thereby made a great number of enemies among thoſe whoſe intereſt it was that things ſhould continue upon the ſame footing that they had been for ſome time before. After this, queen Matilda was delivered of a daughter; but as ſoon as the queen-dowager ſaw her, ſhe, with a malicious ſmile, declared that the child had all the features of Struenſee: on which her friends publiſhed it among the people, that the queen muſt have had an intrigue with Struenſee, which was corroborated by the queen's often ſpeaking with this miniſter in public. A great variety of evil reports were now propagated; and it was aſſerted, that the governing party had formed a deſign to ſuperſede the king, as being incapable of governing; that the queen was to be declared regent during the minority of her ſon; and that Struenſee was to be her prime miniſter. Whatever Struenſee did to reform the abuſes of the late miniſtry was repreſented to the people as ſo many attacks upon, and attempts to deſtroy the government of the kingdom. By ſuch means the people began to be greatly incenſed againſt this miniſter; and as he alſo wanted to make a reform in the military, he gave great offence to the troops, of which were ſome creatures of the queen-

queen-dowager, who took every opportunity to make their inferior officers believe that it was the deſign of Struenſee to change the whole ſyſtem of government. It muſt be admitted, that this miniſter ſeems in many reſpects to have acted very imprudently, and to have been too much under the guidance of his paſſions; his principles alſo appear to have been of the libertine kind.

Many councils were held between the queen-dowager and her friends upon the proper meaſures to be taken for effectuating their deſigns; and it was at length reſolved to ſurpriſe the king in the middle of the night, and force him immediately to ſign an order, which was to be prepared in readineſs, for committing the perſons before mentioned to ſeparate priſons; to accuſe them of high treaſon in general, and in particular of a deſign to poiſon or dethrone the king; and if that could not be properly ſupported, by torture or otherwiſe, to procure witneſſes to confirm the report of a criminal commerce between the queen and Struenſee. This was an undertaking of ſo hazardous a nature, that the wary count Moltke and moſt of the queen-dowager's friends excuſed themſelves from taking any open and active part of this affair. However, the queen-dowager at laſt procured a ſufficient number of active inſtruments for the execution of her deſigns. On the 16th of January, 1772, a maſked ball was given at the court of Denmark. The king had danced at this ball, and afterwards played at quadrille with general Gahler, his lady, and counſellor Struenſee, brother to the count. The queen after dancing as uſual one country dance with the king, gave her hand to count Struenſee during the remainder of the evening. She retired about two in the morning, and was followed by him and count Brandt. About four the ſame morning, prince Frederic, who had alſo been at the ball, went with the queen-dowager to the king's bedchamber, accompanied by general Eichſtedt and count Rantzau. They ordered his majeſty's valet-de-chambre to awake him, and in the midſt of the ſurpriſe that this intruſion excited, they informed him that queen Matilda and the two Struenſees were at that inſtant buſy in drawing up an act of renunciation of the crown, which they would immediately compel him to ſign: and that the only means to prevent ſo imminent a danger, was to ſign the orders which they had brought with them for arreſting the queen and her accomplices. It is ſaid that the king was not eaſily prevailed upon to ſign theſe orders, but at length complied. Count Rantzau, and three officers, haſtened at that untimely hour to the queen's apartmen . She was put into one of the caſtle of ronenburgh,

Cronenburgh, together with the infant princeſs, attended by lady Moſtyn, and eſcorted by a party of dragoons. In the mean time, Struenſee and Brandt were alſo ſeized in their beds and impriſoned in the citadel. Struenſee's brother, and moſt of the members of the late adminiſtration, were ſeized the ſame night, to the number of about eighteen, and thrown into confinement. The government after this ſeemed to be entirely lodged in the hands of the queen-dowager and her ſon, aſſiſted by thoſe who had the principal ſhare in the revolution; while the king appeared to be little more than a pageant, whoſe perſon and name it was neceſſary occaſionally to make uſe of. All the officers concerned in the revolution were immediately promoted, and an almoſt total change took place in the departments of adminiſtration, a new council was appointed, in which prince Frederic preſided, and a commiſſion of eight members, to examine the papers of the priſoners, and to commence a proceſs againſt them. The ſon of queen Matilda, the prince royal, now entered into the fifth year of his age, was put into the care of a lady of quality, who was appointed governeſs, under the ſuperintendency of the queen-dowager. Struenſee and Brandt were put in irons, and very rigorouſly treated in priſon; they both underwent frequent examinations, and at length received ſentence of death. They were beheaded on the 28th of April, having their right hands previouſly cut off. Struenſee at firſt abſolutely denied having any criminal intercourſe with the queen; but this he afterwards confeſſed: and though he is ſaid to have been induced to do this only by the fear of torture, the proofs of his guilt were eſteemed notorious, and his confeſſions full and explicit. Beſides no meaſures were adopted by the court of Great Britain to clear up the queen's character in this reſpect.

During the confinement of queen Matilda in the palace of Cronenburgh, ſhe inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permiſſion to walk upon the ſide batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reaſon to apprehend, that the party which had occaſioned her arreſt meditated ſtill more violent meaſures. When the Engliſh miniſter at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his ſpirited conduct, ſhe was ſo ſurpriſed with the unexpected intelligence, that ſhe inſtantly burſt into a flood of tears, embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a ſhort conference, the miniſter propoſed that her majeſty ſhould immediately embark on board a ſhip that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom, in which ſhe had experienced ſ[illegible]ram of misfortunes. But however anxious

ſhe

ſhe was to depart, one circumſtance checked the exceſs of her joy: a few months before her impriſonment, ſhe had been delivered of a princeſs, (as has already been related) whom ſhe ſuckled herſelf. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and ſhe had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the conſtant companion of her miſery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the meaſles; and, having nurſed it with unceaſing ſolicitude, ſhe was deſirous of continuing her attention and care. All thoſe circumſtances had ſo endeared the child to her, rendered more ſuſceptible of tenderneſs in a priſon than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princeſs was intimated to her, ſhe teſtified the ſtrongeſt emotions of grief, and could not, for ſome time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after beſtowing repeated careſſes upon this darling object of her affection, ſhe retired to the veſſel in an agony of deſpair. She remained upon the deck, her eyes immoveably directed towards the palace of Cronenburgh, which contained her child, that had been ſo long her only comfort, until darkneſs intercepted the view. The veſſel having made but little way during night, at day break ſhe obſerved with fond ſatisfaction that the palace was ſtill viſible; and could not be perſuaded to enter the cabin as long as ſhe could diſcover the ſainteſt glimpſe of the battlements *.

It is well known that her majeſty reſided in the city of Zell, in the electoral dominions of his Britannic majeſty, where ſhe was carried off by a malignant fever, A. D. 1775. in the twenty fourth year of her age. Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively diſpoſition, until her misfortunes brought on a ſettled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company ſhe endeavoured to diſſemble her ſorrows, and aſſume a cheerfulneſs to which her heart was a ſtranger. She became extremely fond of ſolitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the moſt bitter lamentations. She retained, to her laſt moments, the moſt unaffected attachments to her children in Denmark; with all the anxiety of a parent, ſhe made repeated inquiries after them, and was delighted with receiving the minuteſt accounts of their healths, amuſements, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, ſhe placed them in her moſt retired apartments, often apoſtrophized them as if they were preſent, and addreſſed them in the tendereſt manner.

His Daniſh majeſty appears to have ſuch a debility of underſtanding as to diſqualify him for the proper management of public affairs. In 1784, another court revolution took place. The

* Wraxall.

The queen Dowager's friends were removed, a new council was formed under the auſpices of the prince royal, ſome of the former old members were reſtored to the cabinet; and no regard is to be paid for the future to any inſtrument, unleſs ſigned by the king, and counterſigned by the prince royal.

The Danes, in general, make no great figure in *literature*; though aſtronomy and medicine are highly indebted to their Tycho Brahe, Borichius, and the Bartholines. The ſcience of botany owes great obligations to the celebrated Chriſtian Oeder, to whom we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, through the liberality of his monarch. In ſpeaking of the publications on natural hiſtory, it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the moſt ſplendid work of the kind ever produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare ſhells, in two volumes folio. "The firſt volume," ſays a late traveller, "which is the one I have ſeen, contains a ſhort account "of the collection of natural hiſtory, and particularly of ſhells "in Denmark; a preliminary diſcourſe in chronology, with "a detail of the ſeveral authors who have written on the "ſubject, and their different ſyſtems, and 78 complete and "delicately coloured figures, in 12 plates, accompanied with "ſcientific deſcriptions, in the Latin, French and German "languages."

CHAP. XIX.

NORWAY.

Union of this Country with Denmark—Salubrity of the Air—Mountains—Foreſts—Quarries—Manners and Longevity of the Inhabitants.

NORWAY was originally divided into ſmall independent principalities, which continued till the ninth century, when they were all united under Herald Harfager. This kingdom was united to the crown of Denmark by queen Margaret, and has ever ſince been governed by viceroys.

The air is ſo pure in ſome of the inland parts, that it has been ſaid the inhabitants live ſo long as to be tired of life, and cauſe themſelves to be tranſported to a leſs ſalubrious air. At Bergen the longeſt day conſiſts of about nineteen hours, and the ſhorteſt of about five. In ſummer, the inhabitants can read and write at midnight by the light of the ſky; and in the moſt northerly parts, about midſummer, the ſun is

continually in view. In thoſe parts, however, in the midſt of winter, there is only a faint glimmering of light at noon for about an hour and a half; owing to the reflection of the ſun's rays on the mountains. Nature, notwithſtanding, has been ſo kind to the Norwegians, that in the midſt of their darkneſs the ſky is ſo ſerene, and the moon and the aurora borealis ſo bright, that they can carry on their fiſhery, and work at their ſeveral trades in open air.

Immenſe *mountains* preſent themſelves all over Norway; ſome of them with reſervoirs of water on the top; and the whole forming a moſt ſurpriſing landſcape. The activity of the natives, in recovering their ſheep and goats, when penned up, through a falſe ſtep, in one of thoſe rocks, is wonderful. The owner directs himſelf to be lowered down from the top of the mountain, ſitting on a croſs ſtick, tied to the end of a long rope; and when he arrives at the place where the creature ſtands, he faſtens it to the ſame cord, and it is drawn up with himſelf. The caverns that are to be met with in theſe mountains are more wonderful than thoſe, perhaps, in any other part of the world. One of them, called Dolſteen, was, in 1750, viſited by two clergymen, who reported, that they proceeded in it till they heard the ſea daſhing over their heads; that the paſſage was as wide and high as an ordinary church, the ſides perpendicular, and the roof vaulted: that they deſcended a flight of natural ſtairs; but when they arrived at another, they durſt not venture to proceed, but returned; and that they conſumed two candles going and returning.

The chief wealth of Norway lies in its *foreſts*, which furniſh foreigners with maſts, beams, planks, and boards; and ſerve beſides for all domeſtic uſes; particularly the conſtruction of houſes, bridges, ſhips, and for charcoal to the founderies. The timber growing here are fir and pine, elm, aſh, benreed, (a very curious wood) birch, beech, oak, yew, alder, juniper, the aſpen-tree, the comol or ſloe-tree, the haſel, ebony, lime or linden tree, and willows. The ſums which Norway receives for timber are very conſiderable; the induſtry of the inhabitants is greatly aſſiſted by the courſe of their rivers, and the ſituation of their lakes; which afford them not only the conveniency of floating down their timber, but of erecting ſaw-mills, for dividing their large beams into planks and deals. A tenth of all ſawed timber belongs to his Daniſh majeſty, and forms no inconſiderable part of his revenue.

Norway contains quarries of excellent marble, as well as many other kinds of ſtones; and the magnet is found in the iron mines. The amianthus, or aſbeſtos, is found likewiſe here; as

as are cryſtals, granites, amethyſts, agate, thunder-ſtones, and eagle-ſtones. Gold found in Norway has been coined into ducats. His Daniſh majeſty is now working, to great advantage, a ſilver mine at Koningſberg; other ſilver mines have been found in different parts of the country; and one of the many ſilver maſſes that have been diſcovered, weighing 560 pounds, is to be ſeen at the royal muſeum at Copenhagen. Lead, copper, and iron mines, are common in this country: one of the copper-mines, at Roraas, is thought to be the richeſt in Europe.

The coaſt of Norway may be ſaid to be the native country of herrings. Innumerable are the ſhoals that come from under the ice at the north pole, and about the latitude of Iceland divide themſelves into three bodies; one of theſe ſupply the weſtern Iſles and coaſt of Scotland, another directs its courſe round the eaſtern part of Great Britain, down the Channel, and the third enters the Baltic through the Sound. They form great part of the food of the common people; the cod, ling, kabeliau, and torſk-fiſhes follow them, and feed upon their ſpawn, and are taken in prodigious numbers in fifty or ſixty fathoms water: theſe, eſpecially their roes, and the oil extracted from their livers, are exported and ſold to great advantage; and above 150,000 people are maintained by the herring and other fiſhing on the coaſt of Norway.

The ſummer in Norway is very ſhort. They ſow and reap in ſix weeks time, and yet it does not produce corn ſufficient for the natives, and thoſe that come there for trade.

The manners of the middling Norwegians form a proper ſubject of contemplation even to a philoſopher, as they lead that kind of life which we may ſay is furniſhed with plenty; but they are neither fond of luxury, nor do they dread penury: and this middle ſtate prolongs their age ſurpriſingly. Though their dreſs is in many reſpects accommodated to their climate; yet, by cuſtom, inſtead of guarding againſt the inclemency of the weather, they outbrave it; for they expoſe themſelves to cold, without any cover upon their breaſts or necks. A Norwegian of a hundred years of age is not accounted paſt his labour: and in 1733, four couples were married, and danced before his Daniſh majeſty at Fredericſhall, whoſe ages, when joined, exceeded eight hundred years.

from fourteen to forty yards in height, which might be paſſed through in boats, but, from the danger of pieces of ice often falling within. Theſe, and many others that tumble from the adjoining hills, are driven by the ebb through theſe arches into the ſea. Such Greenlanders as wiſh to enter this harbour, carry their little canoes over land, upon their heads, and when they have paſſed this bridge, they find open water for twenty leagues in length, and two in breadth. Places are found here where Greenland houſes formerly ſtood; a proof, that the mouth of the harbour was once open.

About thirty-ſix leagues north of Frederick's Hope, is another colony, called *Fiſcher's-fiorte*, or Fiſher's bay, begun in 1754. Here the Moravians eſtabliſhed a ſecond miſſion in 1758; but, as few Greenlanders live about this place, it has but little trade. In this neighbourhood are ſeen many ruins; probably, the relics of the old Norwegians.

A third colony, called Godhaab, or Good-hope, lies in 46 deg. 14 min. thirty-ſix leagues north of Fiſher's bay. Here there are ſome hundreds of ſmall iſlands, crouded together in the compaſs of ſix leagues. The Moravians have here alſo eſtabliſhed a congregation, built a church, a proviſion houſe, a ſmith's ſhop, and a brew-houſe, and the houſes of the natives are ſcattered round them. This is the oldeſt colony in Greenland, having been founded in 1721. It was formerly inhabited by ſome thouſands of Greenlanders, but the ſmall-pox having made great ravage, in 1733, the number is ſo decreaſed, that there are now few natives here ſettled. To give the reader ſome idea of the ravages the ſmall-pox made, it was calculated in 1746, that on the whole weſtern coaſt of Greenland, in the ſpace of 400 leagues, there were not above 20,000 Greenlanders there ſettled, whereas, in 1730, the number was computed at 30,000.

In latitude, 65 deg. 46 m. fifty-ſix leagues north of Good-hope, is a fourth colony, founded in 1755. Trade is here pretty good, though there are but few Greenlanders. This colony, and that of Good-hope, is frequented by one ſhip only, and the trade conſiſts of ſeals, blubber, and the ſkins of ſeals and foxes. In this neighbourhood are ſeveral ſalmon fiſheries. In the ſixty-ſeventh degree of north latitude, is Wyde-bay, a fifth colony, eſtabliſhed for traffic and the whale-fiſhery, in 1759. This is one of the moſt commodious places for trade and reſidence on the whole coaſt. Sixteen leagues farther north in 68 deg. lies another colony, called *Egede's-minde* or Egede's Memorial, erected in 1759. This place is frozen up all the winter, and is not open till May, when the whale-fiſhery is over.

A ſeventh

A ſeventh colony, eſtabliſhed in 1734, lies in 69 deg. There are alſo three or four others, but the twelfth and fartheſt north is in 71 deg. erected in 1758. We are told by the natives, that the country is inhabited as far north as 78 deg. though very thinly; for notwithſtanding there is plenty of eider-fowls, white bears, ſeals and whales, yet, owing to the long winter-nights, no one liked to live there long, the land being little elſe than dreary rock and ice. In theſe parts, inſtead of building their houſes with wood and turf, as in more ſouthern places, they are obliged to erect them with clay, ſeal-ſkins, and the horns of the unicorn fiſh. According to their information, the land ſtretches north-weſt towards America, and they tell us, that here and there are ſtones ſtanding erect, with arms extended, like our guide-poſts, as if they were ſet up, as directions for travelling thence to the northern poſts of America.

It were to be wiſhed that any tolerable account could be given, on which one might rely, of the ſtate of Greenland, ſome centuries back. The natives know nothing of their fore-fathers, but, that they extirpated the former northern inhabitants. According to the account of Arngrim Jonas, the learned Icelander, one Eric, a deſcendant of a Norwegian earl, being condemned to a three years baniſhment, ſought this place; and finding it, returned to Iceland, and the third year perſuaded people to go to his new diſcovered iſland, which he called Greenland; repreſenting it as a place abounding with paſture, wood and fiſh. Eric was followed by twenty-five ſhips, full of people; and, in proceſs of time, greater numbers flocked there from Iceland and Norway, and ſtocked the country with inhabitants, both on the eaſt and weſt ſide, till it was computed to be a third part as numerous as a Daniſh epiſcopal dioceſe. Writers have not decided about the time of theſe events, but it ſeems to be about the year 830.

Torfæus, the Icelander, who wrote in the twelfth century, ſpeaks of a number of monkeries and ſome nunneries; and Theodore, who was biſhop in Iceland, in the laſt century, relates, that in Einar's inlet, in latitude 65 deg. ſtood a great wood, where cattle were paſtured that belonged to the cathedral church at the end of the bay, near the village Gardar. In the great iſland Rinſey, ſays he, is an extenſive hunt of rein-deer, and alſo the beſt ſoft baſtard-marble, of which the Greenlanders make pitchers and veſſels, containing ten or twelve barrels each, ſo firm, as to endure fire. Farther weſt, lies Long Iſland, containing eight farms belonging to the biſhop's ſee. He makes mention alſo of nineteen bays or inlets on the eaſt ſide, round which ſtood one hun-

dred and ninety villages, forming twelve pariſhes, beſides a biſhop's ſeat and two cloyſters. Torfæus deſcribes the air as more ſerene and ſettled, and the cold not ſo intenſe in Greenland as in Iceland, and Norway. It is related alſo in the Daniſh records, that in the year 1308, there was ſuch a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, that a church was thrown down, many pinnacles of rocks torn off, and that the duſt of the broken ſtones flew about like rain; and, that this ſtorm was followed by ſuch a ſevere winter, as they had never before ſeen, when the ice did not thaw for a whole year.

Their deſcriptions of the fruitfulneſs or produce of the land, are not only various but contradictory. The Iceland annals ſometimes tell us, that the country produced the beſt wheat, and others, that nothing would grow there for the cold. They ſpeak of woods where white bears were hunted, and mention oak-trees that bore acorns as large as apples, and of a taſte as pleaſant as cheſnuts. Theſe accounts, however, are not to be relied on.

In the Daniſh chronicle we are told, that in 1023, the Greenlanders became tributary to the kings of Norway, which was ſoon after they embraced the Chriſtian faith, and that they were governed by a viceroy, according to the laws of Iceland. We find no traces of their military ſtrength, either by land or ſea. The Greenland trade, indeed, is ſaid to have been very conſiderable, and it may eaſily be believed, that they exported a great deal of meat, butter, cheeſe, fiſh, train and pelts; but theſe commodities ſeem to have been fetched by foreign veſſels, though navigation was not neglected by them; for they not only ſailed from Iceland and Norway to Greenland, in their own ſhips, but the firſt diſcovery of and navigation to North America, is aſcribed to them; and, perhaps a brief relation of this curious piece of hiſtory will not be unentertaining. It is given by Mallet, in his *Introduction a l'hiſtoire de Dennemarc*, and by Pontoppidan, in his *Hiſtory of Norway*, tranſcribed by them from the Iceland hiſtorians, Jonas and Torfæus, confirmed by the teſtimony of the ancient hiſtoriographer, Adam Brementis, who wrote in the middle of the eleventh century, and conſequently at the time of the diſcovery.

An Icelander, named Herjolf, went every year by ſea, to traffic in ſeveral countries, accompanied by his ſon, Biærn. Once, in the year 1001, they were ſeparated from each other by ſtorm, and Biærn, arriving in Norway, got intelligence that his father had ſailed to Greenland, a place then but little known; he accordingly followed him, but being driven by another ſtorm to the ſouth-weſt, diſcovered a flat champaign, overgrown with wood, and on his return, deſcribed

alſo

alſo an iſland. He did not make any ſtay at either of theſe places, but, when the ſtorm ceaſed, made the beſt of his way north-weſt to Greenland. This diſcovery being made known, Leif, the ſon of Eric, ambitious of acquiring fame, like his father, by diſcovering and colonizing new countries, fitted out a ſhip, with thirty-five men, and went to ſea with Biærn. The firſt land they made was ſtony and barren, and they gave it the name of *Helleland*, that is, flat, bare land. They next diſcovered a low country with white ſand, covered with ſome wood, which they called *Mark-land*, or level land. Two days afterwards they ſaw land again, whoſe northern coaſt was ſheltered by an iſland. Here they found ſhrubs bearing a ſweet berry, and ſailed up a river, till they came to a lake, from which the river iſſued. The air was mild, the ſoil fruitful, and the river ſwarmed with all ſorts of fiſhes, particularly large ſalmon. Having continued there during the winter, and found that the ſun roſe about eight o'clock in the ſhorteſt days, it is evident the place muſt have been in the 49th degree of latitude, and to be that of Newfoundland, or the river St. Lawrence, in Canada.

Having been long enough there to erect ſome huts, they miſſed a German mariner, whom, after a long ſearch they found in the wood, ſkipping and very merry. On being aſked what made him ſo cheerful, he replied, that he had met with and eaten ſuch grapes, as people made wine of in his country. When Leif ſaw and taſted theſe grapes, he called his new country *Viinland*, that is, Wineland. The enſuing ſpring, they went back to Greenland. When Thorwald, Leif's brother, with a view of carrying the diſcoveries farther, ſailed thither the ſame year, with Leif's crew, he traced the land weſtward, and the ſummer following eaſtward: the coaſt was every where covered with timber-trees, and beſet with iſlands; but as the ſhip had received ſome damage, they were obliged to ſpend moſt of their time in repairing her.

Having repaired their veſſel, they examined the eaſt ſide of the land, and perceived three ſmall boats, covered with ſkins, and three men in each, all of whom, but one, they ſeized, and wantonly put to death. Not one eſcaped. Sometime after, a great number of the ſame kind of men in their boats aſſaulted them, but they defended themſelves ſo well from their arrows, behind the boards with which their ſhips were guarded, that the ſavages were forced to fly. They called theſe Indians *Skrælings*, that is, dwarfs; and Jonas, writing after Myritius, calls them *pygmæos bicubitales*, and ſays, they were found alſo on the weſt ſide of Greenland. He deſcribes theſe men as having ſo little ſtrength, that there was nothing

to

to fear from them; yet Thorwald, and he alone, fell by one of their arrows. He ordered his people to ſet up a croſs at the head and foot of the grave, (on which account that cape was called Kroſſa-neſs), by which it appears, that Thorwald was a chriſtian as well as his brother Leif. The reſt of the Greenlanders, Icelanders, and eſpecially the Norwegians, that reſorted, from time to time, to Wineland, were probably heathens, who would rather live in a ſtrange land than embrace the chriſtian religion, which, at that time, was propagated in Norway, with ſeverity. Thorwald's companions wintered in Wineland, and next ſpring returned to Greenland.

The ſame year, Thorſtein, the third ſon of Eric, with his wife and children, (in all twenty five perſons,) ſailed for Wineland. His chief deſign was to bring away his brother's body; but he was driven by a ſtorm on the weſt coaſt of Greenland, at a great diſtance from any of the Norwegian ſettlements. There he took up his winter quarters, but he and ſome of his followers loſt their lives by an epidemic ſickneſs.

Settling a colony in Wineland, was, from this time more ſeriouſly thought of. An eminent Icelander, named Thorfein, married Thorſtein's widow, and went with her and others, in number ſixty-five men and five women, to Wineland. They took with them all kinds of cattle, tools, &c. and began to build and to plant. The Skrællings ſoon found them out and bartered with them their ſkins and their furs, deſirous of having ſome of their weapons in exchange: but, Thorfein forbade it. One of them, however, ſtole a battle-axe, and was ſtupid enough to try it on his comrade; but his curioſity having coſt the other his life, a third ſeized the weapon and caſt it into the ſea.

Three years after this, Thorfein returned to Greenland, and brought with him ſuch valuable merchandize, that he excited in many a deſire to ſeek their fortune in Wineland; but, no farther account of this country, worth mentioning, is to be met with after the year 1121; that is, one hundred years after its firſt diſcovery. It is probable, that thoſe Indians, at preſent about Newfoundland, who are ſo very different in ſhape and manner of living from the other Americans, may be deſcended from them.

I ſhall take this opportunity, ſays Crantz, to ſpeak of the extraction of our preſent Greenlanders, who, were formerly called Skrællings. The Greenlanders ſay, they were called by the former Chriſtian inhabitants, Karallit, a name the Eſkimaux Indians, or northern Americans, gave themſelves; and

and a term, which, according to their manner of pronunciation, may be turned into *Karallit*.

There being no ſatisfactory footſteps of Greenland's having been inhabited before the arrival of the Norwegians; the moſt probable ſuppoſition is, that the preſent ſavages firſt came to Greenland in the 14th century, and that their route was not from the eaſt out of Europe, but from the weſt out of Greenland; for the native Greenlanders bear no reſemblance to the Laplanders, or the people of Spitzbergen, but reſemble moſt the Kalmucks of Tartary. There ſeems to be no open paſſage for ſhipping, beyond 80 degrees north; for Lord Mulgrave, in his voyage to explore the parts about the north pole, could penetrate no farther, in the ſummer months, than to about the 80th degree, all beyond appearing to be an extenſive plain of ice, of an enormous thickneſs. This being the caſe, the Greenlanders muſt have originated from the eaſtern parts of Tartary, through the northern parts of America; and indeed, the language of the Eſkimaux Indians in Labrador, and that of the native Greenlanders is ſo much alike, as alſo their perſons, cuſtoms, manners, &c, that it is ſcarce to be doubted, but that the Greenlanders are a branch of the Eſkimaux Indians, who fled either acroſs Davis's Straits, which are barely 60 leagues wide, or elſe travelled up higher to the top of Baffin's bay; where, by the ſtone guide-poſts, it is ſuppoſed that the land joins.

It may be aſked, perhaps, what became of the Norwegians, who are allowed formerly to have inhabited Greenland. A plague which raged in all the northern countries in the year 1350, called the *black death*, is ſuppoſed to have made great ravage in Greenland, and many corroborating circumſtances evince, that thoſe who ſurvived this peſtilence, were ſlaughtered by the ſavage Skrællings.

As the land is covered almoſt every where with ice and ſnow, all the year round; ſo is the ſea, in which are a variety of ice mountains, or pieces of floating ice of ſtupendous magnitude and form, ſome of them wearing the appearance of a church or caſtle, with ſquare or pointed turrets; others, reſembling a ſhip in full ſail; others again, large iſlands, with plains, vallies and hills, rearing their heads two hundred yards above the level of the ocean.

This ice, like glaſs, is for the moſt part hard, clear and tranſparent, ſome pieces of a pale green colour, others of a ſky blue; ſome grey and others black. In many places they are an obſtruction to the navigation. In others, during the whale-fiſhery, ſeamen moor their ſhips to them, and on their flat ſurfaces, frequently unload their train barrels. A miſſionary,

ſionary, a man of veracity, told the hiſtorian of Greenland*, that in Diſkoviry, on a ground which the whale-fiſhers ſay is three hundred fathoms deep, ſeveral ſuch ice-mountains have ſtood faſt for many years, one of which they call the city Hearlem, and another, Amſterdam. Sometimes they faſten their ſhips to them, and unload their train barrels on the flat ice.

When theſe immenſe maſſes of ice are examined nearly, they are found to be incorporated with earth, ſtones, and bruſh-wood, which were waſhed off by the rain from the hillocks (that peep out ſtill above the ice), and ſo were immured in the ice. Nay a celebrated naturaliſt † aſſerts, from a voyage of the Dutch into the North Seas, that people have found not only earth, but nefts with birds-eggs emboſomed in ſuch a piece of ice. Some of theſe pieces have a thick cruſt of ſalt water frozen upon them, through their lying many years on ſome ſhallow ſea-beach, where after the ſun had thawed away a good deal of the upper part, they became lighter, and floated again. Theſe lumps of ice, ſome little, and ſome large, are ſeen in numbers in the bays of Davis's Straits, but moſtly in the ſpring time, after a violent ſtorm, when twenty or thirty pieces come driving out, and then in again, one after another. Some of them lie awhile on the ſhallow ſhore, and partly diſſolve, partly are ſet afloat again, by the tide or floods, and driven out to ſea; till at laſt they are either ſoftened, and daſhed to pieces by the continual waſhing of the waves, or are driven by the ſtream farther ſouth, on the coaſts of Newfoundland or Nova-Scotia, and there entirely melted by the warmth of the ſun.

Martens, in his voyage to Spitzberg, ſays that there lie ſuch great pieces of ice there at the foot of the hills, as are higher than the hills themſelves. There are particularly ſeven ſuch mountains of ice all in a row between the rocks. They are blue, full of clefts and cavities made by the rain, and are powdered with ſnow on the top, by the melting and freezing again of which they are every year augmented. This ice is more ſolid than the driving ice, and diſplays a variety of curious figures agreeable to the eye. Many pieces look like trees with branches, and the flakes of ſnow that fall upon them, appear to the fancy like leaves. Some of them are formed like a church, with pinnacles on the top, and pillars, windows, arches and doors on the ſides, and the blue-coloured rays darting outwards from within, have a moſt beautiful effect.

According to the citation of Buffon, out of *Wafer's*

* Crantz. † Buffon.

voyages.

voyages, there are pieces of ice towards the ſouth pole, particularly about the ſouthermoſt point of America, near Terra del Fuego, which the ſailors at firſt took to be iſlands; they computed them to be from one to two French leagues long, and four or five hundred feet high. Ellis found pieces in Hudſon's-bay, five or ſix hundred yards thick *. Baffin alſo meaſured ſuch a piece, and found the part that lifted its head above the water, to be one hundred and forty feet high, and yet it was but the ſeventh part; from whence the dimenſions of the entire piece might be eſtimated. Nay, there are ſaid to be ſome ice-iſlands near Nova-Zembla, that ſtretch above one hundred fathoms out of the water.

Where and how theſe enormous ice-mountains coagulate, diſengage themſelves, and then enlarge, it is hard to ſay with any certainty, yet conjectures may be made from parallel caſes. Some imagine they take their riſe from ſea-water that freezes in the bays down to the bottom; that they are forced off by a rapid flood, when the ſnow melts in the ſpring; that they are augmented by the miſts and rains, which directly congeal to ice, and at laſt are wafted into the ſea by a high wind. But this cannot be; for, not to alledge that the ſea-water very ſeldom freezes more than a few yards deep, and even in the ſmalleſt and ſtilleſt coves never to the bottom, or elſe the Greenlanders could not fiſh in the ice; without inſiſting on this, I ſay, it is a certain confutation of the above hypotheſis, that theſe pieces of ice are not ſalt like the ſea-water, but ſweet, and therefore can be formed no where but in rivers, mountains and hills, and in large caverns of the rocks.

The mountains are not only ſo high, that the ſnow, eſpecially what falls on the north ſide, is not ſo liable to melt as in the vallies, and turns inſtantly to ice in the night; but they alſo contain clefts and cavities where the ſun ſeldom or ever viſits with his cheering beams: beſides, there are projections, or landing places, on the declivities of the ſteepeſt hills, where the rain and ſnow-water lodges and congeals to ice. When now the accumulated flakes of ſnow ſlide down, or fall with the rain from eminences above, on theſe ſhelves, or here and there an elve or mountain-ſpring comes rolling down to ſuch a lodging-place, where the ice has already ſeated itſelf, they all freeze and add their tribute to it. This by degrees waxes to a body of ice, that can no more be overpowered by the ſun, and which, though it may indeed at certain ſeaſons diminiſh by a thaw, yet upon the whole, through annual acquiſitions, aſſumes an annual growth. Such a body

* See his voyage to Hudſon's-bay.

of

of ice is often prominent far over the rocks; it does not melt on the ſurface, but underneath, and cracks into many larger or ſmaller clefts, from whence the thawed water trickles out; by which it becomes at laſt ſo weak, that, being overloaded with its own ponderous weight, it breaks looſe, and tumbles down the rocks, with a mighty rattle and craſh; and where it happened to hang over a precipice, it plunges into the bays in huge pieces, with a ſhock like thunder, and with ſuch an agitation of the water, as will overſet a boat a good way off; and many a poor Greenlander, coaſting without concern along the ſhore, has loſt his life by it.

The great pieces of ice that do not fall directly into the water, but reſt upon ſome abutment in the mountains, are enlarged by the ſnow-water, and at the ſame time mixed with earth, ſtones and ſhrubs waſhed off from the hills; which enlargement and mixture, thoſe lumps may alſo undergo that freeze in the bays, and may lie many years increaſing till they are rent by a ſtorm. Thus we need not ſo much wonder at their height and thickneſs.

As in ſailing through theſe ſeas, the ice mountains may be avoided, they are attended with no great danger: the flat, driving ice, however, is terrible. Greenlanders aſſure us, that on the eaſtern ſide of this country, tracts of ice have been ſeen two hundred leagues long, and in many parts from ſixty to eighty leagues broad, and three or four yards in thickneſs; and, that ſuch pieces will float and drive with the winds and currents. Where there is no opening made by the wind and ſtream, one piece follows another ſo cloſe, that a perſon may leap from one to another without danger, and may plainly ſee the joints where they were broken off. A celebrated navigator * was ſo hemmed in by the ice, that at one time, he deſpaired of getting his ſhip out, and had abſolutely determined to take to his boats, deſigning to draw them over the ice into more open water, and this in the month of Auguſt; hence it appears, that the Greenlanders are ſo beſet at certain ſeaſons as to find no paſſage out, nor European ſhips any paſſage in.

How the ice fields are formed cannot be eaſily anſwered, till we have a more ſatisfactory account of what is called the *Icy Sea*. In Davis's Straits the ſea cannot freeze even in the bays, on account of the continual agitation of the waters, by the ebbing and flowing of the tide, and the winds waving on the ſurface. The ſmall quantity of ice that gathers between the narrow paſſages of the iſlands, and in the creeks that are ſheltered from the wind, even in the great Diſko-bay, ſoon

* Lord Mulgrave.

vaniſhes

vaniſhes again, or is driven by the ſtreams to the coaſt of America. The ſhoals of ice come from the eaſt ſide of Greenland with the ſtream. But even there, the Greenlanders ſay, there is no fixed, but only floating ice. Where ice is generated, there muſt be land for it to faſten on at firſt; then it can ſtretch itſelf farther by degrees, though after all it does not reach far into the open ſea any where. If we were to imagine that there was land under the pole, and to ſuppoſe that the ſea froze there in ſome great calm bay, and that in ſummer ſuch a great plain of ice was diſſevered by the thaw, and driven out by ſtorms, yet the experience of ſome navigators, quoted by Buffon, claſhes with it. He ſays, that Captain Monſon, an Engliſhman, who tried to find a north-eaſt paſſage towards the pole, ſailed within two degrees of it, and found no ice there. A Dutch mariner gave out that he had ſailed round the pole, and found it as warm there as in Amſterdam. An Engliſh ſeamen, Captain Goulden, aſſured king Charles II. that two Dutch ſhips, finding no whales at Spitzberg, ſeparated from him; that they came back again in a fortnight, and told him, confirming it by their journals, that they had ſailed as far as the eighty-ninth degree, where they found no ice.

Therefore one would rather ſuppoſe, that part of the floating ice comes from the many and great rivers that pour themſelves out of Great Tartary into the Icy-ſea; and this is the freſh-water ice, that rears itſelf aloft in the plains of ice: the other, and the greateſt part, annually breaks off from the ſhores of Tartary, Nova Zembla, Spitzberg, and eſpecially the eaſt ſide of Greenland, and is driven together by the wind and the ſtreams that run in different directions in thoſe waters, till it falls into the regular current on the eaſt ſide, which conveys it between Iceland and Greenland round Statenhook, and ſome of it, perhaps, through Forbiſher's ſtraits under the ice, and ſo into Davis's ſtraits as far up as the ſixth-fifth degree, where it is carried by a contrary ſtream to the American coaſts, and ſo ſouthward till the ſun diſſolves it.

With the inconveniencies of the climate however, the wiſe Author of Nature hath combined a great benefit; for, though he hath denied this frigid and rocky region the growth of trees, and almoſt forbidden ſhips to bring them any fuel, he has ordained, that the ſtreams of the ocean ſhould convey to theſe inhoſpitable ſhores, a great deal of wood, which comes floating there, partly without ice, but chiefly with it, lodging itſelf between the iſlands. Were it not for this miraculous proviſion, the Europeans there ſettled, would have no wood to burn; nor the Greenlanders, (who burn

oil

oil inſtead of wood), any timber to roof their houſes, build their boats, or ſhaft their arrows, which procure them food and clothing. Among this wood brought here accidentally, are great trees torn up by the roots; which, by driving up and down for years, daſhing and rubbing upon the ice, are quite bare of branches and bark, and corroded with great wood-worms. A ſmall part of this drift wood, are willows, alder and birch, driven from the bays in the ſouth, and large trunks of aſpen-trees, which muſt come from a greater diſtance; but the greateſt part is pine and fir.

It is difficult to decide from what country this wood proceeds: but it is ſuppoſed to come with the eaſterly current from Siberia, or Aſiatic Tartary; where the trees muſt be waſhed down the mountains, by the waters which the rains and floods occaſion, and brought away by the rapid ſtreams of their rivers.

CHAP. XXI.

Productions of the Soil in Greenland—Land Animals—Whales, Seals, and other Fiſhes.

THIS country being covered with everlaſting ſnow, it muſt naturally be very cold and raw. In ſuch places in winter, where the inhabitants enjoy the ſun for an hour or two in the day, the cold is tolerable, but where the ſun is below the horizon, whilſt people are drinking tea, the emptied cup, when put down will freeze to the table. Paul Egede, in his journal of January 7th, 1738, ſays, that in latitude ſixty-eight degrees, when he was there, the ice and hoar-froſt reached through the chimney to the ſtove's mouth, without being thawed by the fire, even in the day-time; ſo that over the chimney was an arch of froſt, with little holes, through which the ſmoke iſſued. The door and walls of his room were as if plaſtered over with ice, and what is ſcarce credible, linen froze in the drawers, the beds were frozen to the bedſteads, and the eider-down coverlid and pillows became quite ſtiff with froſt, an inch thick, from the breath. They were obliged to hew their fleſh-barrels in pieces to get out the meat, and though they thawed it in ſnow, when it was put over the fire, the outſide would be ſufficiently

efficiently boiled, before the inside could be pierced with a knife.

The summer in Greenland, is from the beginning of May to the end of September; during which five months, the natives encamp in tents; yet the ground is not mellowed by a thorough thaw till June; and then only on the surface; nor does it cease snowing till this time. In August it begins snowing again, but no snow continues on the ground, till that which falls in October. The snow in August is either soon dissolved by the sun, or dispersed by the wind, in which last case, the wind scatters such a subtile snow dust, that one scarce dare put one's head out of doors. In the longest summer days, particularly in serene and clear weather, it is so hot that people are not only obliged to throw off their warmer garments, but on the sea the pitch will melt on the ship's side. And from April to August, the fogs are so thick, almost every day, that people cannot see forty yards before them. It has been often remarked, that the weather in Greenland is just the reverse of what it is in Europe. In the year 1763, when it was so remarkably cold throughout Europe, it was so mild in Greenland, that it is often colder here in summer.

In general, the air is so wholesome and pure, that if a man cloaths himself warm, eats moderately and takes good exercise, he will enjoy a good state of health and spirits. The winds are as variable here as in other countries; but, when it once begins to be stormy, which happens mostly in autumn, they rage so vehemently that the houses shake and crack, tents, and the lighter boats fly up into the air, and the sea-water scatters about on the land, like snow-dust. When any one is obliged to leave his house, in order to put his boats into shelter, he must creep upon his belly, lest the wind should take him off his legs.

There is no night at all in this country, during the summer; beyond the 66th degree north, in the longest days, the sun does not set; it shines not, however, with such lustre, at night as at noon, resembling only a very bright moon, which a man can look at without being dazzled. On the other hand, the winter nights are so much the longer, and in the 67th degree, the face of the sun is never seen above the horizon from Nov. 30, to Jan. 12. And yet there are no dark nights here, as in other countries: the inhabitants enjoy a moderate twilight, and the moon and stars, added to the snow and ice, give such a light, that people can do very well out of doors without a lanthern, and see plainly to read print of a middle size. As in the shortest days, sometimes

the moon never ſets, ſo, little is ſeen of it in the ſummer-time, and the ſtars never appear from May to Auguſt.

From the ſituation and nature of Greenland, *the productions of the ſoil* muſt be very inconſiderable. Though the bodies of rocks near the ſea, yield a great deal of coarſe marble, and many of the hills a kind of aſbeſtos, or ſtone-flax, yet their ſurface produces little. The vallies, in general, have no other herbage than moſs and ſour moor-graſs; and the uninhabited iſlands, where the birds build their neſts, furniſh only a few low ſhrubs, heath and herbs: the land, however, near the Greenland houſes and encampments, from many years cultivation, with the blood and fat of ſeals, though in itſelf, nothing but a barren ſand, produces the fineſt herbs, in uncommon quantity and ſize.

Graſs grows here, not only in fenny, ſandy and turfy ground, where indeed it is in general very ſhort and bad; but alſo in the cleſts of rocks, where any earth has lodged: and eſpecially near the houſes, where it grows very thick and long. Moſs is the chief produce; of which, ſays Crantz, when I have been ſitting on a rock, I have counted near twenty ſorts round me without riſing; one ſort is like a ſoft thick fur, which the natives uſe, as we do waſte paper, and alſo to ſtop the crevices of their houſes. Another ſort ſerves them for tinder and wicks for lamps. They have alſo a kind of white moſs, on which the rein-deer feed in winter, and which, in caſes of neceſſity, would preſerve the life of a hungry man. There is another kind of moſs, that ſerves them inſtead of bread, being occaſionally boiled with milk, as a ſubſtitute for oatmeal. Europeans have ſeveral times attempted to grow barley and oats: theſe will ſhoot up as fine and high as in our country, but ſeldom get into ear, and never ripen, on account of the early froſts, even in the warmeſt places. As the ſeaſon will not admit of ſowing, till the middle of June, they cannot raiſe many vegetables. Radiſhes grow as well here as in moſt other countries, but ſallad and cole are very ſmall, and will not bear tranſplanting.

Whortleberries and cranberries are here met with, and a fruit, like the mulberry, only yellow inſtead of red; theſe laſt are packed up and exported, are a very refreſhing delicacy, and a remedy for the ſcurvy. There are plenty of large juniper-berries, but they are held in no eſtimation. Of trees, there are three kinds of willows, but the cold will not ſuffer them to rear their heads, obliging them to creep upon the ground. Their birch, (though ſomewhat different from ours) is in the ſame predicament. The Greenlanders talk of alders, that grow in the ſouthern parts, twice the height of a man,

a man, and as big round as his leg; and ſay, that the wild ſervice-tree grows there in abundance, and brings its fruit to maturity. They alſo ſpeak of a wild pea, which they boil and eat, and mention a fruit reſembling our large yellow plum, which they compare to oranges; but, the farther we go north, the more naked and ſteril is the land, till at laſt, nothing is to be met with, but bare rocks.

Unfruitful, however, as this land is, it affords nouriſhment to ſome, though but to very few *kinds of beaſts*, which ſupply the natives with food and raiment. Hares and rein-deer they have in plenty, but more of the former than the latter. Hares are white both in ſummer and winter, are pretty large, live on graſs and white moſs, but are little regarded by the natives.

Their rein-deer are of that northern kind which are met with in Spitzberg, Siberia, Norway, Lapland, and the northern parts of America. They are here wild, and not eaſily caught. The largeſt are about the ſize of a two-year old heifer; their colour brown or grey, with white bellies: their ſkin very thick of hair, and above an inch long. Their antlers differ only from thoſe of the common buck, in being ſmooth, grey, and broad as one's hand at top. Their fleſh is tender and well taſted. They are very cleanly and contented creatures, live in ſummer on the tender graſs they find in the vallies; and in winter, on the white moſs, which they dig for, under the ſnow between the rocks. A Greenlander once caught a young one, bred it up, and it grew as tame as a cow, but, having done ſome miſchief he was obliged to kill it.

Here are alſo foxes, but ſomewhat different from thoſe of ſouthern countries. Some are white, but in general, they are blue or grey; they bark like a dog, and reſemble one about the head and feet; live on birds and their eggs, upon berries, muſcles, crabs, and what the ſea caſts out. The natives catch them in traps, and if in want of food, would rather eat them than hares. Blue fox-ſkins are eagerly bought up by the factors.

White bears, ſo often heard of, are frequently met with in all parts of Greenland; they have a long narrow head, like a dog, and are ſaid to bark like one. Their hair is long and as ſoft as wool. Their bodies are often three or four yards in length; their fleſh is white and flat, taſtes like mutton, and the natives are very fond of it. They prowl upon the flakes of ice after ſeals and dead whales, and will attack the ſea-lion, though this creature frequently maſters them. They will ſwim from one piece of ice to another, and when attacked, will defend themſelves even againſt a boat full of men. When on land, their food is birds and their eggs, and if im-

pelled by hunger, they will devour the human ſpecies, digging dead bodies out of their graves. In winter, they immure themſelves in holes between the rocks, or bury themſelves in the ſnow, till the ſun invites them abroad again; when, allured by the ſcent of ſeal's fleſh, they will hunt out a Greenland-houſe, break into it and plunder it. The natives in their turn raiſe a hue-and-cry after the robbers; ſurround them with their dogs, and kill them with lances and harpoons, though they often loſe their own lives in the aſſault.

Here are no tame beaſts, except dogs of a middle ſize, which reſemble more a wolf than a dog, not barking, but howling and growling. They are too ſtupid animals to be of much uſe in hunting, but are harneſſed as horſes to a ſledge, from four to ten at a time, in which the natives viſit each other, or draw home their ſeals over the ice. Their ſkins are uſed as coverings to beds, and as ornamental borders to their garments.

Of land-birds, there is no great variety, becauſe there is little food for them. The principal is the northern partridge, ſuch as frequents cold countries and the Alps. In Switzerland they are called ſnow-hens. They caſt their feathers twice a year. The cocks are of a grey colour in ſummer, and, during winter, of the colour of ſnow; a wiſe precaution of Providence, to preſerve them from birds of prey which hunt after them, and but for this circumſtance would readily find them. It is a good bird to eat and eaſily caught. Their claws have, within, a thick ball covered with ſmall feathers, to enable them to endure the cold, and as their toes are not divided the whole way up, they are capable of ſwimming. Here are alſo ſnipes, and ſome ſmall ſinging birds; and, of birds of prey, the great dark-brown eagle, grey and ſpotted falcons, white owls, and ravens.

Deſtitute, however, as the land is of living creatures, the riches of the ſea make it up as well in variety as multitude. The many kinds of ſea-fowls are too numerous to mention here, unleſs we were writing the natural hiſtory of the place. Indeed, they are not peculiar to Greenland, but are found in moſt of the higher latitudes. Having mentioned ſeveral of them in the deſcription of Norway, it is only neceſſary here to take notice of the eider-fowl or black duck, its down being a profitable article of commerce. Its fleſh is eaten by the Greenlanders, and of its skin they make their fineſt and their warmeſt under-garments: this fowl is, however, moſt celebrated for its valuable down, which is found in great quantities, when ſtripped of its coarſe feathers. As the down when pulled from the dead bird is apt to heat by lying,

lying, and will not ſwell and diſtend itſelf rightly, they contrive to procure it from the fowl whilſt living; for this purpoſe they viſit the neſts which the tender mother lines with this ſoft ſubſtance, either dropped or plucked from her body, to prepare a warm bed for her callow brood. Of this down we have warm light coverlids in England.

Of the moſt profitable fiſhes, the north is the proper rendezvous and reſidence; where, under the ice, they find ſhelter from the whales that prey on them; whales being frequently obliged to riſe above water, to draw breath, cannot follow their prey far under the ice. Here then they retreat, breed and fatten; but, in order to make them ſubſervient to the uſe of man, the Wiſe Creator has ordained that they ſhall annually make their way ſouthward. We ſee this particularly in herrings. Some cauſe unknown to man, drives them out in innumerable ſhoals, like ſwarms of bees. As they advance, they are chaſed by the cod, the mackarel and other fiſh of prey, and theſe in their turn are hunted by the ſeals and whales, and obliged to fly to the ſhalloweſt ſand-bank for protection, where the larger fiſhes cannot follow them; and, where they are caught by fiſhermen. Theſe ſeas not only yield herrings, ſalmon, cod-fiſh, &c. but flounders, holibut, a variety of ſhell-fiſh, and ſome ſmall fiſhes peculiar to this latitude.

Though the *whale* is almoſt univerſally known, it would be unpardonable, in treating of Greenland, not to give ſome account of this animal and its fiſhery, which employs ſo many ſhips yearly of different nations, no leſs than three hundred or three hundred and fifty, (each ſhip having from five to ſeven long-boats) and that in compaſs of two degrees, from the ſeventy-ſeventh to the ſeventy-ninth. Theſe ſhips ſometimes catch from one thouſand eight hundred to two thouſand whales in the ſpace of two months, not reckoning the wounded ones that eſcape.

The Greenland whale, by Engliſh ſailors called the black whale, is deſcribed in *Marten's voyage to Spitzberg and Zordrager's Greeland fiſhery*, to be from fifty to eighty feet long. They were formerly from one hundred to two hundred feet in length, but being now caught in ſuch multitudes, have not time to grow to their full ſize. The head is a third part of the length of the whole body; it has only two fins, one on each ſide of the head, from five to eight feet long, but with theſe it rows along very faſt. Its tail is ſix or eight yards broad, and turning up at both ends in a curve, is enabled with it to daſh the ſtrongeſt boat in pieces; it is, however, a timid animal, never beginning an attack, but flying at the leaſt alarm. Its ſkin above is commonly black

and ſmooth like velvet, and white underneath. On the head is a bunch, where are two noſtrils, through which it breathes and ſpouts out the water it takes in at its mouth, with a noiſe that can be heard at three miles diſtance; its eyes are placed between its noſtrils and fins, and have eye-lids that drop over them, and are not larger than thoſe of an ox. It has no flaps to its ears, nor any teeth in its mouth, but contains in its upper jaw, which is ſix yards long, thoſe barders, blades or whiſkers, as they are called, of which we make the whalebone. There are commonly three hundred and fifty on each ſide, but the fifty largeſt only are taken. They hang like the pipes of an organ, the leaſt before and behind, the longeſt in the middle, which are generally four yards in length. The tongue conſiſts wholly of a ſoft fungous fat, like bacon, which will fill from five to ſeven large barrels. This fiſh brings forth its young like a quadruped, full formed, generally one at a time, but never more than two, which it ſuckles; when purſued, it wraps up its young in its fins, cloſe to its body. Whales have two ſkins, the inner an inch thick, the outer one as thin as parchment; under theſe lies the fat, from ſix to twelve inches thick; about the under lip it is two feet in thickneſs. The fat of the whale will, according to the ſize of the fiſh, fill from one hundred to three hundred barrels. Its fleſh is coarſe and is ſaid to taſte like beef. Greenlanders eat the part about the tail, and call it a delicacy. Its bones are hard, on the inſide full of holes, like a honey-comb, and filled with train-oil.

One would ſuppoſe, that this enormous beaſt would require a great many large fiſhes for one meal's food; but its ſwallow being ſcarce four inches broad, it lives chiefly on a white ſlime, ſwimming on the ſea, called whales-food; but which, in fact, is an animal wearing that appearance. This it ſucks up, by a ſtrong ſuction, and as a great deal of water flows in with it, the animal blows out the water again at its noſtrils. This ſlime being found in the greateſt quantity between Spitzberg, Nova Zembla, and Greenland, where it floats in ſuch abundance that the creeks are as full of it as our ditches with inſects, the whale rarely emigrates from theſe parts.

The manner of catching whales is as follows:—When a whale is ſeen or heard, a long boat with ſix men in it (for there are always five or ſix ſuch boats ready) makes up to it and endeavours to approach its ſide, near the head. The whale, finding itſelf purſued, dives, but riſing again to breathe, which it is conſtrained to do, the men watch the opportunity, row up to its ſide and the harpooner ſtrikes him uſually near the fin, with a harpoon, (a triangular barbed iron, about a foot

foot long, and faſtened to a ſtem). The fiſh no ſooner feels the ſmart, than it darts down into the deep, with the harpoon ſticking faſt in it. To this harpoon is faſtened a line two hundred yards long and about as thick as one's finger, which runs with ſuch rapidity after the whale, that if it entangles itſelf, it muſt either ſnap ſhort or overſet the boat: it is one man's buſineſs, therefore, to attend to this line and wet the place on the boat's edge, on which it runs, leſt it ſhould take fire. The boat, with the line, follows the whale as far as it can, and if the fiſh is not mortally wounded, it will flounce about the deep for an hour and draw a line of four thouſand yards after it; in which caſe, freſh line is added by other boats. If the fiſh comes up again alive, they ſtrike it with freſh harpoons, and then kill it with lances. When dead, it riſes to the ſurface of the water, with its belly upwards. Should it retreat under the ice, they either pull away the harpoon or cut the line; in which caſe they loſe the fiſh, a loſs amounting to 200*l.* that being its average value. The whale, being dead, is towed up to the ſhip's ſide, and there faſtened. The firſt buſineſs then is to go with a boat into its jaws, and cut out the whale-bone. They next cut off the blubber from the tongue, and then proceed to ſtrip the whole body of its fat, beginning at the head and tail at once, and ending in the middle. Forty or fifty men ſtand on the fiſh for this purpoſe, and will ſtrip it in four hours. With the loſs of its fat the fiſh loſes its buoyant faculty, and, when turned adrift, down goes the carcaſe into the deep, with the general and joyful huzza of the whole crew; in a few days, it burſts and riſes again, and its vaſt ſtock of fleſh is a profuſe feaſt to fiſhes, birds, and bears.

This is the European mode of whale-fiſhing, but that of the Greenlanders is ſomewhat different. The women aſſiſt in this buſineſs, their employ being to row the boats and mend the ſeamen's jackets. When they ſee a fiſh they row boldly up to it, and ſtrike it with ſeveral harpoons, to which are hung large bladders, made of ſeals' ſkin, which ſo incumber and impede the motion of the animal, that he cannot dive deep. When tired out, they diſpatch him with their lances. The men then creep into their ſea or ſpring-jackets, which are made of ſeals' ſkin with air-bladders, and cover their feet, hands and head, all in one piece, being faſtened tight about the head. In theſe they leap, fearleſs, upon the fiſh and into the ſea, the air in their jackets keeping them erect in the water. They next proceed, as do the Europeans, to cut out the fat and whale-bone. And here the multitude are very diſorderly, all running promiſcuouſly in a heap, men, women, and children, one over another, with ſharp-pointed knives, (for

every one though a ſpectator only, may ſhare in dividing the ſpoil), and it is wonderful, how careful they are in all this ſcramble, not to wound one another.

The *ſeal* alſo is a native of the north-ſeas, is an amphibious animal, with four feet, and called, in many places, the ſea-calf or ſea-wolf: it has a rough hairy hide, and is uſed by us to cover travelling trunks; its head pretty much reſembles that of a dog, with the ears cropt, having a ſmall aperture for the ear, but no flaps: its body in the middle is bulky, but runs out pointed towards each end, for the convenience of making better way through the water. It has two ſhort feet before ſtanding downwards perpendicularly, and two others behind in a horizontal direction, with webbed toes, like thoſe of a gooſe. The water is its natural element, as it lives upon fiſh; but having long nails in its fore-feet, it can climb the rocks and is often upon land. Its cry is like a wild ſwine, and the young ones mew like a cat. It has ſharp teeth and large fiery eyes with eye-brows.

Seals are often found on the ice and land, baſking or ſleeping in the ſun, and though they have a lame gait or walk, can pad along ſo faſt, and, by means of their hind feet, ſpring forward ſo quick, that a man cannot eaſily come up with them. They are taken for their fat and skins. Their fat, which is near four inches thick, is converted into train-oil, and their fleſh is red, tender and juicy, reſembling, in taſte, that of a wild hog.

There are five or ſix ſpecies of ſeals, ſome two yards and ome three yards in length. I have ſeen one, ſays Crantz, called a ſea-cow, of the ſeal ſpecies, ſix yards in length and near as much in circumference over the breaſt. This creature weighed four hundred pounds; and as its eyes, on preſſing the ſkin, ſprung out a finger's length, it is ſuppoſed the animal could throw them out and draw them in for ſhelter at pleaſure.

Seals, in general, yield a great deal of blubber, and the train that drops from it is not more rancid than ſtale oil of olives; and with their ſkins the Greenlanders frequently make their waiſtcoats. They cannot eaſily be caught by a ſingle perſon, unleſs when they are big with young and of courſe helpleſs; but as they are animals of paſſage, retiring from Greenland in March, to caſt their young, and returning in June, young and all, like a flock of ſheep, the ſeal-hunters endeavour, on their return, to ſurround them on the ice, where they often lie ſleeping in whole herds. They firſt frighten them by ſhouting, which occaſions them to ſtretch out their necks and yell, at which time the catchers take the oppor-

opportunity to ſtun them by giving them a deſperate blow on their noſes; after which they kill and flay them.

To the Greenlanders the ſeal-fiſhery is their beſt harveſt. Seals' fleſh, with that of the rein-deer, is their moſt delicious and ſubſtantial food; the fat ſupplies their lamps and fires with oil, ſoftens their dry food, and by barter furniſhes them with all the neceſſaries of life. Of the fibres of ſeals' ſinews they make thread; the tranſparent ſkins of their entrails ſerve them for windows, curtains for their tents, ſhirts, and thoſe bladders they fix to their harpoons; and of the maw, they make train-bottles. When there is a ſcarcity of iron, they make inſtruments and tools of their bones; their blood, with other ingredients, they convert into ſoups, and make their clothes, bedding and boats of their skins. Catching ſeals, therefore, is the great end of Greenland education; to which the children are trained from their infancy, by which they maintain themſelves, become agreeable to each other and uſeful members of ſociety.

They have two kinds of boats for this purpoſe, a large one, and a ſmall one. The large one, they call *Umiack*, or the woman's boat, and the ſmall one, *Kaiak*. The woman's boat is from twelve to eighteen yards in length, four or five feet wide and three deep; the other about ſix yards long, eighteen inches broad, and barely twelve inches deep; they are flat-bottomed, wideſt in the middle, go off ſharp at each end, and are covered with ſeal-skin. The large boats are open at the top and are commonly rowed by four women; one ſteering with an oar behind. In the fore-part is a maſt with a ſail made of ſeal-gut skin, ſix feet high and nine feet wide. The wealthy Greenlanders make this ſail of white linen with red ſtripes; and though they can with this ſail make way only before the wind, and cannot keep pace with an European boat under ſail, yet they can row them faſter and often make voyages along the coaſt from two to four hundred leagues north and ſouth, with their tents, houſehold furniture, all their property, and often ten or twenty perſons beſides. The men accompany them in their Kaiaks, and aſſiſt them when they need it. They thus travel at the rate of twelve leagues a day, and every night unload, pitch their tents, draw their boat aſhore, and ſtay till the next morning.

The *Kaiak* is covered on the top, having a round hole in the middle, into which the Greenlander ſlips with his feet, ſitting on a board covered with a ſoft skin: when he is ſeated, the rim of the hole reaches juſt above his hips, and he tucks his great water-coat in, between the boat and himſelf, ſo tight, that the water cannot penetrate; this coat being, at the ſame time, buttoned cloſe about his face and body, the man

man and his boat are, as it were, one maſs. At his ſide he places his lance and harpoon, and behind him the ſeal-skin bladder. His *pautik* or oar, (for he has but one) is made of red deal, round in the middle and three fingers broad at each end. This he holds in the middle with both hands, and ſtrikes the water on each ſide very quick, and as regular as if beating time. Thus equipped he goes out to fiſh, and, if expedition requires it, can row twenty or twenty-four leagues a day. In theſe *kaiaks*, they fear no ſtorms, can mount the boiſterous billows like a piece of cork, and, ſhould a wave break over them, are unconcerned; for they accuſtom themſelves, by way of exerciſe, to overturn themſelves in the water, ſo as that their heads ſhall hang perpendicularly down, and with a ſwing and ſtroke with their paddle, ſet their boat to rights again in an inſtant.

When a Greenlander ſpies a ſeal, he endeavours to conceal himſelf behind a wave, till he is within ten or twelve yards of it, in order to take him by ſurpriſe. Having his lance, harpoon, and tackle ready, as ſoon as within reach, he caſts the harpoon; and, if he hits his mark, the ſeal, feeling himſelf wounded, dives; dragging the bladder, which is faſtened by a ſtring to the harpoon, under water with him, though from its ſize, he finds it difficult ſo to do; but, as the animal muſt come up every quarter of an hour to breathe, he ſoon grows weary of diving, is followed by the Greenlander and pierced with a lance as he riſes. When killed, the wound is ſtopped to preſerve the blood. This done the ſeal-catcher perforates the skin, blows up the animal like a bladder, to make it buoyant, and takes it in tow.

In this exerciſe, he is expoſed to great danger, for ſhould the line which faſtens the bladder to the harpoon, and which is of ſome length, entangle itſelf with the *Kaiak*, the boat muſt be drawn down under water; nay, ſhould he eſcape this danger, if he approaches too near the dying ſeal, it will bite him mortally. A female ſeal that has young, will often fly at its enemy with fury, or bite a hole in the boat and ſink it.

It is the ſtupid ſpecies of ſeal which the Greenlander can thus take without aſſiſtance. Other ſeals are caught by companies of fiſhermen. At certain ſeaſons they retire into creeks and inlets. There the Greenlanders cut off their retreat, and frighten them under water by ſhouting, clapping and throwing ſtones. When they come up to draw breath, they aſſail them again in the ſame manner, till they tire them out, that they can dive no longer. They are then ſurrounded and killed. This mode of catching them is called *kaſſigiak* or clapper-hunt; it is not bad ſport, and the Greenlanders are very active and expert at it. If a ſeal has good broad water, three

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or four leagues each way, it can keep the hunters in play for two hours, diving and riſing again at the diſtance of three quarters of a mile. Should it in its fright take to the land, it is there attacked by women and children.

They are often caught alſo on the ice, many being killed, whilſt ſleeping and ſnoring in the ſun; and, in the ſpring time, where the current makes a great hole in the ice, the Greenlanders will often ſtation themſelves round it, and, when the ſeals come in droves to the edge of this hole to breathe, kill them with their harpoons.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Natives of Greenland—Their Conduct in domeſtic Life—Their Civil Character—Their Language, Cuſtoms, Manners, and Religion.

THE Greenlanders are low of ſtature, not exceeding five feet in height, but they are well ſhaped and proportionate in their limbs. Their faces are generally broad and flat, with high cheek-bones like the Scots, but their cheeks are round and plump. It is a common obſervation, ſays Ellis, in his deſcription of the Eskimaux Indians, that men as well as beaſts, and the products of the ground, with ſome few exceptions, are ſmaller and ſmaller as they are more under the pole. Though there are large trees, he adds, growing at the bottom of Hudſon's bay, there are nothing but ſhrubs in the ſixty-firſt degree; and alſo that the people keep diminiſhing in ſtature, according to the higher latitude they live in, till the ſixty-ſeventh degree, where there are no inhabitants at all.

The eyes of the Greenlanders are little and black, but without any animation, and their noſes project but little from their faces. Their bodies are all over of a dark grey, but their faces are of an olive colour. As their children are born white, this grey tinge may proceed in part from their dirtineſs, for they are continually handling train-oil and greaſe, ſitting in the ſmoke, and ſeldom waſh themſelves; their food alſo may contribute to the ſame end; for their blood is ſo affected by it, that their ſweat ſmells like train, and their hands feel clammy like bacon. But there are a few whoſe faces are not ſo round, and whoſe complexions are fairer, and might eaſily

eaſily paſs undiſtinguiſhed among the natives of Switzerland.

The hair on their heads is univerſally ſtrong and long, and of a coal black colour, but the men have ſeldom any beard, as they take great pains to pluck it out. Their hands and feet are ſmall and ſoft, but their head and limbs are large. They have high breaſts and broad ſhoulders, eſpecially the women, who accuſtom themſelves to carry heavy burdens, and being fat and corpulent, can endure the cold with bare heads and necks, and very thin clothing: nay, they commonly ſit naked within doors, except their breeches, and at this time, their bodies emit ſuch a ſteam as to be intolerable to an European ſitting near them. They are very light and active, and do not want for ſtrength, and can endure great fatigues. A Greenlander, who has ate nothing but graſs for three days, will manage his little canoe in the moſt boiſterous ſea; and, a woman will carry a rein-deer, whole, for the diſtance of four leagues, or a piece of timber, or ſtone, double the weight which any Engliſhman can lift.

With reſpect to their temper, they are of a phlegmatic nature, not very lively, but good-humoured, ſociable and far from covetous: they are ſo little concerned for the future, as to hoard up nothing; of courſe are very liberal in giving. They are not apparently poſſeſſed of any high ſpirit, but have a good ſhare of what we call ruſtic pride, and conſider Europeans as far beneath them; eſteeming themſelves the only civilized and well-bred people. When they ſee a quiet and modeſt ſtranger, they ſay, "he is almoſt as well-bred as we;" they are not quarrelſome but patient, and draw back where any one encroaches on them; but, if puſhed to extremes, become deſperate in the greateſt degree.

Though they are always buſy about ſomething, they are very fickle and have no perſeverance; ſo that if they begin a thing and meet with a difficulty they throw it away. In ſummer-time they ſleep five or ſix hours; in winter eight, and if they have worked hard and had a reſtleſs night, will ſleep the whole enſuing day. In the morning, they will walk to ſome eminence, take a proſpect of the weather and the ocean, and, if it appears unfavourable, will ſeem thoughtful and dejected, as at the dangers and burdens of the day; but when no difficulties riſe before them, or when they return home from a ſucceſsful fiſhery, they are cheerful and converſable.

They are ſo expert in concealing and ſuppreſſing their paſſions, that we might take them for Stoics; and they affect to be very reſigned under any calamity; but it is all affectation,

tion, for no people are more irritable to anger, and more revengeful when an opportunity offers.

Their clothes are made of the ſkin of the rein-deer, ſeals and birds. Their outer-garment reſembles a waggoner's frock, only not ſo long and looſe, and they put it on the ſame way, drawing it over their heads like a ſhirt; at the top of it is a hood, which they can pull up occaſionally over their heads, like the hood of a capuchin. Their under-garment is a kind of ſhirt, made of the ſkins of birds, with the feathers inwards. At preſent, moſt Greenlanders of any property, make their upper-garment of cloth or cotton, yet cut in their own faſhion. Their breeches are of ſeals'-ſkin, and are very ſhort above and below; their ſtockings are made of the skin of a ſeal's fœtus, taken out of the body of the dam; and their ſhoes, of ſmooth black dreſſed ſeal-leather, tied with a thong on the inſtep. The ſoles of their ſhoes ſtand out bending upwards, both before and behind, two inches broad, but they have no heels. The rich natives now wear woollen ſtockings, breeches and caps, and when they make a voyage, cover themſelves with a black ſmooth ſeals-hide, by way of great coat.

The dreſs of the women is much the ſame. Their jackets only have higher ſhoulders, and a higher hood; and are not cut round, even at the bottom, like the men's, but, from the thigh, drop in a point before and behind, below the knee, and are bordered with red cloth. The women alſo wear breeches, with ſhort drawers under them. They wear a kind of high ſhoes or boots, of white or red leather, the ſeam of which is before and ornamented. Mothers and nurſes wear an upper garment wide in the back, with a pocket in the ſhoulders, large enough to hold a child, which is left quite naked to tumble about, and is no otherwiſe taken care of. They are very neat and careful of their beſt clothes, but their every day dreſs drips with greaſe, and their heads ſwarm with vermin natural to them, which like beggars, they are expert at catching, and kill between their teeth.

The men wear their hair cut ſhort in the poll, and ſquared off on their foreheads; but, as it is a reproach to a woman to cut her hair, (except in caſes of deep mourning, or when they reſolve never to marry), they tie it up on the top of their heads, ſo as to ornament their crowns, binding it with glaſs beads or ſome gay bandage. The ſame kind of ornaments they wear round their arms and necks, and in their ears, and round the borders of their clothes and ſhoes; but, ſuch as aim at being beautiful, and want to be admired, draw a thread, blacked with ſoot under the skin of their chins, cheeks, hands and feet. This leaves a black mark behind, which

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in the face reſembles a beard. The mother performs this painful operation on her girls in their infancy, leſt they ſhould never get huſbands. The Indians, in North-America, and ſeveral tribes of the Tartars, do the ſame; but, the Greenlanders, now converted to Chriſtianity, have dropt this practice, as a fooliſh vanity, and a temptation to ſin.

In winter they live in houſes, and in tents in ſummer. Their houſes, or cottages, are generally built on ſome eminence near the ſea, in order that the ſnow may run from them. They are ſeldom more than about four yards broad, and from eight to twenty-four yards in length, according to the ſize of the family, and juſt high enough for a perſon to ſtand upright in. They are built with ſtones and ſods. Their houſes have neither door nor chimney, but the deficiency is ſupplied by a paſſage of five or ſix yards long entering through the middle of the houſe, the roof of which paſſage is ſo low, that they are obliged to creep in almoſt on their hands and feet. This long entrance keeps out the wind and cold, and lets out the thick air; for as they burn only oil within, they have no ſmoke. The inſide of the walls is hung with old tent and boat skins, and the roofs covered with the ſame. From the middle of the houſe to the back wall, there is a raiſed floor or broad bench, like a taylor's ſhop-board, made with wood and covered with skins; and this floor is divided by skins, ſtretched from the poſts that ſupport the roof, into apartments, like horſe-ſtalls, in each of which a family lives, ſo that houſes contain from three to ten families, ſome more and ſome leſs. On theſe floors they ſit in the day-time, the men with their legs hanging down, the women behind, croſs-legged like a taylor, and in the night they ſleep on them. Along the front-wall, oppoſite to this floor, are ſeveral ſquare windows, made of ſeals' guts and holibut's maws, and ſewed ſo neat and tight as to keep out the weather, and yet admit the light. A bench runs along the whole length of the houſe under the windows, where ſtrangers ſit or ſleep.

By every poſt is a fire-place. A block of wood is laid upon the ground, and upon that a flat-ſtone; on the ſtone, a low three-legged ſtool, and on that ſtool a lamp a foot long, reſembling a half-moon, hewn out of marble; it ſtands in an oval wooden bowl, placed under the lamp to receive the waſte oil. In this lamp, filled with ſea-oil, they lay ſome moſs, rubbed fine, which burns ſo bright, and gives ſuch a heat as not only lights the apartment but warms it. Over this lamp hangs a marble ketle by four ſtrings faſtened to the roof, in which they boil their meat, and over this is placed

placed a wooden rack, on which they lay their wet clothes and boots to dry.

Now, as there are many ſuch fire places in one houſe, and as they burn night and day, there is an equal and laſting heat. But though theſe lamps yield no ſmoke, their rancid ſmell, and the ſteam ariſing from boiling ſo much fleſh and fiſh, often half-rotten, as alſo their urinals within the houſe, with skins ſoaking in them for dreſſing, are almoſt intolerable to a perſon unaccuſtomed to ſuch things. But in other reſpects, we cannot but admire their well contrived houſe-keeping, comprized within ſo ſmall a compaſs, their content in this ſtate of poverty, in which they conceive themſelves richer than us, and, their order and quiet in ſuch a narrow and crouded ſpot. Without theſe manſions they have little ſtore-houſes, where they lay up their proviſion, and cloſe by, are their boats, drawn on the land and laid upon poſts, with their bottoms upwards, to preſerve them.

In dreſſing their meat, they are as dirty as in every thing elſe, ſeldom waſhing their kettles, but leaving them to the dogs to clean. Their boiled meat and broth they eat with bone ſpoons, from a wooden diſh, but their undreſſed meat lies on the bare ground. They eat with their fingers, and tear with their teeth, and when their repaſt is over, ſcrape their chops with a knife, lick the blade, and put it in their pockets. So, when they are covered with ſweat, they make their knife perform the ſame office, and ſcrape it from their faces down into their mouths. When they wiſh to treat an European genteelly, they firſt lick the *meat* he is to eat, clean from the blood and ſcum what it had contracted in the kettle, with their tongue; and, ſhould this not be well received, it would be looked upon rude and unmannerly.

They eat when they are hungry, but the evening meal is the chief repaſt; when they frequently invite their neighbours, or ſend them a part of it. The men eat firſt by themſelves; and their greateſt joy is, to ſee their children ſtuff themſelves ſo full, as to roll about the ground, to make room for more. They take no thought for the morrow, but when they have plenty, will dance and eat to exceſs, in hopes, that the ſea will afford them a freſh ſupply the next day. But, the misfortune is, when March comes and the ſeals retire till May, if bad weather enſues, they muſt and do ſtruggle with hunger for many days together; nay, ſo little do they provide for a future contingency, that they are often reduced to the neceſſity of eating muſcles, ſea-weed, old tent-skins, and ſhoe-ſoles, if they have but oil enough to boil them; and after all, many a one periſhes with hunger.

Should their fire go out, they re-kindle it, by turning a

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ſtick with a ſtring, very quick through a hole in a piece of wood.

With regard to their *domeſtic character*, as we neither ſee nor hear of any unbecoming conduct in the Greenlanders, it would appear that they lead a good orderly life. Single women are very reſerved, ſeldom are ſeen in private converſation with the men, and a young woman would think herſelf affronted, if a young fellow in company was to offer her a pinch of ſnuff.

A young man never thinks of marrying till he is turned of twenty; but, when he has determined in his mind, he chuſes one about his own age, and acquaints his friends with the choice he has made. Marriage portions are out of the queſtion. A man ſeldom gets any thing with his wife but her clothes, her knife, her lamp, or a ſtone boiler; his great object is her ſkill in houſewifery, and ſhe conſiders little elſe in him, than whether he is a good ſeal-fiſher.

As a ſon has his will in every thing, his parents immediately conſent, and two old women are diſpatched to the parents of the bride, as negociators. The damſel, on being acquainted with it, affects an unwillingneſs, will hear nothing of the matter, runs away and tears her hair. Sometimes, indeed, this diſſatisfaction at the news is real. Women have often fainted at the propoſal, and have eloped and cut off their hair, which laſt is an act of great conſequence, for when a woman has once loſt her hair, ſhe is never ſought in marriage afterwards. This averſion to matrimony is ſuppoſed to ariſe from the many repudiated wives in Greenland. However, if the bride's parents do not diſapprove, the women ſearch for the daughter, and, having found her, drag her to the houſe of her ſuitor, where ſhe ſits many days dejected, with diſhevelled hair and without eating any thing; and if no perſuaſions avail, ſhe is compelled to change her ſtate by force. If ſhe runs away, ſhe is brought back and immediately obliged to perform the contract. Indeed, ſome parents take care to ſettle their children, and for this purpoſe betroth them in their child-hood; in this caſe, they come together when they pleaſe, without any farther ceremony.

Mothers love their children exceſſively, and carry them with them wherever they go, in the pocket of their outer-garment, which is made for that purpoſe on their back, between their ſhoulders. They ſuckle them till they are four or five years old, for want of proper food for children. Of courſe, when children are obliged to reſign the breaſt to others, they will often die, and ſhould the mother die before the child can ſubſiſt on groſs food, the poor infant will not long ſurvive her.

Children

Children are here brought up without any diſcipline, or any chaſtiſement: they ſeem not indeed to need ſeverity, as they run about quiet as lambs, and are guilty of few extravagancies; beſides, ſuch is the nature of a Greenlander, that if he cannot be brought to do a thing by gentle uſuage, no compulſion will effect it, he would ſooner die than be compelled. The older children grow, and the more their underſtanding opens, the more governable they are; parents treat them on the footing of friends, and if they are deſired to do any thing they diſlike, they immediately, without any apology refuſe, and parents put up with this refuſal, till the child ſees its error. But inſtances of ingratitude, in grown-up children, to their aged parents, is ſcarce ever to be met with.

As ſoon as a boy can uſe his hands and his feet, his father puts a bow and arrow into his hand, and teaches him to ſhoot at a target; when he is ten years old he is equipped with a boat, and learns in company with other boys to row it, overſet and riſe with it, and alſo to fowl and to fiſh. Five or ſix years afterwards, he goes out a ſeal-fiſhing, and the firſt ſeal he takes is dreſſed as a feaſt to the family and neighbours, when he relates his proweſs with a degree of triumph, and the method he made uſe of to catch it. The gueſts in their turn commend him, extol the flavor of the meat, and from this time, the women think of finding him a wife. But he who cannot catch a ſeal is deſpiſed, and obliged not only to live on women's diet, ſuch as muſcles, periwinkles, dried herrings, &c. but to perform the ſervile offices of a woman about houſe. At twenty, he makes his own boat, and a few years after, he marries; but dwells with his parents whilſt they live, his mother retaining the management of the houſe.

Girls are but little employed till they are fourteen years of age, when they begin to ſew, cook, dreſs leather, and, as they advance in ſtrength, row the women's boat and build houſes. As it is the man's buſineſs to hunt, fiſh and procure proviſions, ſo is it the woman's to butcher and to dreſs it, for which they uſe no other knife than ſuch as cheeſemongers uſe to cut their cheeſes. It is the province of the women alſo, to curry and prepare the leather, and perform the office of ſhoe-makers and taylors, carpenters and maſons. From their hard labour, and ſtill harder fare, women ſeldom reach the age of fifty; of courſe there are always more men than women.

Their houſe-keeping and manner of living, ſeems more diſorderly and dirty than that of a beggar, under a hedge. To ſee their dirty hands and face beſmeared with greaſe, their meat dreſſed and eaten in ſo naſty a manner, and their clothes and ſleeping places ſwarming with vermin, would

diſguſt any one; but ſo dreadful is the climate at times, that in tempeſtuous weather, a European is glad to creep into their houſes and tents for ſhelter, and if he has nothing of his own, to ſhare their commons, and give God thanks for the bleſſing.

Dirty, however, as they are in their perſons, their peaceful diſpoſition is much to be admired. Several families here live in one houſe, with leſs diſturbance, often, than two families in one houſe with us, where thoſe families are nearly related. If any one conceives himſelf injured, he only removes to another houſe, and that without a murmur. They are happy to aſſiſt each other, and live in ſome meaſure in common, yet without one's relying on the labour of another. If a man returns home with proviſion in the evening, he divides it with the families under the ſame roof with him; but poor as they may be, no one preſumes to ask for any thing, nor indeed is it neceſſary in a country where ſuch hoſpitality is practiſed.

Of their *civil character*, in common life, we may ſay, they are diſcreet, cautious, friendly, mannerly and modeſt; but they know nothing of a falſe ſhame, a jealous reſerve, or a laboured affectation; they ſtudy only to conceal their wiſhes and inclinations. They are not ſo much ambitious of cutting a figure in life, as of avoiding public odium, and rendering themſelves ridiculous. They are ſtrangers to ſalutations and tokens of reſpect, laugh at European compliments, and at a man's ſtanding uncovered in preſence of his ſuperior; and yet, the young have a due reſpect for the aged, and each man a proper one for the other. In company, they are ſociable and jocular, and very ironical. Irony will often effect what ſeverity and reaſoning cannot; but, if they are too much expoſed and ridiculed, they are as muliſh as a reſtive horſe. Aſſiduous to pleaſe, and cautious not to diſpleaſe, they ſtudy to avoid every thing that will create uneaſineſs. Should one offend another, the party offended neither expoſtulates nor returns any bad words. They have not a word in their language that expreſſes abuſe or curſing; of courſe, they are not very quarrelſome or contentious. They do not contradict or interrupt any one in his diſcourſe, but one is ſuffered to finiſh his ſpeech before another begins. When they are diverted they will laugh, but never loud or boiſterouſly.

When they make a viſit in their boats, they never fail to take ſome eatable with them, as a preſent; if their company is liked, they are welcomed on the ſhore with ſinging, and all hands are ready to draw the boat upon land and unload it. Every one is anxious to have the gueſt or gueſts at his

houſe;

houſe; but, as the viſitor is unwilling to have it thought that he is come abroad for what he can get, he waits with ſilence till he is much preſſed to partake of their hoſpitality. As ſoon as he enters, they kindly compel him to take off his upper-garment, and lend him a dry one. The men ſit among the men, and the women by themſelves. The converſation of the men runs upon the weather, hunting and fiſhing, and that of the women, on the death of their relations, which they cloſe with a general howl, and then proceed to divert their gueſts with little entertaining ſtories. All the time the horn goes round with ſnuff, which they draw up out of a ſtag's horn with their noſes. Meantime the repaſt is prepared.

A Daniſh factor, having been invited to a reſpectable Greenlander's, told me, his dinner conſiſted of the following diſhes: dried ſeal, boiled *ditto*, half raw and rotten *ditto*; dried herrings, boiled willocks, a piece of half rotten whale's tail, (which is reckoned as great a delicacy as a haunch of veniſon); dried ſalmon, dried rein-deer veniſon; a deſert of crowberries, mixed with chyle from the maw of a rein-deer, and a diſh of the ſame, enriched with train oil.

They can prolong their table talk for ſeveral hours, which chiefly conſiſts of the proceſs of the men in ſeal-catching, to which the boys hearken with the eagereſt attention; if Europeans are preſent, they like to hear accounts of their country, and expreſs a deſire to live in ſuch a land; but, they no ſooner are told that it ſometimes thunders, and that there are no ſeals to be caught, but their inclination ſubſides, and they are happy where they are. They liſten with pleaſure to God and divine things, provided no application is made to themſelves; and the validity of their ſuperſtitious fables and cuſtoms is allowed.

Their traffic is very ſimple. Money they have none, of courſe they barter with each other for what they want; and, as they are as eager for new things as children, they are forever chopping and changing, and often to their diſadvantage. They will give the moſt uſeful article, in exchange for a trifle that pleaſes their fancy; and will reject a uſeful thing in exchange for a bauble, if it does not pleaſe them. They ſeldom cheat or ſteal from one another, holding it infamous ſo to do; but they glory in over-reaching or robbing a European, eſteeming it a proof of ſuperior cleverneſs.

They keep a kind of annual fair among themſelves; where there is a meeting of the people, as at a dancing match, or at a ſun-feaſt. They always expoſe their wares to view, and ſay what they want in exchange. And, as the people in the South have no whales, and thoſe in the North have no

wood, the Greenlanders coaſt the country every ſummer, from two to four hundred leagues, with new boats and tackling, exchanging them for wood, horns of the unicorn-fiſh, teeth, whale-bone, &c. part of which they truck on their way back. In theſe voyages, they take their whole family and property with them, and perhaps ſtay ſome years before they return; for wherever the winter overtakes them, there they tarry, erect a houſe, and provide themſelves food for the winter months. The land and ſea is every where their own; and thus they have friends and acquaintance in every place.

The *language of Greenland* contains a few words that may claim kindred with the Norwegian tongue, and theſe perhaps are the relics of the old Norwegians. It has no affinity either in etymology, declenſion or ſignification, with any of the northern Tartarian or Indian languages, as far as they are known to us. But we muſt except the language of the Eskimaux in Terra Labrador, who ſeem to be one people with the Greenlanders.

With regard to their numerals, they verify the German proverb, that they can ſcarce count five; however they can make a ſhift with difficulty to mount as high as twenty, by counting the fingers of both hands and the toes of both feet. But their proper numeration-table is five, *attauſek* one, *arlæk* two, *pingajuak* three, *ſiſſamat* four, *tellimat* five.

We do not find any traditions of the moſt memorable events of their anceſtors, compriſed in heroic ſongs, though it is commonly found that theſe memorials are the vehicle of ſuch things among other barbarians, who keep no memoirs with the pen. All they can ſay in praiſe of their progenitors is, that they were brave ſeal-catchers, and that they killed the old Norwegians. But on the other hand they are ſo much the more acute in their ſatirical ſongs.

The inhabitants of Greenland are pretty well verſed in genealogy, and can often trace their pedigree as far back as ten of their progenitors, together with all the collateral branches; and this is of great ſervice to many a needy creature; for no one is aſhamed of his poor relations, and ſuch an one need but demonſtrate that he is related to ſome wealthy Greenlander, though very remotely, and he will not want for meat and drink.

Here it may be remarked, that the Greenlanders regard ingenuity and dexterity in their buſineſs, as the ſole, at leaſt the ſublimeſt virtue, and in ſome ſenſe as their nobility; and they believe that it is hereditary from father to ſon. And there is really ſomething in it; for it may pretty certainly be depended upon, that the ſon of a celebrated ſeal-catcher will diſtinguiſh

diſtinguiſh himſelf among the knights of his order, even though he loſt his father in his childhood, and could not be trained to it under his tutorage.

Of *writing*, the Greenlanders have no conception. Nay, in the beginning of their acquaintance with the Europeans, they were ſo frighted at the *ſpeaking-paper*, that they did not dare to carry a letter from one to another, or to touch a book, becauſe they believed it muſt be by magic that one man can tell the thoughts of another, by a few black ſcrawls on a white paper. They alſo ſeriouſly thought, that when the miniſter read God's commandments to them, he ſurely muſt have heard a voice firſt out of the book.

They divide the day according to the ebb and flood, though they muſt every day vary their reckoning according to the change of the moon. The night is divided according to the riſing and ſetting of certain ſtars.

They think the globe of the earth ſtands upon poſts, which are ſo rotten with age that they often crack; and that they would have ſunk long ago, if they had not been continually kept in repair by the *angekoks*, who ſometimes bring back a piece of rotten wood as a proof of their important ſervice. Their aſtronomy makes the firmament to reſt on a lofty pointed hill in the north, and it performs its revolutions on that centre.

During an eclipſe of the ſun, the women pinch the dogs by the ears; if they cry, it is a ſure ſign that the end of the world is not yet come; for as the dogs exiſted before men, therefore, according to Greenland logic, they muſt have a quicker ſenſation of future things. But ſhould they not cry (which however the poor dogs always do) then the diſſolution of all things is at hand.

When it thunders, they are of opinion, that two women are ſtretching and flapping a dried ſeal's-ſkin, and that the thunder comes from that rattle. They have unravelled the myſtery of the *Aurora-Borealis*; for we are told, it is the ſouls of the dead friſking at a dance or at a foot-ball. So alſo the rains are the over-flowings of the celeſtial reſervoirs. But ſhould the banks break, the ſky would fall down.

With regard to *religion*, before the miſſionaries came into the country, the Greenlanders were reported to be ſuch groſs idolaters as to worſhip the ſun, and ſacrifice to the devil, that he might forward, or at leaſt not hinder their hunting and fiſhing. This the ſeamen did not learn from any diſcourſe of the Greenlanders, for they underſtood nothing of what they ſaid; but they drew the concluſion from certain circumſtances. They ſaw, that as ſoon as the Greenlanders aroſe in the morning, they went out and ſtood with their faces towards the riſing of the ſun, in deep meditation, in

order to diſcover by the look of the hemiſphere, or by the motion of the clouds, whether they had good or bad weather to expect, or even a ſtorm the following day. They do ſo ſtill every morning. The ſailors not knowing the true reaſon, believed they worſhipped the ſun. Again, others ſaw on ſome forſaken places many quadrangular ſpots laid over with ſtone, and upon one elevated ſtone found ſome cinders, and near it a heap of bare bones. The concluſion was directly made, that the Greenlanders muſt have ſacrificed here; and to whom ſhould they have ſacrificed but to the devil?

But the ſeamen had never ſeen the ſummer-habitations of the Greenlanders, which are tents pitched in quadrangular places, where they dreſs their meat with wood. Thus may people err in their concluſions concerning the religion of others, if they have only ſeen ſome circumſtances without underſtanding them.

A miſſionary being once in company with ſome baptized Greenlanders, expreſſed his wonder, how they could formerly lead ſuch a ſenſeleſs life void of all reflection. Upon this, one of them anſwered as follows: "It is true we were "ignorant heathens, and knew nothing of a God or a Saviour; "and indeed who ſhould tell us of him till you came? But "thou muſt not imagine, that no Greenlander thinks about "theſe things. I myſelf have often thought. A *Kajak* with "all its tackle and implements does not grow into exiſtence "of itſelf, but muſt be made by the labour and ingenuity "man; and one that does not underſtand it, would direct "ſpoil it. Now the meaneſt bird has far more ſkill diſplay- "ed in its ſtructure than the beſt kajak, and no man can "make a bird. But there is a ſtill far greater art ſhewn *in* "the formation of a man than of any other creature. Who "was it that made him? I bethought me, he proceeded *from* "his parents, and they from their parents. But ſome *muſt* "have been the firſt parents; whence did they come? Com- "mon report informs me, they grew out of the earth. *But* "if ſo, why does it not ſtill happen, that men grow out *of* "the earth? And from whence did this ſame earth *itſelf*, "the ſea, the ſun, the moon, and ſtars ariſe into exiſtence? "Certainly there muſt be ſome Being who made all theſe "things, a Being that always was, and can never ceaſe to "be. He muſt be inexpreſſibly more mighty, knowing and "wiſe, than the wiſeſt man. He muſt be very good too, be- "cauſe every thing that he has made is good, uſeful, and ne- "ceſſary for us. Ah! did I but know him, how would I "love him and honour him! But who has ſeen him? Who "has ever converſed with him? None of us poor men. Yet "there

"there may be men too, that know ſomething of him; O "could I but ſpeak with ſuch! Therefore (ſaid he) as ſoon "as ever I heard you ſpeak of this great Being, I believed "it directly with all my heart, becauſe I had ſo long deſired "to hear it."

As the Greenlanders acquire the moſt and beſt of their ſuſtenance from the boſom of the ſea, therefore many or moſt of them place their *elyſium* in the abyſſes of the ocean, or the bowels of the earth, and think the deep cavities of the rocks are the avenues leading to it. There dwells Torngarſuk and his mother; there a joyous ſummer is perpetual, and a ſhining ſun is obſcured by no night; there is the fair limpid ſtream, and an exuberance of fowls, fiſhes, rein-deer, and their beloved ſeals, and theſe are all to be caught without toil, nay, they are even found in a great kettle boiling alive. But to theſe ſeats none muſt approach, but thoſe who have been dexterous and diligent at their work, (for this is their grand idea of virtue) who have performed great exploits, have maſtered many whales and ſeals, have undergone great hardſhips, have been drowned in the ſea, or died in child-bed.

Others, who are more charmed with the beauty of the celeſtial bodies, ſoar beyond the rainbow, to the loftieſt ſky, to ſeek their paradiſe there; and they imagine the flight thither is ſo eaſy and rapid, that the ſoul reſts the very ſame evening in the manſion of the moon, who was a Greenlander, and that there it can dance and play at ball with the reſt of the ſouls; for they interpret the northern lights to be the dance of ſportive ſouls. There the ſouls are placed in tents round a vaſt lake, where fiſh and fowl abound. When this lake overflows, it rains upon the earth, but ſhould once the dam break, there would be a general deluge.

When a Greenlander is in the agonies of death, they array him in his beſt clothes and boots, and bend his legs up to his hips, probably that his grave may be the ſhorter. As ſoon as he is dead, they throw out his things, that they may not make themſelves unclean and unfortunate. All the people in the houſe muſt alſo carry out their things till the evening, that the ſmell of the corpſe may evaporate. Then they ſilently bewail him for a ſhort hour, and after that prepare for his burial. They do not carry out the corpſe through the entry of the houſe, but lift it through the window, or, if he dies in a tent, they unfaſten one of the ſkins behind, and convey it out that way. A woman behind waves a lighted chip backward and forward, and ſays: "there is nothing "more to be had here." They like to make the grave in ſome remote high place, and make it of ſtone. They lay a little moſs upon the bare ground, (for the rock admits of no

digging) and ſpread a ſkin upon it. The corpſe being wrapped and ſewed up in the man's beſt ſeal or deer-ſkin, is brought by the neareſt relation on his back, or he even drags it after him upon the ground; he lays it in the burying-place, covers it with a ſkin, and alſo with ſome green ſods, and finally heaps great broad ſtones upon it to keep off the birds and foxes. Near the burying-ſpot they depoſit the Kajak and darts of the departed, and the tools he daily uſed, or if it was a woman, her knife and ſewing implements, that they may not be defiled by them, or may not be urged to too great ſorrow by the frequent ſight of them.

After the interment, thoſe who attend the proceſſion betake themſelves to the houſe of mourning; firſt the men ſit a while ſilent with their elbows leaning upon their knees, and their heads between their hands; but the women lie proſtrate upon their faces on the ground, and ſoftly weep and ſob. At length the father or ſon, or the neareſt relation, ſpeaks a funeral diſcourſe or elegy, in which all the good qualities of the deceaſed are recited, and at every period, his loſs is deplored by them all with loud crying and weeping.

" Woe is me, that I ſee thy wonted ſeat, but ſee it empty!
" Vain are thy mother's toils of love, to dry thy garments.
" Lo! my joy is gone into darkneſs, it is crept into the ca-
" verns of the mountains. Once, when the even came, I
" went out and was glad, I ſtretched out my eager eye, and
" waited thy return. Behold thou cameſt! Thou cameſt
" manfully rowing on, vying with young and old. Never
" didſt thou return empty from the ſea; thy *Kajak* brought
" its never-failing load of ſeals or ſea-fowl. Thy mother,
" ſhe kindled the fire and boiled, ſhe boiled what thy hand
" acquired. Thy mother, ſhe ſpread thy booty before many
" invited gueſts, and I took my portion among them. Thou
" eſpiedſt the ſhallop's ſcarlet ſtreamer from far, and joyfully
" ſhoutedſt, " Behold *Lers* * cometh!" Thou ſkippedſt over
" the ſtrand with haſte, and thy hand took hold of the gun-
" nel of the ſhallop. Then were thy ſeals produced, and
" thy mother ſeparated the blubber; for this thou receivedſt
" ſhirts of linen and iron-barbs for thy ſpears and arrows.
" But now, alas, 'tis over! When I think on thee, my
" bowels are moved within me. O could I weep like others!
" for then might I alleviate my pain. What ſhall I wiſh
" for more on earth? Death is now become the moſt de-
" ſirable thing. But then, who ſhall provide for my wife,
" and the reſt of my tender children! I will ſtill live a little;

* The Factor.

" but

" but however, my joy ſhall conſiſt in a perpetual abſtinence " from all that is eligible to man."

After ſuch a mournful ditty, the women continue their weeping and lamentation. Their howl is all in one tone, as if an inſtrument were to play a tremulous fifth downwards through all the ſemitones. Now and then they pauſe a little, and the proper female mourner drops in a few words between, but the men only ſob. At length the victuals the late hoſt left behind are laid on the floor, and eaten by the condoling gueſts. They repeat their viſits as long as any thing is left, and this may laſt a week or a fortnight. When the widow goes out to ſeek proviſion, her weeds muſt be old, ragged, and greaſy; ſhe muſt never waſh herſelf; ſhe muſt either cut off her hair or wear it diſhevelled; and when ſhe goes out of the houſe, ſhe muſt always have a particular mourning-hood on. Thus they let you know their mourning by a proper dreſs of ſorrow. But the men do not diſtinguiſh themſelves in this way, except that now and then one gives himſelf a wound as a token of his deep corroding grief. The dame of the houſe addreſſes all interim viſitors that come in, with theſe words: " Him that you ſeek, you " will find no more, alas ye come too late." And then the howling begins again. They proceed with this lamentation for half an hour every day, for ſome weeks or longer, nay ſome a whole year, according as the deceaſed was young or old, and according to his being indiſpenſably neceſſary. They alſo viſit the grave, and lie down upon it, and the women that ſtand round aſſiſt in the obſequies.

CHAP. XXIII.

LAPLAND.

Origin of the Laplanders—Diviſion and Government of the Country—Rein-deer—Pine-foreſts—Form of a Lapland Hut—Language—Religion.

IT has been generally thought, that the Laplanders are the deſcendants of Finlanders driven out of their own country, and that they take their name from *Lappes*, which ſignifies exiles. The country is divided into Daniſh, Swediſh, and Ruſſian Lapland; but, unleſs in the Swediſh part, which is ſubject to a viceroy, the Laplanders can be ſaid to be under

der no regular government. In order to form an idea of Lapland, one must imagine a mass of moun ains irregularly crouded together. They are, however, in some interstices, separated by rivers and lakes, which contain an incredible number of islands, some of which form delightful habitations; and are believed by the natives to be the terrestrial paradise: even roses and other flowers grow wild on their borders in the summer; though this is but a short gleam of temperature, for the climate in general is excessively severe. Dusky forests, and noisome, unhealthy morasses, and barren plains, cover great part of the flat country, so that nothing can be more uncomfortable than the state of the inhabitants. In the windy season they are obliged to retire into caves with their cattle, that they may not be carried away by the storm.

In the winter, which is almost one continual night, the Laplanders do all their business by the light of the moon, whose rays being reflected by the snow, compensate for the absence of the sun. They have neither horses, goats, cows, sheep, nor asses, but they have a great number of rein-deer, which serve them for different uses. They eat their flesh, and preserve it by hanging it up to dry; they use the sinews for sewing the planks of their boats together; the milk not only serves them for food, but they make good cheese of it; their skins serve them for garments, especially those of the younger sort, whose hair is very long; the skins of the old rein-deer serve to make their stockings, or rather boots. They employ their rein-deer to draw their sledges, and they will travel in beaten tracks seventy-five miles a-day *. When the animal is tired, his master looses him from the sledge, when he feeds on the white moss, which lies under the snow. This animal, the most useful perhaps of any in the creation, resembles the stag, only it somewhat droops the head, and the horns project forward. The Lapland hares grow white in the winter; and the country produces a large black cat, which attends the natives in hunting.

* The stature of the Laplanders is under the middle size, there bei[illegible] who are ab[illegible] five feet high; they have a wide [illegible] a flat face, a [illegible] chin, a large head, red gum[illegible] [illegible]d cheeks [illegible] inward. They are very idle [illegible] [illegible]ll neith[illegible] [illegible]round, nor go a hunting, unless [illegible] [illegible] though there be here no garden [illegible] [illegible], nature [illegible]ms to have taken [illegible] [illegible] some of "the [illegible] [illegible] art could [illegible]

" not invent a more agreeable diſpoſition. Beſides, the pine " foreſts are more uſeful to the Laplanders, and the inhabitants " of the weſtern Bothnia, than the faireſt orchards are to more " fertile provinces. From the bark of thoſe trees they make " bread, and this nouriſhment, bad as at firſt it may ſeem to " be, maintains their bodies in full vigour *." Their huts are built with poles, from twelve to fifteen feet high, which they fix in the ground in a circular form, about twelve feet in diameter; they meet on the top, and are covered with pieces of old cloth, and the ſkins of rein-deer. As they make their fires in the middle of their huts, they are always open at top, to let out the ſmoak.

The language of the Laplanders is of Finniſh origin, and comprehends many dialects. It is not ſo barbarous as many imagine; and ſome people have written in it. It is ſofter than that of Finland, and more regular than the Swediſh, and expreſſes things with great preciſion. For example, it has ſix or ſeven terms to ſignify the different kinds of roads, as many for the mountains, and about four and twenty to diſtinguiſh the rein-deer, according to their ſex, age, and properties. The moods of the verbs are more numerous than in any other language; and they have no fewer than thirteen different caſes for their ſubſtantive nouns.

Beſides their knowledge in the arts of life, the Laplanders have long ſince been ſaid to have a genius for poetry: and every one has read the *Orra Moor*, and the *Rein-deer* ſong in the Spectator. The author † ſays expreſsly that they are tranſlations of two ſongs, preſerved by Scheffer in his hiſtory of this country; but critics ſince have given to himſelf the credit of them, and it has been aſſerted boldly, that Scheffer only mentions the two ſongs without inſerting them. In the original addition of Scheffer, however, we find the two ſongs in the Lapland language, and that author's literal tranſlation.

The Laplanders believe that the *world had a beginning*, but their tradition adds, that God, before he produced the earth, conſulted with *Perkel*, which in their language ſignifies the evil-ſpirit, in order to determine how every thing was to be ordained; that God propoſed the trees ſhould be of marrow, the lakes filled with milk, inſtead of water, and that all herbs, flowers, and plants ſhould bear fine fruit. *Perkel*, however, oppoſed this ſcheme, ſo that God did not make things ſo good as he intended they ſhould be. They have ſome knowledge of the general deluge; and the traditions ſays, that all the earth was inhabited before God de-

* Mortray. † Mr. Addiſon.

ſtroyed

ſtroyed it. But, in conſequence of its being turned topſy-turvy, the water ruſhed out of the lakes and rivers, overſpread the face of the earth, and ſwallowed up the whole human race, except a brother and a ſiſter, whom God took under his arms, and carried to the top of a great mountain called *Paſſewara*. The danger of the inundation being paſſed, theſe two ſeparated, in order to ſearch if there was any other remainder of people upon earth; but after a journey of three years they returned, and recognized one another for brother and ſiſter. Upon this they parted again; and, having known one another after this ſecond journey, they repeated the ſame expedient; but, at the end of other three years, they met again, without knowing each other; then they lived together and procreated children, from whom are deſcended all the nations that now inhabit the earth. Their tradition concerning their own origin is ludicrous enough. "The Laplanders and Swedes," ſay they, "are deſcended "from two brothers, who were very different in point of "courage. A terrible tempeſt having ariſen one day, one of "them was ſo frighted that he crept for ſafety under a plank, "which God, through compaſſion, changed into an houſe, "and from him are the Swedes deſcended: but the other be-"ing more courageous, braved the fury of the tempeſt, with-"out ſeeking to hide himſelf, and he was the father of the "Laplanders, who to this day live without ſhelter *."

The Laplanders have a particular ſong, which they ſing after having killed a bear. They begin by thanking the vanquiſhed enemy for his having been pleaſed to do them no miſchief, and expreſs their ſatisfaction at his arrival. Then they addreſs their thanks to the Divinity who hath created beaſts for the uſe of man.

Miſſionaries, from the chriſtianized parts of Scandinavia, introduced among them the Chriſtian religion; but few of them even yet can be ſaid to be Chriſtians, though they have among them ſome religious ſeminaries, inſtituted by the king of Denmark.

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

ICELAND.

Original Inhabitants—Attachment of the Icelanders to their Country—Volcanoes—Mount Heckla—Hot ſpouting-ſprings—Maſſes of Ice—Literature—Of the Edda.

ICELAND, which derives its name from the great maſſes of ice that are ſeen near it, is four hundred miles long, and one hundred and ſixty broad. A Norwegian colony, among which there were many Swedes, ſettled here in the ninth century. Some of the inhabitants were then Chriſtians; and it is conjectured, that the people whom the Norwegians found in the iſland, originally came from England and Ireland. The inhabitants long retained their freedom; but they were at laſt obliged to ſubmit to the kings of Norway, and afterwards became ſubject, together with Norway, to the kings of Denmark. They were at firſt governed by an admiral, who was ſent there every year to make the neceſſary regulations, but that mode has now been changed for many years, and a governor appointed, who conſtantly reſides in the country.

The Icelanders are middle-ſized and well-made, though not very ſtrong; and the women are in general ill-featured. Though their poverty diſables them from imitating the hoſpitality of their anceſtors in all reſpects, yet the deſire of doing it ſtill exiſts: they cheerfully give away the little they have to ſpare, and expreſs the utmoſt joy and ſatisfaction if one is pleaſed with their gift. Their chief employment is attending to fiſhing, and the care of their cattle. They have an inexpreſſible attachment to their native country and are no where ſo happy. An Icelander rarely ſettles in Copenhagen, though ever ſo advantageous conditions ſhould be offered him *.

The

* It ſeems that Providence wiſely inſtilled into the human heart the love of that ſoil on which a man is born, and probably with a view that thoſe places, which are not favoured by nature with her choiceſt bleſſings, may not be left without inhabitants. The chief wiſh of a Swiſs is to die in his own country. When a Swiſs in the French army ſung a certain ſong to his countrymen in the laſt war, there aroſe in the breaſts of all that heard him ſuch a longing for their native countrymen, that it became abſolutely neceſſary to the French generals to give the ſtricteſt injunctions, that this ſong ſhould never be heard again in the camp. This will appear incredible to thoſe who are acquainted with no other happineſs

The Icelanders are not cheerful in converſation, but ſimple and credulous. When they meet together, their chief paſtime conſiſts in reading their hiſtory. The maſter of the houſe begins, and the reſt continue in their turns when he is tired. Some of them know theſe ſtories by heart, others have them in print, and thoſe that have not, have them in writing. They are famous for playing at cheſs; and one of their paſtimes conſiſts in reciting verſes. Their diſpoſitions are ſerious, and they are much inclined to religion. An Icelander never paſſes a river, or any other dangerous place, without previouſly taking off his hat, and imploring divine protection; and he is always thankful for the protection of God, when he has paſſed the danger in ſecurity *.

The *Icelandic Chronicles* mention many inſtances of *fiery eruptions* obſerved in different places of the country during the ſpace of eight hundred years. The mountains are almoſt entirely compoſed of lava and *tuffa*, and the plains are cruſted over with tracts of lava, which are, however, in many places covered with earth or turf. The accounts which we have of certain eruptions of fire, alſo inform us, that they have occaſionally laid waſte large tracts of land for ſeveral centuries paſt.

It ſcarcely ever happens that the mountains begin to throw out fire unexpectedly; for beſides a loud rumbling noiſe, which is heard at a conſiderable diſtance, and for ſeveral days preceding any eruption, and a roaring and cracking in the part from whence the fire is going to burſt forth, many fiery meteors are obſerved, but unattended in general with any violent concuſſion of the earth, though ſometimes earthquakes, of which the hiſtory of the country affords ſeveral inſtances, have accompanied theſe dreadful conflagrations.

It is conſidered as a ſign of an impending eruption, when ſmall lakes, rivulets, and ſtreams dry up. It does not contribute a little to haſten the eruption, when the mountain is ſo covered with ice, that the holes are ſtopped up through which the exhalations often found a free paſſage. Before a new eruption alſo, large maſſes of ice burſt with a dreadful noiſe. Flames then break forth, and lightning and balls of fire iſſue with the ſmoak, which are ſeen ſeveral miles off. With the flames proceed a number of larger and ſmaller ſtones, which are ſometimes thrown to an incredible diſtance.

neſs than that which is produced by the enjoyment of luxury, affluence, and voluptuouſneſs. It always recalls to the memory that fine paſſage in Seneca: "Ulyſſes ad Ithacæ ſuæ ſaxa ſic properat, quemadmodum Aga-"memnon ad Mycenarem nobiles muros; nemo enim patriam amat, "quia magna, ſed quia ſua."

* Dr. Van Troil.

"I have

"I have ſeen a round ſtone," ſays Dr. Troil, "near Naſeir-"holt, about a mile from Heckla, which was an ell in di-"ameter, and had been thrown there in the laſt eruption of "Heckla. Egbert Olafsen alſo relates, that at the laſt erup-"tion of Kattlegiaa, a ſtone which weighed two hundred "and ninety pounds was thrown to the diſtance of four "miles. A quantity of white pumice-ſtone is alſo thrown "up with the boiling waters; and it is believed, with great "probability, that the latter proceeds from the ſea, as a "quantity of ſalt ſufficient to load ſeveral horſes has fre-"quently been found after the mountain has diſcontinued "burning. Then follows generally brown or black pumice-"ſtone, and lava, with ſand and aſhes."

Many of the ſnowy mountains have gradually become volcanoes. Of theſe burning mountains, however, *Heckla* is the beſt known, eſpecially to foreigners. This mountain is ſituated in the ſouthern part of the iſland, about four miles from the ſea-coaſt, and is divided into three points at the top, the higheſt of which is that in the middle; and which is computed to be above five thouſand feet higher than the ſea. It has frequently ſent forth flames and a torrent of burning matter. Its eruptions were particularly dreadful in 1693, when they occaſioned terrible devaſtations, the aſhes being thrown all round the iſland to the diſtance of one hundred and eighty Engliſh miles. "We made uſe of our horſes in "aſcending the mountain," ſays the Swediſh Doctor, "but "were obliged to quit them at the firſt opening from which "the fire had burſt. A little higher up we found a great "quantity of grit and ſtones, and ſtill farther on another "opening, which though not deep, however, deſcended lower "down than that of the higheſt point. We thought we "plainly obſerved evident marks of hot boiling water in this "place. Not far from thence the mountains began to be "covered with ſnow, ſome ſmall ſpots excepted, which were "bare. We could not at firſt diſcern the cauſe of this dif-"ference, but ſoon found that it proceeded from the vapour "which aroſe from the mountain. As we aſcended higher, "theſe ſpots became larger; and about two hundred yards "from the ſummit we found a hole of about one yard and a "half in diameter, from which ſo hot a ſtream exhaled, that "it prevented us from aſcertaining the degree of heat with "the thermometer.

"The cold now began to be very intenſe, as Fahrenheit's "thermometer, which was at 54 at the foot of the mountain, "fell to 24. The wind was alſo become ſo violent, that we "were ſometimes obliged to lie down to avoid being thrown "over the moſt dreadful precipices by its fury. We were

"now

" now arrived at one of the higheſt ſummits, when our con-
" ductor, who did not take great pleaſure in the walk, endea-
" voured to perſuade us that this was the higheſt part of the
" mountain. We had juſt finiſhed our obſervations, and
" found by them that Ramſden's barometer ſtood at 24, and
" the thermometer, fixed to it, at 27, when happily the
" clouds divided, and we diſcovered a ſtill higher ſummit.
" We loſt no time in deliberation, but immediately aſcended
" it, and when at the top diſcovered a ſpace of ground, about
" eight yards in breadth, and twenty in length, entirely free
" from ſnow; the ſand was, however, quite wet, from its
" having lately melted away. Here we experienced at one
" and the ſame time, a high degree of heat and cold, for in
" the air Fahrenheit's thermometer was conſtantly at 24, and
" when we ſet it down on the ground it roſe to 153. The
" barometer was here at 22, and the thermometer at 38.
" We could not with ſafety remain here any longer, though
" we were very much inclined to it; and deſcended, after
" having conſidered the laſt opening there, one of the ſides
" of which was entirely overturned, and the other quite co-
" vered with aſhes and grit. In our return we obſerved
" three conſiderable openings, in one of which every thing
" looked as red as brick. From another the lava had flowed
" in a ſtream of about fifty yards in breadth, which the Ice-
" landers call *Stenaa*, or Stone Flood; and at ſome diſtance
" from thence the ſtream divided into three broad arms. Far-
" ther on we found a large circular opening, at the bottom
" of which we obſerved a mountain in the form of a ſugar-
" loaf, in throwing up of which the fire ſeemed to have ex-
" hauſted itſelf. The mountain does not conſiſt of lava, but
" chiefly of ſand, grit, and aſhes, which are thrown up with
" the ſtones, partly melted, and partly diſcoloured by the fire.
" We likewiſe found ſeveral ſorts of pumice, and among
" them one piece with ſome ſulphur in it. The pumice was
" ſometimes ſo much burnt, that it was as light as tow;
" their form and colour was ſometimes very fine, but at the
" ſame time ſo ſoft, that it was difficult to remove them from
" one place to another: of the common lava we found both
" large pieces and ſmall bits, as likewiſe a quantity of black
" jaſper, burned at the extremities, and reſembling trees and
" branches. Among the ſtones thrown out of the mountain
" we ſaw ſome ſlate of a ſtrong red colour *"

The laſt eruption of mount Heckla happened in 1766. It began on the 5th of April and continued to the 7th of

* Troil's Letters on Iceland.

Septem-

September following. Flames proceeded alſo from it in December 1771, and in September 1772; but no eruptions of lava.

Amongſt all the curioſities in Iceland, nothing is more worthy of attention than the hot ſpouting water-ſprings with which this iſland abounds. The hot ſprings at Aix-la-Chapelle, Carlſbad, Bath, and Switzerland, and ſeveral others found in Italy, are conſidered as very remarkable: but, excepting in the laſt mentioned country, the water no where becomes ſo hot as to boil; nor is it any where known to be thrown ſo high as the hot ſpouting water-ſprings in Iceland. All thoſe water-works that have been contrived with ſo much art, and at ſo enormous an expence, cannot by any means be compared with theſe. The water-works at St. Cloud, which are thought the greateſt amongſt all the French water-works, caſt up a thin column eighty feet into the air: while ſome ſprings in Iceland ſpout columns of water of ſeveral feet in thickneſs, to the height of many fathoms; and, as many affirm, of ſeveral hundred feet. Theſe ſprings are of unequal degrees of heat. From ſome, the water flows gently as from other ſprings, and it is then called a bath: from others, it ſpouts boiling water with a great noiſe, and it is then called a kettle. Though the degree of heat is unequal, yet Dr. Van Troil does not remember ever to have obſerved it under 188 of Fahrenheit's thermometer. At Geyſer, Rænum, and Laugarvatn he found it at 212; and in the laſt place, in the ground, at a little hot current of water, 213 degrees. It is common for ſome of the ſpouting-ſprings to ceaſe, and others to riſe up in their ſtead. Frequent earthquakes, and ſubterranean noiſes heard at that time, cauſe great terror to the people who live in the neighbourhood. In ſeveral of theſe hot ſprings, the inhabitants who live near them boil their victuals, only by hanging a pot into which the fleſh is put in cold water, in the water of the ſpring. They alſo bathe in the rivulets that run from them, which, by degrees become luke-warm, or are cooled by their being mixed with rivulets of cold water. The largeſt of all the ſpouting-ſprings in Iceland is called Geyſer. It is about two days journey from Hecla, and not far from Skalholt. In approaching towards it, a noiſe is heard, like the ruſhing of a torrent, precipitating itſelf from ſtupendous rocks. The water here ſpouts ſeveral times a day, but always by ſtarts, and after certain intervals. Some travellers have affirmed, that it ſpouts to the height of ſixty fathoms. The water is thrown up much higher at ſome times than at others: when Dr. Van Troil was there, the utmoſt height to which it mounted was computed to be ninety-two feet.

With regard to *literature*, it is ſaid that poetry formerly flouriſhed very much in Iceland, and that there is no language which allows a poet ſo much liberty as the Icelandic, nor ſo rich in poetical expreſſions. According to the Edda *, they have no leſs than one hundred and thirty-ſix different ſorts of verſifications, each of which has its particular rules. The art of writing, however, was not much in uſe till after the year 1000; though the Runic characters were known in that country before that period, and moſt probably brought thither from Norway. After the reception of the Chriſtian religion, the Latin characters were immediately adopted, as the Runic alphabet, which only conſiſts of ſixteen letters, was found inſufficient. From the introduction of Chriſtianity here till the year 1264, when Iceland became ſubject to Norway, it was one of the few countries in Europe, and the only one in the North, wherein the ſciences were cultivated and held in eſteem. But this period of time ſeems to have produced more learned men in Iceland than any other period ſince. It appears from their ancient chronicles, that they had conſiderable knowledge in morality, philoſophy, natural hiſtory, and aſtronomy. Sir Joſeph Banks preſented one hundred and ſixty-two Icelandic manuſcripts to the Britiſh Muſeum. That gentleman viſited Iceland in 1772, accompanied by Dr. Solander, Dr. Van Troil, and Dr. Lind. Dr. Van Troil, who publiſhed an account of their voyage, obſerves, that he found more knowledge among the lower claſs in Iceland than is to be met with in moſt other places; that many of them could repeat the works of ſome of their poets by heart; and that a peaſant was ſeldom to be found, who, beſides being well inſtructed in the principles of religion, was not alſo acquainted with the hiſtory of his own country; which proceeds from the frequent reading of their traditional hiſtories, that being one of their principal amuſements. A new privileged printing-office has lately been eſtabliſhed at Hrappſey in Iceland, at which ſeveral valuable books have been printed.

The commerce of this iſland is monopolized by a Daniſh company. The ſoil upon the ſea-coaſts is tolerably good for paſture: and though there is not any conſiderable town in the whole iſland, the Icelanders have ſeveral frequented ports. Their exports conſiſt of dried fiſh, ſalted mutton and

* The Edda is one of the moſt celebrated remains of antiquity, and has generally been conſidered as the mythology of the ancients. But Chevalier Ihre, who attentively examined the manuſcript of the Edda in the library of Upſala, ſays it is nothing more than an introduction to Icelandic poetry.

lamb,

lamb, beef, butter, tallow, train-oil, coarſe wollen-cloth, ſtockings, gloves, raw wool, ſheep-ſkins, lamb-ſkins, fox-furs of various colours, eider-down, and feathers. Their imports conſiſt, of timber, fiſhing-lines and hooks, tobacco, bread, horſe-ſhoes, brandy, wine, ſalt, linen, and a little ſilk; excluſive of ſome neceſſaries and ſuperfluities for the more wealthy.

It is extraordinary that no wood grows ſucceſsfully in Iceland; nay, there are very few trees to be found on the whole iſland, though there are certain proofs that wood formerly grew there in great abundance. Nor can corn be cultivated here to any advantage; though cabbages, parſley, turnips, and peas, may be met with in five or ſix gardens, which are ſaid to be all that are in the iſland.

There are immenſe maſſes of ice, by which every year great damage is done to this country, and which affect the climate of it; they arrive commonly with a N. W. or N. N. W. wind from Greenland. The field ice is of two or three fathoms thickneſs, is ſeparated by the winds, and leſs dreaded than the rock or mountain ice, which is often ſeen fifty and more feet above water, and is at leaſt nine times the ſame depth below water. Theſe prodigious maſſes of ice are freqnently left in ſhoal water, fixed, as it were, to the ground, and in that ſtate remain many years undiſſolved, chilling all the ambient part of the atmoſphere for many miles round. When many ſuch lofty and bulky maſſes of ice are floating together, the wood that is often drifted along between them is ſo much chafed, and preſſed with ſuch violence together that it takes fire; which circumſtance has occaſioned fabulous accounts of the ice being in flames. The ice cauſed ſo violent a cold in 1753 and 1754, that horſes and ſheep dropped down dead on account of it, as well as for want of food: horſes were obſerved to feed upon dead cattle, and the ſheep to eat of each other's wool. A number of bears arrive yearly with the ice, which commit great ravages, particularly among the ſheep. The Icelanders attempt to deſtroy theſe intruders as ſoon as they get ſight of them; and ſometimes they aſſemble together, and drive them back to the ice, with which they often float off again. For want of fire arms, they are obliged to make uſe of ſpears on theſe occaſions. The government encourages the natives to deſtroy theſe animals, by paying a premium of ten dollars for every bear that is killed. Their ſkins are alſo purchaſed for the king, and are not allowed to be ſold to any other perſon.

CHAP. XXV.

RUSSIA.

Extent of the Empire—Baſilowitz aſſumes the Title of Tzar—Alexis Michaelowitz—Peter the Great—Death of the Czarowitz—Depoſition and Death of Peter III.—Catherine II.—War with the Turks—Armed Neutrality—Puniſhment of an Impoſtor—Learning.

THE empire of Ruſſia is the largeſt upon the whole globe. Its boundaries are Poland and the Frozen Sea, Sweden and China. It is ſo extenſive, that when it is noon in the weſt, it is very near midnight in the eaſtern parts of this country. The hiſtory of Ruſſia is of little importance, till the reign of John Baſilowitz I. who threw off the yoke of the Tartars, and aſſumed the title of Tzar, which in the Sclavonian language ſignifies King or Emperor. To the acquiſitions of his grandfather, Baſilowitz II. added Aſtracan, and alſo Siberia, then as little known to the Ruſſians, as Mexico was to the Spaniards before the expedition of Cortez, and as eaſily conquered. This prince was ſucceeded by a race of weak deſpotic ſovereigns, in the courſe of whoſe reigns the kingdom was torn in pieces by civil wars, and became the prey of the Poles and Swedes. At length Michael Theodorowitz, related by females to the Tzar, A. D. 1618. John Baſilowitz, was raiſed to the throne; and this prince having concluded a peace with Sweden and Poland, reſtored tranquillity to Ruſſia, and tranſmitted the crown to his deſcendants*.

His ſon, Alexis Michaelowitz, publiſhed the firſt code of Ruſſian Laws. He likewiſe introduced both the linen and ſilk manufactures, which were not indeed of any long continuance; yet he had the merit of their firſt erection. He died ſuddenly at the age of forty-ſix, after ſhewing himſelf worthy of being father to Peter the Great. Alexis left behind him three ſons and a daughter, who was a woman of great intrigue and ſpirit. Theodore the eldeſt, a prince of a weak and ſickly conſtitution, aſcended the throne at the age of fifteen. On his death, his two brothers, John and Peter, were proclaimed joint ſovereigns, aſſociating their ſiſter Sophia in the government, as co-regent. When John died, Peter reigned ſole ſovereign, under the tittle of Peter I. or

* Puffendorf.

Peter

Peter the Great, Sophia having been before confined to a monaſtery.

Peter was one of the moſt extraordinary men that ever appeared on the ſtage of human life. He had already rendered himſelf formidable by the defeat of the Turks, and the taking of Aſoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquiſition led to more extenſive views. He reſolved to make Ruſſia the centre of trade between Europe and Aſia; he projected a junction of the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Tanais by means of canals; and thus to open a paſſage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and from theſe ſeas to the Northern Ocean. The port of Archangel frozen up for almoſt nine months in the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous paſſage, he did not think ſufficiently commodious; he therefore reſolved to build a city upon the Baltic Sea, which ſhould become the magazine of the North, and the capital of his extenſive empire.

Several princes, before this illuſtrious Barbarian, diſguſted with the purſuits of ambition, or tired with ſuſtaining the load of public affairs, had renounced their crowns, and taken refuge in the ſhade of indolence, or of philoſophical retirement; but hiſtory affords no example of any ſovereign, who diveſted himſelf of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better: that was a ſtretch of magnanimity reſerved for Peter the Great. Though almoſt deſtitute himſelf of education, he diſcovered, by the natural force of his genius, and a few converſations with ſtrangers, his own rude ſtate and the ſavage condition of his ſubjects. He reſolved to become worthy of the character of a man, to ſee men, and to have men to govern. Animated by the noble ambition of acquiring inſtruction, and of carrying back to his people the improvements of other nations, A. D. 1697. he accordingly quitted his dominions, as a private gentleman in the retinue of three ambaſſadors, whom he ſent to different courts of Europe. As ſoon as Peter arrived at Amſterdam, which was the firſt place that particularly attracted his notice, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of commerce and the mechanical arts; and, in order more completely to acquire the art of ſhip-building, he entered himſelf as a carpenter in one of the principal dock-yards, and laboured and lived, in all reſpects, as the common journeymen. At his leiſure hours he ſtudied natural philoſophy, navigation, fortification, ſurgery, and ſuch other ſciences as may be neceſſary to the ſovereign of a barbarous people. From Holland he paſſed over to England, where he perfected himſelf in the art of ſhip-building. King William, in order to gain

his favour, entertained him with a naval review, made him a preſent of an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his ſervice a number of ingenious artificers. Thus inſtructed, and attended by ſeveral men of ſcience, Peter returned to Ruſſia, after an abſence of near two years, with all the uſeful, and many of the ornamental arts in his train *.

He roſe gradually through every rank and ſervice both by ſea and land; and the many defeats which he received, eſpecially that from Charles XII. at Narva, ſeemed only to enlarge his ambition, and extend his ideas. The battles he loſt rendered him a conqueror upon the whole, by adding experience to his courage; and the generous friendſhip he ſhewed to Auguſtus, king of Poland, both before and after he was dethroned by the king of Sweden, redounds greatly to his honour. He had no regard for rank diſtinct from merit; and, in 1711, he married Catherine, a young Lithuanian woman who had been bethrothed to a Swediſh dragoon at Marienburgh. General Bauer, taking that place in 1701 was ſmitten with her, and took her to his houſe. She was ſoon removed into the family of the prince Menzikoff, with whom ſhe lived till 1704, when in the ſeventeenth year of her age ſhe became the miſtreſs of Peter, and then his wife, becauſe, after a long cohabitation, he found her poſſeſſed of a ſoul formed to execute his plans, and to aſſiſt his councils. Catherine was ſo much a ſtranger to her own country, that her huſband afterwards diſcovered her brother, who ſerved as a common ſoldier in his armies.

Peter the Great was unfortunate in his eldeſt ſon, who was called the Czarowitz, and who marrying without his conſent, entered, as his father alledged, into ſome dangerous practices againſt his perſon and government; for which he was tried and condemned to death. Under a ſovereign ſo deſpotic as Peter was, we can ſay nothing as to the juſtice of the charge. He publicly treated him with inhuman ferocity, and it was undoubtedly his will, that the young prince ſhould be found guilty. It is ſaid, that as ſoon as the ſentence of death was pronounced upon the prince, he fell into the moſt violent convulſions, from which it was with the greateſt difficulty that he regained a little interval of ſenſe, during which he deſired his father would come to ſee him, when he aſked his pardon, and ſoon after died. But the moſt probable opinion is that he was ſecretly executed in priſon, and that marſhal Weyde was the perſon who beheaded him *. After this event, Peter ordered his wife Catherine to be crowned, with the ſame magnificent ceremonies as if ſhe had been a

* Voltaire. Univerſal Hiſtory.

Greek

Greek Empreſs, and this was the principal cauſe of her ſubſequent elevation.- For juſt before his death he diſcovered a ſecret connection between her and her firſt chamberlain Mons. He ſurpriſed them together in an arbour of the garden, when ſtriking her with his cane, as well as the page, who would have prevented him from entering the arbour, he retired without uttering a ſingle word. But preſently Mons was taken up, and being threatened with the torture, confeſſed, and was beheaded. The day after the execution Peter conveyed Catherine in an open carriage under the gallows to which the head of Mons was nailed. It is ſaid that the empreſs without changing colour at this dreadful ſight, exclaimed, "What a pity! that there is ſo much corruption "among courtiers!" This event was ſoon followed by Peter's death, who probably had deſtined his eldeſt daughter Anne to be his ſucceſſor, but the ſuddenneſs of his death prevented it; and ſome of the nobles and officers being gained by money, jewels, and promiſes, and the two regiments of guards by a largeſs, Catherine mounted the throne. She was in her perſon under the middle ſize, and her abilities have been greatly exaggerated. She could neither read nor write. Her daughter Elizabeth uſually ſigned her name for her. During her ſhort reign, of two years, which may rather be conſidered as the reign of Menzikoff, her life was very irregular. An intemperate uſe of tokay wine, joined to a cancer and dropſy, haſtened her end. She was ſucceeded by Peter II. a minor ſon of the Czarowitz, who fell a victim to the ſmall pox, after having reigned only two years. Many domeſtic revolutions happened in Ruſſia during this ſhort period; but none was more remarkable than the diſgrace and exile of prince Menzikoff, the favourite general in the two late reigns, and eſteemed the richeſt ſubject in Europe. A. D. 1724.

The male iſſue of Peter the Great being now extinct, the Ruſſians raiſed Anne, ducheſs of Courland, ſecond daughter of John, Peter's eldeſt brother, to the throne. Her reign was glorious and happy. As ſhe died without iſſue, John, the ſon of her niece Catherine Princeſs of Mecklenburgh, by Anthony Ulric, Duke of Brunſwick Woolfenbuttle, was inveſted with the imperial enſigns at the age of two years. He was ſoon after depoſed, ſent into Siberia, and murdered. A. D. 1730.

Elizabeth, ſecond daughter of Peter the Great, was, on this revolution, raiſed to the throne. The reign of this empreſs was uncommonly glorious. She aboliſhed all capital puniſhments, and introduced a ſpirit of lenity in the opera-

tions of government, before unknown in Ruſſia. Her fleet and armies were every where victorious.

She was ſucceeded in the auguſt throne, by
A. D. 1762. her nephew the Duke of Holſtein under the name of Peter III. This prince began his reign with regulating, on the moſt generous principles his interior government. He freed the nobility and gentry from all ſlavith vaſſalage, and put them on a footing with thoſe of the ſame rank in other European countries. He recalled many unhappy exiles from Siberia: and leſſened the taxes upon certain neceſſaries of life, to the great relief of the poor. Theſe firſt meaſures ſeemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but, being of a raſh and irregular turn of mind he in many inſtances ſhocked their prejudices, even while he conſulted their intereſts. He diſguſted both the army and the church, the two chief pillars of abſolute ſway; the former by the manifeſt preference which he gave to his Holſtein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter by his contempt of the Greek communion, having been bred a Lutheran, and by certain innovations in regard to images, but more eſpecially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of the clergy, and an order that they ſhould no longer be "diſtinguiſhed by beards *." Theſe were high cauſes of diſcontent, and threatened the throne with all the violence of civil war. But Peter's misfortunes immediately aroſe from a matrimonial feud—from the boſom of his own family. He had long ſlighted his conſort, Catherine, of the houſe of Anhaltzerbſt, a woman of a maſculine diſpoſition and ſound underſtanding, by whoſe counſels he might have profited, and now openly lived with the Counteſs of Worowzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he ſeemed devoted with ſo ſtrong a paſſion, that it was generally believed he had ſome thoughts of ſhutting the empreſs up in a convent, and of raiſing the counteſs to the partnerſhip of his throne. The diſſatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking the advantage of that domeſtic diſſention, aſſembled in the abſence of the Czar, depoſed him formally, and inveſted Catherine with the imperial enſigns.

The new empreſs marched at the head of the malcontents in queſt of her huſband. Peter was ſolacing himſelf with his miſtreſs at one of his houſes of pleaſure, and expreſſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe at being told *the ſceptre* was departed from him. When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to eſcape to

* Ruſſell's Modern Europe.

Holſtein

Holſtein, but was ſeized and thrown into priſon; where he expired a few days after, of what was called an hæmorhoidal colic, to which he was ſaid to have been ſubject *. His death, by reaſon of the ſteps that had preceded it, occaſioned no ſpeculation. It was, indeed, an event univerſally expected. Princes dethroned by their ſubjects are ſeldom allowed to languiſh long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealouſy of the ſucceſſor, or the fears of ſome principal conſpirator, commonly make few their moments of trouble.

Catherine II. began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herſelf, ſhe wiſely diſmiſſed all foreigners from her ſervice and confidence. She ſent away the Holſtein guards, and choſe Ruſſians in their ſtead. She reſtored to the clergy their revenues; and, what was of no leſs importance, the privilege of wearing beards! She conferred all the great offices of ſtate on native Ruſſians, and threw herſelf wholly on the affections of that people to whom ſhe owed her elevation.

The death of prince Iwan, ſon to the princeſs of Mecklenburg, is the moſt remarkable domeſtic occurrence in Catherine's reign. This young prince, as ſoon as he came into the world was deſigned, though illegally, to wear the imperial crown of Ruſſia, after the death of his great aunt, the empreſs Anna Iwanona; but by the advancement of the empreſs Elizabeth, he was condemned to lead an obſcure life in the caſtle of Schluſſelburg, under a ſtrong guard, who had particular orders, that if any perſon, or any armed force, was employed in attempting to deliver him, they ſhould kill him immediately. He lived quietly in his priſon when the empreſs, Catherine II. mounted the throne; and as the revolution which depoſed her huſband Peter III. had occaſioned a ſtrong ferment in the minds of the people, Catherine was apprehenſive that ſome attempts might be made in favour of Iwan. She therefore doubled the guards of this unhappy prince, and particularly entruſted him to the care of two officers, who were devoted to her intereſt. However, a lieutenant of infantry, who was born in the Ukraine, undertook, or at leaſt pretended, to deliver Iwan by force of arms from the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg; and under this pretence, the prince was put to death, after an imprisonment of twenty three years. The lieute- A. D. 1764.
nant who attempted to deliver him was arreſted, and afterwards beheaded, and his body burnt with the ſcaffold.

* Manifeſto of the Empreſs Catherine II.

While

While this event excited the attention of the Ruſſian nation, the flames of civil war broke out with great violence in Poland, which has generally been the caſe when the throne was vacant. And as the internal tranquillity of Poland is a capital object with Ruſſia, the empreſs Catherine ſent a body of troops into Poland, and by her influence count Poniatowſki was raiſed to the throne. She alſo interpoſed in order to ſecure the rights which the treaty of Oliva had given to the Greek and Proteſtant ſubjects of Poland. But the umbrage which her Imperial majeſty's armies gave to the Roman Catholic Poles, by their reſidence in Poland, increaſed the rage of civil war in that country, and produced confederacies againſt all that had been done during the election; which rendered Poland a ſcene of blood and confuſion. The conduct of Ruſſia, with regard to Poland, gave ſo much offence to the Ottoman court, that the Grand Signior ſent Obreſtoff, the Ruſſian miniſter, to the priſon of the *Seven Towers*, declared war againſt Ruſſia, and marched a very numerous army to the confines of Ruſſia and Poland. Hoſtilities ſoon commenced between theſe rival and mighty empires. The enemy, having broken the Ruſſian lines of com-
A. D. 1769. munication, penetrated into the province of *New Servia*, committed great ravages, burnt many towns and villages, and carried off ſome thouſand families captive. Soon after, the grand vizir, at the head of a great army, began his march from Conſtantinople, and proceeded towards the Danube. In the mean time, prince Galitzin, who commanded the Ruſſian army on the banks of the Neiſter, thought this a proper time to attempt ſomething deciſive, before the arrival of the great Turkiſh force in that quarter. He advanced to Choczim, where he encamped in ſight of a body of 30,000 Turks, commanded by Caraman Pacha, and entrenched under the cannon of the town. The prince attacked the Turks in their intrenchments early in the morning of the 30th of April, and notwithſtanding an obſtinate defence, and a dreadful fire from the fortreſs, at length beat them out of their trenches, followed them into the ſuburbs of Choczim, and their purſuit was only ſtopped by the paliſadoes of the fortreſs. Soon after, the town was ſet on fire by red hot balls, and a great number of Jews and Chriſtians took refuge in the Ruſſian camp. From the ſucceſſes of the Ruſſians, it might have been expected that Choczim would have immediately fallen; but prince Galitzin thought proper to retire, and to repaſs the Neiſter, not having ſufficient artillery along with him. Indeed, it appears that the

Turkiſh cavalry had over-run the neighbouring country, burnt ſome ſmall towns, and deſtroyed ſome Ruſſian magazines.

On the 13th of July, a very obſtinate battle was fought, in which the Turks were defeated; the Ruſſians immediately inveſted Choczim, but the garriſon, being numerous, made frequent ſallies, and received great reinforcements from the grand vizir's camp, who was now conſiderably advanced on this ſide of the Danube. Several actions enſued, and prince Galitzin was again obliged to retreat and repaſs the Neiſter. It was computed that the ſeige of Choczim, and the actions conſequent upon it, coſt the Ruſſians above twenty thouſand men. In the management of this war, the grand vizir acted with a degree of prudence, which it has been thought would have proved fatal to the deſigns of the Ruſſians, if the ſame conduct had been afterwards purſued. But the army of the vizir was extremely licentious, and his caution gave offence to the Janizaries. So that in conſequence of their clamours, and the weakneſs of their councils that prevailed in the ſeraglio, he at length became a ſacrifice, and Moldavani Ali Pacha, a man of more courage than conduct, was appointed his ſucceſſor.

The war between the Ruſſians and Turks continued to be carried on by land as well as by ſea, to the advantage of the former, upon the whole; but at length ſome attempts were made to negotiate a peace between theſe great contending powers. Hoſtilities were repeatedly ſuſpended, and afterwards renewed; but a peace was at length concluded highly honourable and beneficial to the Ruſſians, by which they obtained the liberty of a free navigation over the Black Sea, and a free trade with all parts of the Ottoman empire. A. D. 1774.

Before the concluſion of the war with the Turks, a rebellion broke out in Ruſſia, which gave much alarm to the court of Peterſburg. A coſſac, whoſe name was Pugatſcheff, aſſumed the name and character of the late unfortunate emperor Peter the Third. He appeared in the province of Kaſan, and pretended, that he made his eſcape, through an extraordinary interpoſition of Providence, from the murderers who were employed to aſſaſſinate him, and that the report of his death was only a fiction invented by the court. His perſon is ſaid to have had a ſtriking reſemblance to that of the late emperor, a circumſtance which firſt induced him to engage in this enterprize. As he poſſeſſed abilities and addreſs, his followers ſoon became very numerous; and he at length found himſelf ſo powerful, that he ſtood ſeveral engagements with the able Ruſſian generals, at the head of large

large bodies of troops, and committed great ravages in the country. But being totally defeated, and then betrayed by two of his confidents, he was brought to Moſcow in an iron cage, where he was beheaded and quartered.

Her Imperial majeſty has effected many beneficial and important regulations to the interior police of her empire, and particularly in the courts of juſtice. One of the moſt remarkable tranſactions of her reign, is her eſtabliſhment of an armed neutrality, for the protection of the commerce of nations not at war, from any attacks or inſults from belligerent powers. By the code, which her Imperial majeſty has endeavoured to enforce, neutral ſhips are to enjoy a free navigation, from port to port, and on the coaſts of belligerent powers; and all effects belonging to the ſubjects of ſuch powers are looked upon as free, on board ſuch neutral ſhips, except the goods ſtipulated contraband in her treaty of commerce with Great Britain. Her Imperial majeſty invited the powers
A D. 1780. at war to accede to this armed neutrality. Thoſe who engaged were to make a common cauſe at ſea againſt any of the powers who ſhould violate, with reſpect to neutral nations, theſe principles of maritime law. The armed neutrality was acceded to, the ſame year, by the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and by the States-General.

The extreme deſpotiſm of the Ruſſian government is a great impediment to the progreſs of the *arts* and *ſciences*, and to the real proſperity of the empire. The progreſs, however, which learning has made in that empire ſince the beginning of this century, with the ſpecimens of literature publiſhed at Peterſburg and Moſcow, is an evidence that the Ruſſians are not unqualified to ſhine in the arts and ſciences. Many of the Greek and Latin claſſics have been tranſlated by the natives into the Ruſſian language; and the papers exhibited by them, at their academical meetings, have been favourably received all over Europe; eſpecially thoſe that relate to aſtronomy, the mathematics, and natural philoſophy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

POLAND.

Its early Hiſtory—Sobieſki--Auguſtus and Staniſlaus—Charles XII. and Count Piper—Partition of Poland—New Conſtitution—Copernicus.

POLAND, anciently called Sarmatia, is bounded on the north by the Baltic, and the province of Livonia; on the eaſt by Ruſſia and Tartary; on the ſouth by Hungary; and on the weſt by Germany. This extenſive tract of land, being abdicated by its original inhabitants, who, on the fall of the Roman empire, joined the plunderers of the north, and migrated in hopes of obtaining a more fertile and cultivated country, fell into the hands of a vagrant people, who under Lech had left the dreary coaſts of the Cimmerian Boſphorus. His deſcendants kept poſſeſſion for two centuries under the title of dukes. On the extinction of the family of Lech, Poland was governed by twelve Palatines, who divided the kingdom into the ſame number of provinces, erected a kind of ariſtocracy, and in a great meaſure poliſhed this rude and barbarous people. Parties and diſſentions ſoon after ariſing, their former government, under a duke or prince, was re-eſtabliſhed, and the ſupreme command given to *Cracus*, who expelled the Eaſt Franks out of his country, built the city of Cracow, and reſtored the republic to its tranquillity *. A. D. 550.

After his poſterity, who enjoyed the *ducal* crown, till the commencement of the ninth century, failed, anarchy and confuſion for ſome time ſucceeded. At length the Poles, to put a period to the horrors of a civil war, inveſted Piaſt, at that time a low peaſant, with ſupreme power. He governed with ſingular ſucceſs, and his family flouriſhed ſeveral ages after in Poland. It is remarkable, that all the natives of the country, who are choſen kings, are to this day called *Piaſts*. Boleſlaus Crobray, the fifth in ſucceſſion from Piaſt, having made great additions by conqueſt, ſolicited the emperor, Otho III. to erect his ducal dominions into a kingdom, for which he did the emperor homage, and agreed to hold his territories of him as a fief of the empire †. From this time the ſovereigns of Poland, who before had been ſatisfied with the title of duke, aſſumed the more A. D. 1000.

* Univerſal Hiſtory. † Ruſſell's Modern Europe.

honourable appellation of king. Little is recorded of the immediate ſucceſſors of Boleſlaus, except the civil wars and inteſtine commotions, which were very frequent. With Caſimir III. the dynaſty of the Piaſts ended after it had continued five hundred and twenty-eight years. Lewis, at that time king of Hungary, ſucceeded to the throne of Poland. On his demiſe, his younger daughter Hedwigis, was crowned queen. She married Jegallo Uladiſlaus, duke of Lithuania, who was elected king, and annexed his paternal dominions to the Poliſh monarchy. This prince was the founder of the third race of ſovereigns, called the Jagellonic line, which, though the crown is elective, ſat on the throne till the year 1572, under whoſe adminiſtration Poland, which had been till then a ſcene of anarchy, began to be of ſome conſideration in the north.

On the death of Sigiſmund, the laſt of the Jagello family, without iſſue, two powerful competitors appeared; Henry duke of Anjou, brother to Charles IX. king of France; and Maximilian, duke of Auſtria. Henry prevailed; but his brother dying the next year, he quitted Poland to aſcend the throne of France. He was ſucceeded, at the requeſt of the Turks, by Stephen Battori, prince of Tranſylvania. This monarch governed with great reaſon. He inſtituted the two courts of judicature at Peterkau and Lublin, and ſubdued the Coſſacks. He was ſucceeded by Sigiſmund III. the ſon of John, king of Sweden, and aſpiring to the crown of Ruſſia alſo, was engaged in long and bloody wars, but was at length obliged to reſt ſatisfied with the throne of Poland. His ſon Uladiſlaus, ſaw the beginning of the fatal defection of the Coſſacks. Theſe people inhabit the borders of the Boriſthenes, or Nieper, one of the largeſt rivers in Europe. They are rude and uncivilized, like the ancient Scythians and Tartars. All this part of the world, to the north-eaſt of Europe, was then in a ſavage ſtate. It was the exact image of the heroic ages, when mankind were contented with the neceſſaries of life, and pillaged thoſe neceſſaries from their neighbours. The Poliſh nobility treated theſe Coſſacks after they had been conquered by Battori, as their vaſſals and ſlaves. Theſe oppreſſions at length cauſed the whole Coſſack nation to revolt, and joining the Ruſſians and Turks, for a long time they continued to commit horrid depredations on the territories of Poland. Uladiſlaus died without iſſue. He had two brothers, both in holy orders; the one a cardinal, the other biſhop of Breſlaw and Kiow, who pretended to the vacant throne. John Caſimir, the cardinal, was elected in oppoſition to his brother. This prince having been ſpectator for upwards ty years to the

the deſolation of his kingdom, by factions at home and by incurſions of the Swedes, Ruſſians, and Coſſacks, abdicated the government, and retired to Paris, where he died Abbot of St. Germain des Pres. Poland was equally miſerable under his ſucceſſor Michael Coribat, whoſe reign was one continued ſeries of misfortunes. The Turks conquered Podolio, and Volhinia, and became ſo formidable that Poland could not ſupport itſelf, but by becoming tributary to the Ottoman Porte. The grand marechal or general of the crown, John Sobieſki, waſhed out this ſtain in the famous and bloody battle of Choczim, in which the Turks were totally defeated, and Poland delivered from its tribute. This ſignal victory ſecured Sobieſki's election to the crown on Michael's death. This martial prince entered into an alliance with the emperor of Germany, for the common defence of the Chriſtian cauſe againſt the Turks. He defeated them with great ſlaughter, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of Vienna, with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind them their tents, artillery, and baggage. The reign of Sobieſki was glorious.

Frederic Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, was next choſen king, in oppoſition to his competitor, the prince of Conti. The ſtate was now diſtracted by the moſt violent convulſions. Auguſtus having entered into alliance with Peter I. of Ruſſia, againſt Charles XII. king of Sweden, the Swediſh monarch reſolved to dethrone him. After having experienced the greateſt reverſes of fortune, Auguſtus was compelled to reſign the crown. All the members of the diet at Warſaw, with one voice, pronounced the throne to be vacant. It was the intention of the king of Swden, and the wiſh of the diet, to raiſe to the throne James Sobieſki, eldeſt ſon of the late king; but that prince being taken priſoner, together with his ſecond brother, Conſtantine, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Breſlaw in Sileſia, by a party of the Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who rejected it with a generoſity perhaps unexampled in hiſtory. Nothing, he ſaid, ſhould ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortune of his elder brothers; and he entreated Charles to employ his victorious arms, in reſtoring liberty to the unhappy captives *. This refuſal, and the misfortune which led to it, having diſconcerted the meaſures of the Swediſh monarch, his miniſter count Piper, who was as great a politician as his maſter was a warrior, adviſed Charles to take the crown of Poland to himſelf. He repreſented how eaſy it would be to accompliſh ſuch a A. D. 1704.

* Parthenay.

ſcheme,

ſcheme, with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was alrgady ſubdued. Charles acquieſced in the prudent propoſal for a moment; but blinded by the illuſions of romantic glory, he afterwards told his miniſter, that he had more pleaſure in giving away, than in conquering kingdoms! He accordingly recommended to the choice of the Poliſh diet, aſſembled at Warſaw, Staniſlaus Leczenſki, Palatine of Poſnania, who was immediately raiſed to the throne *. Peter Czar of Ruſſia, chaſtiſed the arrogance of Charles; and, after the famous battle of Pultowa, in which the king of Sweden loſt in one day the fruits of nine years ſucceſsful war, invited the elector of Saxony to reaſcend the throne. Staniſlaus was thus forced to relinquiſh his authority, and Auguſtus found himſelf once more in poſſeſſion of the Poliſh throne. Auguſtus was endowed with extraordinary bodily ſtrength, a ſound underſtanding, a ſocial diſpoſition, and many princely accompliſhments. It was this Auguſtus, who in a fit of gallantry twiſted a horſe-ſhoe in the preſence of a *fine woman*, in order to give her ſome idea of his perſonal powers; and at the ſame time preſented to her a purſe of gold, to make her ſenſible of his generoſity. Love perhaps never ſpoke a more eloquent language?

A. D. 1733.

On this prince's death, Staniſlaus, now become father-in-law to Lewis XV. was a ſecond time choſen king. But the emperor, aſſiſted by the Ruſſians, obliged the Poles to proceed to a new election. The elector of Saxony, ſon of the late king of Poland, who had married the emperor's niece, was inveſted with the ſovereignty, under the name of Auguſtus III. and Staniſlaus, as formerly, was obliged to abandon his crown. After the death of Auguſtus, a diet was ſummoned to deliberate on the election of a new king, when count Poniatowſki, by the influence of Ruſſia, aſcended the throne, under the title of Staniſlaus Auguſtus. He is a man of abilities and addreſs, but, from various concurring cauſes, he has had the unhappineſs to ſee Poland, during his reign, a ſcene of deſolation and calamity. A war enſued between the Ruſſians and the Turks, on account of this country. But the conduct of the Grand Signior and of the Ottoman Porte towards the diſtreſſed Poles, was ſtrictly juſt and honourable, and the very reverſe of that of their Chriſtian neighbours. The empreſs of Ruſſia, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Pruſſia, gave the king of Poland the ſtrongeſt aſſurances "that their friendſhip for him and the republic was firm and

A. D. 1763.

* Voltaire.

" unalterable

" unalterable; that they had not the leaſt intention of ſeizing " any part of his dominions, nor would ever ſuffer any other " power to do it." From which, according to the political creed of princes we may infer, that to guarantee the rights, liberties, and revenues of a ſtate, means to annihilate thoſe liberties, ſeize upon thoſe rights, and appropriate thoſe revenues to their own uſe. Such is the faith of princes, the inſtability of human politics, and human affairs!

For it ſoon after appeared, that the king of Pruſſia, the emperor and empreſs-queen, and the empreſs of Ruſſia, had entered into an alliance to divide and diſmember the kingdom of Poland; though Pruſſia was formerly in a ſtate of vaſſalage to Poland, and the title of king of Pruſſia was never acknowledged by the Poles till 1746. Ruſſia alſo in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, ſaw its capital and throne poſſeſſed by the Poles; while Auſtria in 1683, was indebted to a king of Poland for the preſervation of its metropolis, and almoſt for its very exiſtence. The three allied powers, acting in concert, ſet up their formal pretenſions to the reſpective diſtricts, which they had allotted for and guaranteed to each other. This *violent* and *unwarrantable* partition of Poland, has juſtly been conſidered as the firſt great breach in the modern political ſyſtem of Europe. The ſurpriſe of a town, the invaſion of an inſignificant province, or the election of a prince, who had neither abilities to be feared, nor virtue to be loved, would ſome years ago have armed one half of Europe, and called forth all the attention of the other. But the deſtruction of a great kingdom, with the conſequent diſarrangement of power, dominion, and commerce, has been beheld by the other nations of Europe, with the moſt aſtoniſhing indifference and unconcern. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonſtrated againſt the uſurpations, but that was all. Poland was forced to ſubmit, and the partition was ratified by their diets held under the bribes and threats of the three powers. This is a very alarming circumſtance, and ſhows that a moſt important, though not happy change, has taken place in that general ſyſtem of policy, and arrangement of power and dominion, which had been for ſome ages an object of unremitting attention with moſt of the ſtates of Europe. Our anceſtors might, perhaps, on ſome occaſions, diſcover rather more anxiety about preſerving the balance of power in Europe than was neceſſary; but, it has been well remarked, that the idea of conſidering Europe as a vaſt commonwealth, of the ſeveral parts being diſtinct and ſeparate, though politically and commercially united, of keeping them independent, though unequal in power, and of preventing any one, by any means, from becoming too

powerful for the reſt, was great and liberal, and, though the reſult of barbariſm was founded upon the moſt enlarged principles of the wiſeſt policy. It appears to be owing to this ſyſtem, that this ſmall part of the weſtern world has acquired ſo aſtoniſhing a ſuperiority over the reſt of the globe. The fortune and glory of Greece proceeded from a ſimilar ſyſtem of policy, though formed upon a ſmaller ſcale. Both her fortune and glory expired with that ſyſtem.

Some time before this partition, an attempt was made by Kozinſki, an officer among the Poliſh confederates, and ſeveral others, to aſſaſſinate the king of Poland, in the ſtreets of Warſaw. His majeſty received two wounds on his head, one from a ball, and the other from a ſabre; notwithſtanding which he had the good fortune to eſcape with life, by Kozinſki's relenting, for which his own life was ſaved, and he now reſides in the papal territories, with an annual penſion from the king. Pulaſki, another of the conſpirators diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the American ſervice, and was killed in attacking the Britiſh lines at Savannah, in 1779.

In the preſent age, the principles of liberty
May 3, 1791. have been ſo generally received and embraced, that a moſt important revolution took place at Warſaw. A numerous aſſembly of patriots was held in the royal preſence; and at the opening of the ſeſſion of the diet, deſtined to treat of the affairs of the finance, his majeſty himſelf changed the buſineſs of the day by ſaying, that he had planned a conſtitution, and requeſted the ſtates to ſign it. The articles of it were then read, which conſiſted of ſome pages. His majeſty declared that the conſtitution had been framed out of the Engliſh and American forms of government. When the conſtitution was read, the tumult in the diet was very great, ſome for, and others againſt it. However, it was at laſt carried, and the king was requeſted to ſwear to it, which he did in the hands of the biſhop of Cracow, and was followed by moſt of the members. His majeſty then ſaid aloud, "Thoſe who are friends to their country, follow me, "and confirm the oath at the altar." All the biſhops, all the ſenators, and moſt of the members followed the king, and took this important oath. A hundred cannon announced to the public the ſwearing to the new conſtitution.—The oath is as follows, "We ſwear before God and the country, to "maintain and defend, with all poſſible human power, the "preſent conſtitution." The army throughout the kingdom were ordered to take this oath, within one month from the date of the preſent law. And that future ages may know and feel that it is by the aſſiſtance of the Supreme Diſpoſer of nations, that the greateſt obſtacles and difficulties have been

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ſurmounted, and this happy revolution effected, it was decreed, that a church ſhall be erected and conſecrated to Divine Providence, in memory of this event, and at the expence of the ſtates.

It is melancholy, however, to reflect upon what a tottering balance, upon what trivial cauſes, the proſperity and happineſs of nations is frequently found to depend. The eſtabliſhment of a free, and apparently, well-poiſed conſtitution in Poland, was of ſhort duration. The increaſe of power, which the great monarchs of Europe have lately acquired, is truly alarming. In the caſe of Ruſſia, that increaſe has been gradual, but it is the effect of ſyſtem, and of a ſyſtem which, if purſued through the courſe of another protracted reign, muſt inevitably be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the independence and liberties of Europe and of mankind. To Great Britain herſelf, though the danger may appear remote, from the remoteneſs of the ſource, perhaps no more is reſerved than the melancholy privilege of being the laſt devoured. The ſpirit of humanity indignantly riſes at ſuch unprovoked and unprincipled attacks upon the independence and the freedom of a nation. In the ſubjugation and diſmemberment of Poland, the ſpirit of three European powers is ſufficiently manifeſted; and that man who does not feel himſelf actuated by the ſtrongeſt reſentment at ſuch violations of every thing that is laudable and right, muſt neceſſarily be deficient either in ſenſe or in honeſty. Againſt a combination ſo hoſtile to the felicity of mankind, nothing will act as a counterpoiſe, but a firm union among the weaker ſtates; ſuch a meaſure, whatever be their form of government, or their political principles, it will be their undoubted intereſt to adopt. The alarm which has been raiſed againſt the extenſion and adoption of democratic principles, and the ill conduct of the French, which no good member of ſociety would endeavour to extenuate, have cauſed a conſiderable portion of the people of Europe to loſe ſight of the real danger that beſets them; but it is to be hoped that common ſenſe and reflection will ſoon return, and that in fighting for a ſhadow, the nations of Europe will not expoſe themſelves to the imminent danger of loſing the ſubſtance *.

The ready concurrence of the king of Poland in a meaſure adapted to promote the welfare of his people, and the animated ſupport which he gave to the new conſtitution, evinced the goodneſs of his heart, and the liberality of his principles; but here the eulogium muſt end. On his Poliſh majeſty, the praiſe of political ſagacity, of foreſight, of activity, or even of

* New Annual Regiſter for 1792.

courage, cannot be beſtowed. Lulled into a fatal ſecurity by the inſidious profeſſions of a court, noted for its perfidy, as well as for its verſatile and ſelfiſh politics,—a court which appeared to promote the revolution, while it meditated ſecretly the diſmemberment of Poland, the unfortunate monarch ſeems to have neglected every means of defence; nor was even the heſitating and undecided conduct of Saxony ſufficient to excite his vigilance. No alliances were formed, no preparations made for ſupporting with vigour the infant conſtitution. In the predicament in which Poland then ſtood, if Pruſſia was averſe to forming a permanent and ſincere alliance, or if the faith of Pruſſia could not be depended upon; if Great Britain had been found intractable, and determined to ſacrifice her real intereſts and thoſe of Europe to the ambition of Pruſſia, it was then the part of Poland to look forward to other connections, to cultivate, if poſſible, the friendſhip of France, of Denmark, and of Sweden. Such a combination, founded upon the moderate principle of mutual defence, would have ſucceſsfully reſiſted the moſt determined attacks of Imperial plunderers. Something of this kind ought to have been attempted; but the Poliſh miniſtry permitted itſelf to be amuſed by fruitleſs negociations at the court of Dreſden, by the vague profeſſions of Pruſſia, nor was it even rouſed to action by the cool reception which its ambaſſador experienced from the haughty deſpot of Vienna. This neglect, great as it was, was even exceeded by the indifference of the king as to the means of internal defence. While the diſcontented nobles, who from perſonal reſentment, or diſappointed ambition, manifeſted the moſt earneſt hoſtility to the conſtitution; while theſe were openly received and encouraged at Peterſburg, neither the ſtanding force of Poland was properly organized, nor the militia embodied. Not a magazine was erected, nor an entrenchment thrown up to oppoſe the entrance of the enemy. It was all a
A. D. 1792. dead calm, and the Ruſſians appeared upon their frontiers before the diet had recovered from its ſurpriſe at the firſt hoſtile declaration of the empreſs.

The progreſs of the armies of Catherine was marked with devaſtation and cruelty; while, ſuch was the averſion of the people both to the cauſe and the manner of conducting it, that, as they approached, the country all around became a wilderneſs, and ſcarcely a human being was to be ſeen. In the mean time, a ſeries of little defeats, to which the inexperience of the commanders, and the intemperate valour of new raiſed troops, appear to have greatly contributed, ſerved at once to diſtreſs and to diſpirit the defenders of their country. Prince Poniatowſki continued to retreat, and on the 17th

17th of July, his rear being attacked by a very ſuperior force, it ſuffered a conſiderable loſs, though the ſkill and courage of general Koſciuſko enabled him to make a moſt reſpectable defence. On the 18th, a general engagement took place between the two armies. The Ruſſian line extended oppoſite to Dubienka, along the river Bug, as far as Opalin. The principal column, conſiſting of fourteen thouſand men, was chiefly directed againſt the diviſion of general Koſciuſko, which conſiſted of five thouſand men only. After a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, in which the Ruſſians loſt upwards of four thouſand men, and the troops of the republic only ſome hundreds, the latter was compelled to give way before the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, and to retire further into the country.

This unequal conteſt was, at laſt, prematurely terminated. The king, whoſe benevolent intentions were, perhaps, overpowered by his mental imbecility, and whoſe age and infirmities, probably, rendered him unequal to the difficulties and dangers which muſt attend a protracted war, inſtead of putting himſelf, according to his firſt reſolve, at the head of his army, determined at once to ſurrender at diſcretion. On the 23d of July he ſummoned a council of all the deputies at that moment in Warſaw. He laid before them the laſt diſpatches from the empreſs, which inſiſted upon total and unreſerved ſubmiſſion. He pointed out the danger of a diſmemberment of the republic ſhould they delay to throw themſelves upon the clemency of the empreſs, and to intreat her protection. He mentioned the fatal union of Auſtria and Pruſſia with Ruſſia, and the ſupineneſs manifeſted by every other court in Europe; the combination formed by crowned heads againſt the rights and liberties of men, and the little ſpirit which was manifeſted for the maintenance of thoſe ſacred rights.

Four citizens, the intrepid and patriotic Malachowſki, the princes Sapieha, Radzvil, and Soltan, vehemently proteſted againſt theſe daſtardly proceedings; and the following evening a company of gentlemen, from the different provinces, aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe. The aſſembly waited immediately on theſe four diſtinguiſhed patriots, and returned them their acknowledgements for the ſpirit of firmneſs with which they had reſiſted the ſpirit of deſpotiſm. The ſubmiſſion of the king to the deſigns of Ruſſia, was no ſooner made known, than Poland was bereft of all her beſt and moſt reſpectable citizens. Malachowſki, as marſhal of the diet, and prince Sapieha, grand marſhal of Lithuania, entered ſtrong proteſts on the journals of the diet againſt theſe hoſtile proceedings,

and declared ſolemnly that the diet legally aſſembled in 1788 was not diſſolved.

On the 2d of Auguſt, a confederation was formed at Warſaw, of which the grand apoſtate, Potocki, was choſen marſhal. The acts of this confederation were evidently the deſpotic dictates of Ruſſia, and were calculated only to reſtore the ancient abuſes, and to place the country under the aggravated oppreſſion of a foreign yoke. By ſome ſucceeding tranſactions, it has appeared, that the unhappy country of Poland is to be converted into a province of Ruſſia. It is intended, if credit may be given to report, to be governed by the grandſon of the preſent empreſs, prince Conſtantine Paulowitz, under the title of king, but we may well conceive, only as a dependant part of the Ruſſian empire. The ſupineneſs of the king of Pruſſia, with regard to the performance of his engagements, will not, however, in all probability, paſs without a reward. Thorne, and Dantzic, the poſſeſſion of which he has long had in view, with ſome additional territory, will at leaſt fall to his ſhare in the partition; nor will Auſtria be ſatisfied without a part.

It is remarkable, that at the very moment when Poland was ſurrendering its liberties to its deſpotic invaders, the generous ſympathy of Great Britain was evinced by a liberal ſubſcription, ſupported by all the moſt reſpectable characters in the nation, of *every party* and of *every ſect*, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the king and the republic to maintain their independence. Though the benevolent deſign was fruſtrated, the fact remains on record as a noble teſtimony of the ſpirit of Britons in the cauſe of freedom, of the indignation which fills every Britiſh heart at the commiſſion of injuſtice, and of the liberality with which they are diſpoſed to aſſiſt thoſe who ſuffer from the oppreſſion of tyrants.

Thus, in one inſtance, the concert of princes, as it is called, has proved fatally victorious over the cauſe of man. Thus the growing happineſs of a reſpectable nation has been ſacrificed to the perſonal ambition of three deſpotic ſovereigns. Thus the citizens of a free republic are by one blow reduced to be the abject ſlaves of tyrants. Thus the balance of Europe, ſo much the theme of politicians, and perhaps ſo neceſſary to the permanent welfare of Europe, has been ſacrificed to private and to ſelfiſh views, while thoſe nations who have on former occaſions devoted millions of lives, and expended countleſs ſums in maintaining it, view with frigid tranquillity the fatal increaſe of deſpotic authority.

Whatever be the real object of this combination, it is ſuch as no ſound politician can obſerve with indifference. The

precedent

precedent is fatal, the proceedings are ominous; if the object is ultimately the gratification of perſonal ambition in the parties concerned; if they have really, as ſome are diſpoſed to believe, formed a ſecret agreement to divide among themſelves, as ſuits their intereſt or their inclination, or as opportunity permits, the territory of Europe; if, as in the caſe of Poland, they may without a ſhadow of pretence, without a cauſe of complaint, without any legal claim or intereſt, invade and ſubjugate a country, merely becauſe it is too weak to oppoſe them;—then the citizens of free ſtates have indeed cauſe to tremble;—then the opulent part of every community have cauſe to fear for their poſſeſſions, ſince a reſpect for property never has been the creed of conquering deſpots;—then the enlightened part of mankind may weep over the fate of their fellow creatures; and every individual who would not wiſh to change the government under which he lives for the moſt tyrannical and oppreſſive, may have cauſe to imprecate the interpoſition of Providence, to put a ſtop to a ſyſtem which threatens the ſubverſion of all that is dear or valuable of temporal enjoyments.

The wiſdom of our anceſtors, and the keen penetration of our own William, ſaw the neceſſity of vigorouſly oppoſing the encroaching ambition of Louis XIV. They ſucceſsfully withſtood him: they formed a league that was powerful, becauſe it combined a variety of intereſts, before jarring and oppoſed to each other. The ſcheme of univerſal empire, which Louis had formed, was by no means ſo chimerical as it is regarded now when the danger is paſt, and when it is only viewed as an abortive effort. But the project of Louis was in reality not founded upon fancy, but upon precedent. It was frequently realized by Charles V. Nothing but the ſagacity, zeal, and activity of William; the conviction which he impreſſed upon the leſſer ſtates of Europe, and the alliance which on theſe principles he formed, could have defeated the views of the French monarch. The concert which is now eſtabliſhed, is no doubt more formidable than the ambitious ſchemes of Louis XIV. The overthrow of the independent governments of Europe, will now not depend upon the exertions of one people, nor upon the efforts of one man, but upon the united force of the three greateſt powers upon earth; acting, it is probable, upon a preconcerted ſyſtem, and who can have no cauſe for diſagreement among themſelves, while there is one independent ſtate remaining, whoſe territory they can appropriate or divide.

There is no claſs of men in any ſtate that enjoys a portion of liberty, which ought not to be alarmed at ſuch a precedent. Even thoſe who ſubſiſt by the abuſes of a free government,

thoſe who receive the wages of corruption, ought to remember that they are only gainers by the general freedom of the government, that where force can command, influence becomes unneceſſary. Where deſpotiſm is eſtabliſhed, and in proportion as it is eſtabliſhed, every claſs of men becomes alike inſignificant. Ariſtocracy itſelf is only *a Corinthian column*, where it reſts on the durable baſis of public liberty, where its foundation at leaſt has been popular. There is ſcarcely any diſtinction of family, honour, conſequence, or merit. The upſtart greatneſs of a Potemkin or a Pombal would create aſtoniſhment in England; but in a country where nobility itſelf is debaſed, the circumſtance excites no ſurprize.

It is of little importance whether ſuch a project is the dictate of policy and previous concert, or whether it may be the caſual reſult of a peculiar combination of circumſtances; the effects will be equally fatal. The nobleman, the legiſlator, all thoſe whoſe influence and conſequence depend upon a balance between the democratical and regal powers, will find themſelves as to efficiency and conſequence completely annihilated. Such was once the ſyſtem of Europe; and philoſophers and authors, perhaps, aſcribe too much to their own peculiar functions, when they ſay that the progreſs of ſcience and literature will never permit it to be ſo again.

With regard to the arts and ſciences, though Copernicus, the great reſtorer of the true aſtronomical ſyſtem, and ſome other learned men, were natives of Poland, yet its ſoil is far from being favourable to learning. The contempt which the nobility, who place their chief importance in the privileges of their rank, have ever ſhewn for learning, and the ſervitude of the lower people, have wonderfully retarded, and, notwithſtanding the liberal efforts of his preſent majeſty, ſtill continue to retard the progreſs of letters in this kingdom. However, of late a taſte for ſcience hath ſpread itſelf among the nobles, and begins to be regarded as an accompliſhment,

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

PRUSSIA.

Original Inhabitants — Teutonic Knights — Standing Army of Frederic William—Frederic III.

PRUSSIA, which has lately made ſo great a figure in the affairs of Europe, is the moſt recent and limited monarchy on the continent. It was originally inhabited by a powerful race of people, called the Venedi, who extended themſelves all along the ſouth ſide of the Baltic. On the Venedi removing to the more weſtern provinces, the Boruſſi, who had migrated from the foot of the Riphæan mountains, poſſeſſed themſelves of this country, which they called Boruſſia, now corrupted into Pruſſia. It was divided into twelve provinces by Venedus, one of the Boruſſian princes, who is recorded to have given them to his twelve ſons. They made a noble ſtand againſt the kings of Poland, and continued independent, as well as Pagans, till they were conquered by the Knights of the Teutonic order, who returning to Europe after the expulſion of the Chriſtians from the Holy Land by Saladine, obtained grants of ſettlements in Italy, Germany, Hungary, and other European countries. A long ſeries of wars enſued, in which the original inhabitants of Pruſſia were almoſt extirpated by theſe religious and military knights. The remainder, oppreſſed beyond all human tolerance by their conquerors, at laſt revolted, and implored the aid of Caſimir IV. king of Poland, who invaded Pruſſia, and after a bloody war of twelve years duration, a peace was concluded, in which it was agreed, that the part called Poliſh Pruſſia ſhould continue under the protection of Poland, and that the Teutonic Knights ſhould poſſeſs the other parts, but acknowledge themſelves vaſſals to the ſovereign of Poland. The knights, diſdaining the vaſſalage, made frequent attempts to ſhake it off, till at laſt Albert, Margrave of Brandenburgh, grand maſter of the order, embracing the doctrines of Luther, and willing to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of the knights, agreed to ſhare Pruſſia, with his uncle, Sigiſmund I. King of Poland, on condition of paying homage for the protection of that crown. The propoſal was accepted. Albert took the title of Duke in his new territory: hence the preſent kingdom is called Ducal Pruſſia, and that part in poſſeſſion of Poland, and on the weſtern ſide of the Viſtula, A. D. 1227.

Royal

Regal Pruſſia *. Thus ended the ſovereignty of the Teutonic order in Pruſſia, after it had ſubſiſted three centuries.

Brandenburgh remained long in ſubjection to Poland; and the inveſtiture of Pruſſia was granted by the Poliſh Kings to each ſucceeding Margrave. Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburgh, ſurnamed the Great, had Ducal Pruſſia confirmed to him and his heirs. Being freed from vaſſalage by Caſimir King of Poland, he and his deſcendants were declared independent and ſovereign lords of this part of Pruſſia, with the titles, and as grand maſters of the Teutonic*; till Frederic, ſon of Frederic-William the Great, raiſed the duchy of Pruſſia to a kingdom, and
A. D. 1701. in a ſolemn aſſembly of the ſtates of the empire, placed the crown with his own hands upon his head, and that of his conſort; ſoon after which he was acknowledged as King of Pruſſia, by all the other Chriſtian powers. In memory of this event, he inſtituted the order of the Black Eagle †.

His ſon, Frederic-William, who ſucceeded to the crown, was a warlike politic prince. A number of uſeful and magnificent foundations rendered his reign glorious. "If we "may be ſaid to owe the ſhade of the oak," obſerves the royal hiſtorian, "to the acorn from which it ſprung; in like "manner we may diſcern, in the ſagacious conduct of Fre"deric-William, the ſource of the future greatneſs of his "ſucceſſor ‡." By rigid œconomy, he amaſſed a prodigious treaſure, though he maintained for his own ſe-
A. D. 1740. curity an army of ſixty thouſand men. At his death, he is ſaid to have left ſeven millions ſterling in his treaſury, which enabled his ſon, by his wonderful victories, and the more wonderful reſources by which he repaired his defeats, to become the admiration of the preſent age. Frederic III. improved the arts of peace, as well as of war, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a poet, philoſopher, and legiſlator.

The Pruſſian is not one of thoſe ancient monarchies which had their origin in the diſtant ages of confuſion, and which eſtabliſhed and gradually aggrandized themſelves, rather by accidental events and the changes of time, or the weakneſs of nations, than by the extraordinary genius of their ſovereigns. It is a new monarchy like that of Macedon, under Philip and Alexander, which has been created in a ſhort ſpace of time; not by thoſe great means that hazard and good fortune, and,

* Memoirs of Brandenburgh. † Univerſal Hiſtory. ‡ Memoirs of Brandenburgh.

about

above all, the marriages of ſovereigns occaſion; but principally by the ſuperior qualities of a creative genius; by exalted virtues, civil and military; by the employment of politics juſt, ſafe, and active; by that vaſtneſs of head and heart, which knows how to tranſpoſe itſelf into the people, and inſpire a national caſt for courage, induſtry, activity, and glory. The Pruſſian monarchy ſhines to-day without diſpute in the firſt claſs of ſovereignties, and can take a decided part for the preſervation of the equilibrium in Germany and Europe. A concluſion then can be drawn with tolerable certainty, that a monarch of Pruſſia merits preferably the ſuffrage and confidence of Europe, and all the princes of Germany, for it is his proper intereſt to be juſt, to be the defender of the balance and of general liberty.

The happy ſtate of the Pruſſian monarchy will depend always on the genius and activity of its ſovereigns. A Frederic III. was abſolutely neceſſary in order to give to his ſtate a degree of power, which puts it on a level with the firſt monarchies of Europe; to aſſure it a conſiſtence, which will be ſo long permanent as the maxims of good government be obſerved; and to make it perform the brilliant, although dangerous and difficult part, which it is obliged to ſuſtain on account of the local poſition of the monarchy, for its own proper preſervation, that of the balance of Germany and of Europe. The great Frederic died in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, after a glorious reign of forty-ſix years, and was ſucceeded by Frederic-William, his nephew, and ſon of his brother William Auguſtus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

SPAIN.

Early Hiſtory of Spain—Conquered by the Saracens—Expulſion of the Moors and Jews—Charles V.—Philip II.—Charles III.—General Elliot—Siege of Gibraltar—Cervantes.

SPAIN has, in every age, invariably preſerved the ſame limits; the Pyrenæan mountains, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic ocean. Its native inhabitants were divided into

into a number of ſmall independent tribes, of which thoſe called the Celtiberians, Cantabrians, and Aſturians, were the moſt powerful. Prior to the conqueſts of the Carthaginians, we know nothing of the tranſactions of theſe barbarians. This opulent and powerful ſtate ſubdued all the ſouthern parts of Spain, where they built Gades, now called Cadiz. Theſe were diſpoſſeſſed by the Romans, who gradually reduced the whole country to a Roman province, in which ſituation it flouriſhed four centuries under the protection of the emperors. During this period, Spain enjoyed perfect tranquillity and domeſtic happineſs. Its cities were numbered with the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the ſkill of an induſtrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval ſtores contributed to ſupport an extenſive and profitable trade *.

On the decline of the Roman empire, in the beginning of the fifth century, this remote and ſequeſtered country became a prey to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; barbarians that poured with an irreſiſtible torrent from the frontiers of Gaul to the ſea of Africa, and fixed their permanent ſeats in the depopulated country. In the diviſion which they made of the kingdom, Gallicia was ſhared between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were ſcattered over the provinces of Carthagena and Luſitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ocean; and the fruitful territory of Bœotica was allotted to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic nation *. At the requeſt of the Roman emperor Honorius, the Gothic King, Adolphus, who had married his ſiſter Placidia, turned his arms againſt the barbarians of Spain, whom he ſubdued, and founded the kingdom of the Goths, called the Viſigoths. His palace was at Barcelona. The laſt of the Gothic kings in Spain, was Roderic. In his time, the Mahometan religion was eſtabliſhed in many countries. Mahomet, its founder, who had erected at Mecca a ſpiritual and temporal kingdom, died in 632, and his countrymen, the Arabs or Saracens, ſoon after over-ran great part of Aſia. They were maſters of Mauritania, now Barbary, when count Julian, whoſe daughter king Roderic had diſhonoured, implored their aid. With a powerful army they croſſed
A. D. 712. the Straits, invaded Spain, and, by the deciſive battle of Xeres in Andaluſia, ſubverted the kingdom of the Viſigoths, in that region of Europe. A ſmall remnant of the Gothic monarchy maintained itſelf

* Gibbon. † Playfair.

among

among the mountains of Aſturia, where Pelagius, the ſucceſſor of Roderic, retired with a multitude of Chriſtians, and founded the little kingdom of Aſturias, or Oviedo, as it was afterwards called, which he defended by his valour, and tranſmitted to his poſterity. Garcias Ximenes alſo founded the kingdom of Navarre, which became one of the moſt conſiderable Chriſtian principalities in Spain *.

Spain, thus conquered by the Saracens, was allotted to governors dependent on the viceroy of Africa, till a revolution happened in the Mahometan government, which gave birth to another in Spain. Civil wars aroſe among the Moſlem themſelves, which the caliphs, or vicars, the ſucceſſors of Mahomet, were unable to quell. At length that auguſt dignity, which included both the higheſt regal and ſacerdotal eminence, paſſed from the family of the Ommiades to that of the Abaſſides. Abdurrahman, called alſo Almanzor, a prince of the Omaad line, not finding himſelf ſecure in Afric, fled into Spain, where he founded an independent kingdom, including all the provinces that had been ſubject to the Mooriſh government. He fixed his reſidence at Cordoua, which he made the ſeat of the arts, of mgnificence, and pleaſure. This family kept poſſeſſion of the throne about three hundred years. In the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abdurrahman being extinct, the kingdom of Cordoua was diſmembered. The haughty grandees uſurped the title of king, and many petty principalities were founded on the ruins of this great empire. Toledo, Valencia, Seville, Saragoſſa, and almoſt every city in Spain, were governed by an independent ſovereign. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in the ſame manner among the Chriſtians. In this divided ſtate, Spain long remained; and wars were continually carried on between the Chriſtians and Moors. This was the age of gallantry and knight-errantry. Beſides the A. D. 1056. many kings at this time in Spain, who amounted to near the number of twenty, there were alſo many independent lords, who came on horſeback completely armed, and followed by ſeveral ſquires, to offer their ſervice to the princes and princeſſes engaged in war. The princes with whom theſe lords engaged, girded them with a belt, and preſented them with a ſword, with which they gave them a ſlight blow on the ſhoulder, and hence the origin of knights-errants, and of the number of ſingle combats which ſo long deſolated Spain. Of all the Spaniſh knights, Don Rodrigo, ſurnamed

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

the

the Cid, diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt eminently againſt the Moors, under Ferdinand II. King of Caſtile *.

In the fifteenth century, all the kingdoms in Spain, Portugal excepted, were united, by the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, to Iſabella, ſiſter of Henry IV. King of Caſtile. Ferdinand conquered Grenada, which completed the extinction of the kingdom of the Moors in Spain, after it had continued about eight years. All the Moors and Jews who would not be converts to the Chriſtian Faith, to the number of one hundred and ſeventy thouſand families were baniſhed. Thus Spain was in a manner depopulated of artiſts, labourers, and manufacturers; and the diſcovery of America not only added to that calamity, but rendered the remaining Spaniards moſt deplorably indolent. To complete their misfortunes, Ferdinand and Iſabella introduced the Popiſh inquiſition, with all its horrors, into their dominions, as a ſafe-guard againſt the return of the Moors and Jews.

Charles V. of the houſe of Auſtria, and emperor of Germany, ſucceeded to the throne of Spain, in A. D. 1516. right of his mother, who was the daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella. The extenſive poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria in Europe, Africa, and, above all, America, from whence he drew immenſe treaſures, began to alarm the jealouſy of neighbouring princes, but could not ſatisfy the ambition of Charles; and we find him conſtantly engaged in foreign wars, or with his own proteſtant ſubjects, whom he in vain attempted to bring back to the Catholic Church. He alſo reduced the power of the nobles in Spain, abridged the privileges of the commons, and greatly extended the regal prerogative. At laſt, after a long and turbulent reign, he came to a reſolution that filled all Europe with aſtoniſhment, the withdrawing himſelf entirely from any concern in the affairs of this world, in order that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement and ſolitude †. Agreeably to his reſolution, he reſigned Spain and the Netherlands, with great formality, in the preſence of his principal nobility, to his ſon Philip II. but could not prevail on the princes of Germany to elect him emperor, which dignity they conferred on Ferdinand, Charles's brother, thereby dividing the dangerous power of the houſe of Auſtria into two branches; Spain, with all its poſſeſſions in Africa and the New World, alſo the Netherlands, and ſome Italian ſtates, remained with the elder branch, whilſt the empire, Hungary, and Bohemia fell to the lot of the younger, which they ſtill poſſeſs.

* Stuart. † Dr. Robertſon.

The

The reign of Philip II. is an intereſting object of attention. He was a gloomy, jealous, haughty, vindictive, and inexorable tyrant. He married Mary of England and by his influence involved that kingdom in a war againſt France. Italy and the low countries were the ſcene of hoſtilities; and the French being defeated by the combined armies of England and Spain, in the famous battle of St. Quintin, Philip erected the Eſcurial, a palace in the neighbourhood of Madrid, in honour of the victory. Zealous for the catholic religion, he reſolved to extirpate hereſy from his dominions. A ſanguinary perſecution followed; and ſeven provinces of the Netherlands formed a league of union in the common defence of their civil and religious liberties. They choſe William I. Prince of Orange, their general, admiral, and chief magiſtrate, with the title of Stadtholder. This treaty was ſigned at Utrecht, in the year 1579. On the death of Don Henry, King of Portugal, there aroſe a competition for the vacant throne. Philip, victorious over his competitors, obtained that kingdom, and annexed it to his dominions *. The Spaniſh monarch afterwards projected the conqueſt of England, and equipped the Invincible Armada. The Spaniards were defeated, and their armament totally deſtroyed. In the midſt of forming new plans for the ſupport of popery, Philip died.

Spain, which during the reign of Philip II. had been one of the moſt formidable powers in Europe, now declined in her influence. Philip III. ſucceeded to the crown. The finances were in a moſt diſordered ſtate. He was compelled to conclude a diſadvantageous peace with the Dutch. He expelled the remaining Moors and Jews from Spain; and his court became a ſcene of faction and intrigue. Under Philip IV. the diſorders of the kingdom increaſed. The loſſes and defeats of the Spaniards in all parts were very great. Brazil was taken by the Dutch and Catalonia revolted to France. Portugal, exaſperated with a load of taxes, rebelled. The Duke of Braganza, whoſe father had been deprived of his right to the crown of Portugal by Philip II. cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, and was acknowledged by the whole nation under the title of John IV. From this period, Portugal has been independent. He died in 1665, leaving the Spaniſh crown to his infant ſon, Charles II. two years old. His continual ill ſtate of health made his death daily expected. There being no proſpect of iſſue, a ſecret treaty of partition was entered into by William of England, Louis of France, A. D. 1598.

* Dr. Watſon.

and

and the States of Holland, that on the eventual demiſe of the king of Spain, his dominions ſhould be divided among them. Charles, in order to defeat this ſcheme, ſigned a will by which he left the whole to Philip Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of Louis, Dauphin of France, who ſucceeded under the name of Philip V.

Philip IV. left two daughters; the eldeſt, Maria Thereſa, married to the King of France, and the other to the emperor; both theſe princes, therefore, took up arms about the right of ſucceſſion. The emperor refuſing to acknowledge his title, entered into a treaty with the King of England, and the States General of the United Provinces; the avowed object of which was, "To procure ſatisfaction to his Imperial ma-"jeſty, in regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; to obtain ſecurity "to the Engliſh and Dutch for their dominions and com-"merce; to prevent the union of the two great monarchies "of France and Spain; and to hinder the French from poſ-"ſeſſing the Spaniſh dominions in America *." This confederacy, which was called the Grand Alliance, kindled the flames of war, and involved great part of Europe in blood, till the peace of Utrecht confirmed him in his dignity.—This weak, but virtuous prince, the firſt of the houſe of Bourbon who ſat on the Spaniſh throne, died in 1746, leaving the crown to his ſon, Ferdinand VI. a mild and peaceable prince, who reformed many abuſes, and wanted to promote the commerce and proſperity of his kingdom. Ferdinand was ſucceeded by his brother Charles III. then King of Naples and the two Sicilies. He entered into a cor-
A. D. 1761. reſpondence with the court of Verſailles, which terminated in the famous *Family Compact*, concluded by the four ſovereigns of the houſe of Bourbon, againſt England and her allies. This compact produced mutual declarations of war by the courts of London and Madrid, and the greateſt preparations were made by both for commencing hoſtilities with vigour and effect. The year following put an end to the war, and reſtored peace to Europe. The year 1767 is memorable for the expulſion of the Jeſuits.

When the war between Great Britain and her American colonies had ſubſiſted for ſome time, and France had taken part with the latter, the court of Spain was alſo prevailed upon to commence hoſtilities againſt Great Britain. The Spaniards began their firſt operations, by cloſely beſieging Gibraltar both by ſea and land; it having been always a great mortification to them that this fortreſs ſhould be poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. The ſiege was continued throughout the war

* Voltaire.

with

with occaſional fierce attacks on both ſides, though what the garriſon had chiefly to dread was famine, and ſo ſoon did this begin to make its appearance, that about the middle of January, 1780, not only bread, but every article neceſſary to the ſupport of life, was hard to be procured, and only to be purchaſed at exorbitant prices. Veal, mutton and beef, ſold from two ſhillings and ſixpence, to four ſhillings per pound; freſh pork from two to three ſhillings; ſalt beef and pork, one ſhilling and three pence per pound; fowls, eighteen ſhillings per couple; ducks, a guinea; and other articles in proportion *. And though they were frequently relieved, yet the ſame difficulties very frequently returned. However, the garriſon ſtill held out; and though the Spaniſh army and train of artillery continued daily to encreaſe, the utmoſt efforts in their power ſeemed to be inſufficient to make the leaſt impreſſion on this impregnable fortreſs. So little regard indeed was paid to the formidable preparations of the Spaniards, that even from the beginning of the ſiege, it had been cuſtomary with General Elliot the governor to allow them to bring their works to perfection, and then to demoliſh them. The more frequently the beſiegers were diſappointed, the more eager they ſeemed to accompliſh their point. The moſt prodigious number of cannon, mortars, and all other deſtructive engines of that kind, which perhaps ever were aſſembled, in any one enterprize, were now brought before a ſingle fortreſs, without being able to make the leaſt impreſſion upon it. By the violence of their fire, indeed, the houſes were reduced to ruins, and the inhabitants were obliged to remove to England, but the fortifications of the place were ſcarce ever damaged in the leaſt. The ſoldiers were ſo much accuſtomed to ſhells falling and burſting near them, that they became in a manner inſenſible of the danger; and their officers were frequently obliged to [illegible] them to avoid them, when juſt ready to run at [illegible] their feet. The grand attack was on the 13th of September, under the command of the Chevalier Crillon, by ten battering ſhips, from ſix hundred to four hundred tons burden, carrying in all two hundred and twelve heavy guns entirely new, and diſcharging ſhot of twenty-ſix pounds weight. The ſhowers of ſhot and ſhells thrown were returned from them, from their land-batteries, and on the other hand from the various works of the garriſon, exhibited a ſcene, of which perhaps neither the pen nor the pencil can furniſh an adequate idea. It is ſufficient to ſay, that *four hundred pieces* of the heavieſt artillery were playing at the ſame moment;

* Captain Drinkwater.

an inſtance which has ſcarcely occurred in any ſiege ſince the invention of thoſe wonderful engines of deſtruction. The irreſiſtible impreſſion of the red hot balls, which were ſent from the garriſon in ſuch numbers, and in ſuch directions, was ſoon conſpicuous; for in the afternoon ſmoke was perceived to iſſue from the admiral's ſhip and another; and by one in the morning ſeveral were in flames, and numbers of rockets were thrown from each of their ſhips as ſignals of diſtreſs. To reſcue from the flames thoſe who were now incapable of acting as enemies, could not be done without the greateſt hazard, by reaſon of the blowing up of the ſhips, and the previous diſcharge of the guns as the fire reached them. Yet, in defiance of every danger, brigadier Curtis diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an eminent manner in this humane undertaking, and with twelve gun-boats ſaved nine officers, two prieſts, and three hundred and thirty-four men, all Spaniards, beſides one officer, and eleven Frenchmen, who had floated in the preceding evening. Thus ended all the hopes of the Spaniards of reducing the fortreſs of Gibraltar. But great as was the bravery of the Britiſh garriſon, which deſerves every encomium, the ſmall numbers of the killed and wounded are alone ſufficient to ſhew that they muſt have been aſſiſted by very ſtrong fortifications, or it was impoſſible that any ſkill whatever could have reſiſted ſuch a tremendous
A. D. 1783. power. Some trifling operations continued on the ſide of the Spaniards till the reſtoration of peace.

Charles III. uſed ſuch pains to oblige his ſubjects to deſiſt from their ancient dreſs and manners, and carried his endeavours ſo far, that it occaſioned an inſurrection at Madrid, and obliged him to part with his miniſter, the marquis of Squillace; thereby affording an inſtance of the neceſſity that even deſpotic princes are under, of paying ſome attention to the inclinations of their ſubjects. He died on the
A. D. 1788. 13th of November; and was ſucceeded by his ſecond ſon, Charles Anthony, prince of Aſturias; the eldeſt, who died in 1775, having been declared incapable of inheriting the crown, through an invincible weakneſs of underſtanding.

With regard to *literature*, the Spaniards have excellent capacities, but deſpotiſm is unfavourable to learning. Such was the gloom of the Auſtrian government, that took place with the emperor Charles V. that the inimitable Cervantes, the author of Don Quixote, born at Madrid, in 1549, enliſted in a ſtation little ſuperior to that of a common ſoldier, and died neglected, after fighting bravely for his country at the battle of Lepanto, in which he loſt his left hand. His ſatire

upon knight errantry in his adventures of Don Quixote, did as much ſervice to his country by curing them of that ridiculous ſpirit as it now does honour to his own memory. He was in priſon for debt when he compoſed the firſt part of his hiſtory, and is perhaps to be placed at the head of moral and humorous ſatiriſts. The viſions of Quevedo, and ſome other of his humorous and ſatirical pieces, having been tranſlated into the Engliſh language, have rendered that author well known in this country. Lopez de Vega, who was contemporary with our Shakſpeare excelled as a dramatic poet. He poſſeſſed an imagination aſtoniſhingly fertile, and wrote with great facility. Some of the Spaniards have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the polite arts, and not only the cities but the palaces, eſpecially the Eſcurial, diſcover many ſtriking ſpecimens of their abilities as ſculptors and architects.

CHAP. XXIX.

PORTUGAL.

Ancient Inhabitants—Liſbon made a Free Port—Diſcoveries of the Portugueſe—A dreadful Earthquake—Indiſpoſition of her Preſent Majeſty.

THE kingdom of Portugal ſhared the fate of the other Spaniſh provinces, in the fall of the Roman empire, being ſucceſſively ſubject to the depredations of the Suevi, the Goths, and Moors. It regained its liberty by the valour of Henry of Lorrain, grandſon of Robert, king of France. This young prince aſſiſted Alphonſo king of Caſtile and Leon, ſo effectually againſt the Moors, that the Caſtillan monarch rewarded him with Thereſa, his natural daughter, and that part of Portugal which had been recovered by the Chriſtians from the Saracen invaders, with the title of earl, for her fortune. A. D. 1152.

His ſon Alphonſo Henriquez, ſucceeded as earl; and having obtained a deciſive victory over five Mooriſh kings, his ſoldiers proclaimed him king, and the Holy See confirmed his regal dignity. The kings of Portugal, like thoſe of Spain, long ſpent their force in combating the Moors, and had no connection with the reſt of Europe. A detail of thoſe barbarous wars would be equally void of inſtruction and amuſe-

ment. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the ſucceſſion continued uninterrupted in the houſe of Alphonſo, till the death of Ferdinand, when John of Caſtile, who had
A. D. 1383. married the Infanta of Portugal, claimed the crown as the king had left no male iſſue. But the States of Portugal, after an inter-regnum of eighteen months, gave it to John, natural brother of their deceaſed ſovereign *.

This John, ſurnamed the baſtard, no leſs politic than enterpriſing, proved worthy of his new dignity. Under the direction of his ſon, Prince Henry, a bold and enlightened genius, the Portugueſe firſt projected diſcoveries in the weſtern ocean. The iſland of Maderia, the Azores, and the Cape de Verd Iſlands, were diſcovered, and added to the dominions of Portugal. His great grandſon, John II. a prince of the moſt profound ſagacity and extenſive views, firſt made Liſbon a free port. The Portugueſe under this reign proſecuted their diſcoveries with ardour and ſucceſs. The river Zara, on the other ſide of the line, conducted them to the kingdom of Congo, in the interior part of Africa, where they made eaſy conqueſts, and eſtabliſhed an advantageous commerce. Captain Diaz paſſed the extreme point of Africa, to which he gave the name of the *Stormy Cape*; but the king, who ſaw more fully the importance of that diſcovery, called it the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Emanuel adopted the plan of his predeceſſors. He ſent out a fleet under the command of Vaſco de Gama, who encircled the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, and ranging through unknown ſeas, happily arrived at the city of Calicut on the coaſt of Malabar, on the higher part of the weſtern ſide of the great peninſula of India. Other veſſels were ſent out under the command of Alvarez de Cabral, who diſcovered Brazil †. His ſon John III. admitted the new founded order of the Jeſuits, of which he was a member, previous to any other European prince. He ſent a multitude of miſſionaries to convert the eaſtern nations, and among the reſt the famous Francis Xavier, founder of the order. Sebaſtian, his grandſon, ſmitten with a paſſion for military glory, determined to ſignalize himſelf by an expedition againſt the Moors in Africa, where his anceſtors had acquired ſo much renown, in which he and his army periſhed. After the death of his ſucceſſor, many competitors for the crown appeared; among whom were Philip II. king of Spain, nephew to Henry by the mother's ſide; the duke of Braganza, married to the

* Univerſal Hiſtory. † Modern Voyages.

grand-

grand-daughter of Emanuel; Don Antonio, prior of Crato, baſtard of the Infant Don Lewis; the duke of Savoy, the duke of Parma, Catherine of Medicis, and Pope Gregory XIII. who, extraordinary as it might ſeem, attempted to renew the obſolete claim of the holy ſee to the ſovereignty of Portugal. Philip prevailed over his rivals, and was proclaimed king of Portugal. A. D. 1580.

Portugal remained ſixty years under the dominion of the kings of Spain. Irritated by the deſpotic rule of their Spaniſh governors, they had long ſought to break their chain: At length the diſſatisfaction became ſo general, that a plot was formed in favour of the duke of Braganza, whoſe grandfather had been deprived of his right to the crown by Philip II. The revolt began at Liſbon. John duke of Braganza was raiſed to the throne, under the title of John IV. almoſt without bloodſhed, and Portugual became again an independent kingdom. The recovery of Brazil, which had been conquered by the Dutch, reſtored it, in a great meaſure, to its former luſtre. His ſon Alphonſus ſucceeded, but on account of his cruelties was depoſed, and the ſceptre was transferred to his brother Peter II. who, by a diſpenſation from the pope, married the wife of his brother Alphonſus. He reigned peacefully thirty years, and left the crown to his ſon John V. under whoſe mild government the arts began to flouriſh. He, as well as his father, joined the grand confederacy formed by king William; but neither of them were of much ſervice in humbling the power of France. On the contrary he almoſt ruined the allies, by occaſioning the loſs of the great battle of Almanza.

Joſeph II. his ſon filled the throne on the death of his father. In this reign Portugal was viſited by a more dreadful calamity than even war itſelf. The city of Liſbon was laid level with the ground by a tremendous earthquake; which was ſucceeded by a general conflagration, owing to the great number of lights burning at the altars in the churches and convents for the feſtivals of the *Auto de fe*, or Act of Faith, and to incendiaries, who, to pillage the city with greater ſecurity during the calamity, ſet fire to it in many parts. The Engliſh inhabitants making it a rule to retire into the country the day before the celebration of this feſtival, to avoid being inſulted as proteſtants, were preſerved; but upwards of ten thouſand natives and foreigners loſt their lives, and many of the ſurvivors deprived of their habitations, and altogether deſtitute of the means of ſubſiſtence, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not ſuffered to periſh. The Britiſh parliament, though preſſed with new A. D. 1755.

demands to profecute a war they had juſt entered into againſt France, generouſly voted one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, for the relief of the unhappy ſufferers; and this noble inſtance of public liberality was enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ſhips, laden with proviſions and clothing, were immediately diſpatched for Liſbon, where they arrived ſo opportunely, as to preſerve thouſands from dying of hunger and cold *.

A. D. 1762. When a war broke out between Spain and England, the Spaniards and their allies the French, attempted to force his faithful majeſty into their alliance, and offered to garriſon his ſea-towns againſt the Engliſh with their troops. The king of Portugal rejected this propoſal, and declared war againſt the Spaniards, who, without reſiſtance, entered Portugal with a conſiderable army, while a body of French threatened it from another quarter. Some have doubted whether any of theſe courts were in earneſt upon this occaſion, and whether the whole of the pretended war was not concerted to force England into a peace with France and Spain, in conſideration of Portugal's apparent danger. It is certain, that both the French and Spaniards carried on the war in a very dilatory manner, and that had they been in earneſt, they might have been maſters of Liſbon, long before the arrival of the Engliſh troops to the aſſiſtance of the Portugueſe. Be that as it will, a few Engliſh battalions put an effectual ſtop, by their courage and manœuvres, to the progreſs of the invaſion.

A. D. 1763. Portugal was ſaved, and a peace was concluded at Fontainbleau. Notwithſtanding this eminent ſervice performed by the Engliſh to the Portugueſe, who often had been ſaved before in the like manner, the latter, ever ſince that period, cannot be ſaid to have beheld their deliverers with a friendly eye. The moſt captious diſtinctions and frivolous pretences have been invented by the Portugueſe miniſters for cramping the Engliſh trade, and depriving them of their privileges.

His Portugueſe majeſty having no ſon, his eldeſt daughter was married, by diſpenſation from the pope, to Don Pedro, her own uncle, to prevent the crown from falling into a foreign family.

A. D. 1777. The late king was ſucceeded by his daughter, the preſent queen. One of the firſt acts of her majeſty's reign was the removal from power of the marquis de Pombal, an event which excited general joy throughout the kingdom, as might naturally be expected from the arbitrary and oppreſſive nature of his

* Smollet.

admi-

adminiſtration, though it has been alledged in his favour, that he adopted ſundry public meaſures, which were calculated to promote the real intereſts of Portugal.

The queen, a few years ago, was deprived of the uſe of her reaſon. Dr. Willis went over from England to her aſſiſtance, and exerted his utmoſt ſkill to remove the diſorder; but without ſucceſs. As her majeſty is far advanced in life, and her mental faculties are entirely deranged, it is very probable ſhe will never recover. A. D. 1789.

CHAP. XXX.

SWISSERLAND.

Face of the Country—Ancient Inhabitants—Patriotiſm of William Tell—Swiſs Allies—Calvin, Rouſſeau, Haller, and Lavater.

SWISSERLAND is a ſmall romantic country lying upon the Alps, between France, Germany, and Italy. At firſt view, one would ſuppoſe it to be a chaos of barren rocks and craggy mountains, heaped one upon another; perpetual ſnows and gloomy vallies! a dreary, deſolate, but ſublime appearance! it looks like the ruins and wreck of a world, which could ſcarcely afford its wretched inhabitants the ſupport of a calamitous life. On the contrary, however, it yields not only all neceſſaries, but likewiſe exports an abundance of many valuable commodities. The feet of the mountains, and ſometimes alſo the very ſummits, are covered with vineyards, corn-fields, meadows, and paſture-grounds. "Sometimes," ſays a late traveller *, "a continued chain of "cultivated mountains, richly clothed with woods, and "ſtudded all over with hamlets, cottages above the clouds, "paſtures which appear ſuſpended in the air, exhibit the "moſt delightful landſcape that can be conceived; and in "other places appear rugged rocks, cataracts, and mountains "of a prodigious height, covered with ice and ſnow."—"Behold our walls and bulwarks," exclaimed a Swiſs peaſant, pointing to the mountains, "Conſtantinople is not ſo

* Mr. Coxe.

"strongly fortified. In short, Switzerland abounds with the "most picturesque scenes; and here are to be found some of "the most sublime exhibitions of nature, in her most awful "and tremendous forms, and in those stupendous Alps, whose "heads touch heaven."

The old inhabitants of this country were called Helvetii; they were defeated by Julius Cæsar, fifty-seven years before Christ, and the territory remained subject to the Romans, till it was conquered by the Alcmans, German emigrants, who were expelled by Clovis, king of France. It underwent another revolution in 888, being made part of the kingdom of Burgundy. In 1032, it was given by the last king of Burgundy to Conrad II. emperor of Germany; from which time it was held as part of the empire, till the year 1307, when a very singular revolt delivered the Swiss cantons from the German yoke. Grisler, governor of these provinces for the emperor Albert, having ordered one William Tell, an illustrious Swiss patriot, under pain of death, to shoot at an apple placed on the head of one of his children; he had the dexterity, though the distance was very considerable, to strike it off without hitting the child. The tyrant perceiving that he had another arrow concealed under his cloak, asked him for what purpose? To which he boldly replied, "To have shot you to the heart, if "I had had the misfortune to kill my son." The enraged governor ordered him to be hanged; but his fellow citizens, animated by his fortitude and patriotism, flew to arms, attacked and vanquished Grisler, who was shot to death by Tell, and the independency of the several states of this country, now called the Thirteen Cantons, under a republican form of government, soon after took place *.

A. D. 406.

Whether all the incidents of Tell's story be true or fabulous, the men whoever they were who roused and incited their fellow citizens to throw off the Austrian yoke, deserve to be regarded as patriots, having undoubtedly been actuated by that principle, so dear to every generous heart, the spirit of independence.

> They with the gen'rous rustics fate,
> On Ur[illegible] in close divan;
> And wing'd that arrow sure as rate,
> Which ascertain'd the sacred rights of man.

If Swisserland were not a free country, it would not merit attention, but would be confounded in the lowest rank of a thousand provinces, which are condemned to obey masters,

* Puffendorf.

who

who never favour them even with their preſence. When Leopold duke of Auſtria marched againſt them with an army of *twenty thouſand* men, the Swiſs behaved, on that occaſion, juſt as the Lacedæmonians formerly had done at the Straits of Thermopylæ. A ſmall body of *four* or *five hundred* men waited for the Auſtrian army at the paſs of Morgate. But they were more fortunate than the Lacedæmonians; for they put the enemy to flight, only by rolling great ſtones down upon them *. As this victory was obtained in the canton of Switz, they agreed to give that name to their confederacy, becauſe it would remind them of the victory to which they were indebted for their liberty. The canton of Berne, which now has the ſame weight in Swiſſerland as Amſterdam has in Holland, did not enter into the alliance till 1352; and it was not till the year 1513, that the little country of Appenzel joined the other cantons, which completed the number *thirteen*. Never did any nation fight longer and harder for their liberty than the Swiſs. They gained it by ſixty pitched battles with the Auſtrians; and, in all probability, they will preſerve it to the lateſt poſterity.—Seven of the Swiſs cantons are Roman catholics, and ſix proteſtants. A. D. 1315.

The *Swiſs allies* are thoſe ſtates, or ſmall republics, which joined the Helvetic confederacy, are under their protection, and are included by other countries under the general name of Swiſſerland. The moſt celebrated of thoſe are the *Valois*, the *Griſons*, the *republic of Geneva*, and the countries of *Neufchatel* and *Valangin*.

With regard to *literature*, Calvin, whoſe name is ſo well known in all proteſtant countries, inſtituted laws for the city of Geneva, which are held in high eſteem by the moſt learned of that country. The ingenious and eloquent Rouſſeau too, whoſe works the preſent age have received with ſo much approbation, was a citizen of Geneva. The juſtly celebrated Haller, a native of Berne, deſerves the higheſt eulogy, as a poet, a phyſiologiſt, and a philoſopher. Lavater, who is ſtill living, has rendered himſelf famous by his Eſſays on Phyſiognomy, and his Aphoriſms on Man.

* Voltaire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

HOLLAND AND THE OTHER UNITED PROVINCES.

Original Government—Union under the Prince of Orange, afterwards elected Stadtholder—Maſſacre of the de Witts —Recent inteſtine Commotions ſettled by the King of Pruſſia.

THE United Provinces were originally an aſſemblage of ſeveral lordſhips, dependent upon the kings of Spain. The tyranny of Philip II. made the inhabitants attempt to throw off this yoke, which occaſioned a general inſurrection. The counts Hoorn and Egmont, and the prince of Orange, appearing at the head of it, and Luther's reformation gaining ground about the ſame time in the Netherlands, his diſciples were forced by perſecution to join the malecontents. Whereupon king Philip introduced a kind of inquiſition, which, from the inhumanity of its proceedings, was called the *Council of Blood*, in order to ſuppreſs them; and many thouſands were put to death by that court, beſides thoſe that periſhed by the ſword *. The counts Hoorn and Egmont were taken and beheaded. William prince of Orange, however, formed the ſcheme of more cloſely uniting the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and cementing them with ſuch others as lay moſt contigous; Utrecht, Frieſland, Groningen, Overyſſel, and Guelderland, in which the proteſtant intereſt predominated. The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, and ſigned that famous *Union*, in appearance ſo ſlight,
A. D. 1579. but in reality ſo ſolid, of ſeven provinces independent of each other, actuated by different intereſts, yet as cloſely connected by the great tye of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic. It was agreed, that the Seven Provinces ſhall unite themſelves in intereſt as *one* province, reſerving to each individual province and city all its own privileges, rights, cuſtoms, and ſtatutes; that in all diſputes between particular provinces, the reſt ſhall interpoſe only as mediators; and that they ſhall aſſiſt each other with life and fortune, againſt every foreign attempt upon any ſingle province. The firſt coin ſtruck after this alliance is ſtrongly expreſſive of the perilous ſituation of the infant commonwealth. It repreſented a ſhip ſtruggling amid the waves, unaſſiſted by ſails or oars, with this motto: *Incertum quo fata ferant*, "I know not what "may be my fate †."

* Dr. Watſon. † Sir William Temple.

The

The ſtates had indeed great reaſon for doubt. They had to contend with the whole power of the Spaniſh monarchy; and Philip, inſtead of offering them any equitable conditions, laboured to detach the prince of Orange from the union of Utrecht. But William was too patriotic to reſign the intereſts of his country for any private advantage. Theſe revolters at firſt were thought ſo deſpicable, as to be termed *beggars* by them; but their perſeverance and courage were ſuch, under the prince of Orange, and the aſſiſtance afforded them by queen Elizabeth both in troops and money, that they forced the crown of Spain to declare them a free people *.

When the ambition of Lewis XIV. reduced the Dutch to the greateſt difficulties, and like an inundation, levelled every thing before it, the celebrated de Witt, ſenſible of his error, in relying too implicitly on the faith of treaties, attempted to raiſe a reſpectable military force for the defence of his country, in this dangerous criſis. But every propoſal which he made for that purpoſe was oppoſed by the Orange faction, who aſcribed to his miſconduct alone the defenceleſs ſtate of the republic; and their power, which had encreaſed with the difficulties of the States, was become extremely formidable, by the popularity of the young prince, William III. now in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and who had already given ſtrong indications of the great qualities, which afterward diſtinguiſhed his active life. For theſe qualities William was not a little indebted to his generous and patriotic rival, de Witt, who, conſcious of the precarious ſituation of his own party, had given the prince an excellent education, and inſtructed him in all the principles of government and ſound policy, in order to render him capable of ſerving his country, if any future emergency ſhould ever throw the government into his hands †.

The conduct of William had hitherto been highly deſerving of approbation, and ſuch as could not fail to recommend him to his countrymen. Though encouraged by England and Brandenburgh, to which he was allied by blood, to aſpire after the ſtadtholderſhip, he had expreſſed his reſolution of depending entirely on the ſtates for his advancement. The whole tenor of his behaviour was extremely ſuitable to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and ſilent, even in youth; ready to hear, and given to enquire; deſtitute of brilliant talents, but of a ſound and ſteady underſtanding; greatly intent on buſineſs, little inclined to pleaſure, he ſtrongly engaged the hearts of all men. And the people, remembering what they owed to his family, which had ſo glo-

* Univerſal Hiſtory. † Le Clerc.

rioufly

rioufly protected them againſt the exorbitant power of Spain, were deſirous of raiſing him to all the authority of his anceſtors; as the leader whoſe valour and conduct could alone deliver them from thoſe imminent dangers with which they were threatened *. In conſequence of this general predilection, William was appointed commander in chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of ſeventy thouſand men. The ſtruggle between the parties, however, ſtill continued; and by their mutual animoſities, the vigour of every public meaſure was broken, and the execution of every project retarded. Enraged to find their country enfeebled by party jealouſy, when its very political exiſtence was threatened, the people roſe at Dort, and forced their magiſtrates to ſign the repeal of the Perpetual Edict. Other cities
A. D. 1651. followed the example, and the prince of Orange was declared Stadtholder.

This revolution was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the penſionary de Witt marked him out as a ſacrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interpoſition of power. Cornelius de Witt the penſionary's brother, who had ſo often ſerved his country with his ſword, was accuſed by a man of an infamous character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poiſon the prince of Orange. The accuſation, though attended with the moſt improbable, and even abſurd circumſtances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude, and even by the magiſtrates. Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature, and put to the torture, in order to extort a confeſſion of his crime. He bore with the moſt intrepid firmneſs all that cruelty could inflict: but he was ſtript notwithſtanding of his employments, and ſentenced to baniſhment for life. The penſionary, who had ſupported his brother through the whole proſecution, reſolved not to deſert him in his diſgrace. He accordingly went to his priſon on purpoſe to accompany him to the place of his exile. The ſignal was given to the populace. They broke open the priſon doors, pulled out the two brothers, and wounded, mangled, and tore them to pieces; exerciſing on their dead bodies ſuch acts of barbarity too horrid to relate †.

The maſſacre of the de Witts, by extinguiſhing for a time the animoſities of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the States. All men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in paying the moſt implicit obedience

* Voltaire. † Burnet. Temple.

to

to the prince of Orange, and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was deſcended, adopted ſentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject with ſcorn thoſe humiliating conditions demanded by their imperious enemies; and, by his advice, the ſtates put an end to negociations which had ſerved only to depreſs the courage of the citizens, and delay the aſſiſtance of their allies.

By their ſea wars with England, the United Provinces have juſtly acquired the reputation of a formidable naval power. The occurrences which led to a rupture between them and the Engliſh, during the American war, have been already related. As it was urged, that they refuſed to fulfil the treaties which ſubſiſted between them and Great Britain, ſo all the treaties which bound Great Britain to them were declared null and void, as if none had ever exiſted. Probably, to their ſeparation from this country, may be attributed the recent differences between the States General and the emperor of Germany, who, from the exhauſted ſtate of ſeveral of the European powers, ſeemed to have a favourable opportunity of accompliſhing his ambitious deſigns. A. D. 1780.

During the progreſs of their contentions with the emperor, the ſtates were greatly diſtreſſed by the moſt unhappy animoſities within themſelves. The continued ſeries of loſſes, which they had ſuſtained in the late war with Great Britain, was particularly diſgraceful to the republic. The *patriots* attributed theſe diſaſters to the Stadtholder, who openly expreſſed his predilection for the Engliſh at the beginning of the American quarrel. They alſo propoſed the following alterations in the Dutch conſtitution: "That "the forms of the preſent government ſhould continue to "ſubſiſt, but that the States ſhould become in every reſpect "*completely independent* of the Stadtholder: That his right "of recommending candidates for the vacant magiſtracies "in the towns of Holland ſhould ceaſe: That the charges "of Stadtholder and Captain-General ſhould, if poſſible, be "ſeparated, and conferred on different perſons; or that, "at leaſt, the titles only ſhould be reſerved to the prince "of Orange, and the offices be executed, as in the time "of the de Witts, by deputies choſen for that purpoſe. "In general, that the Stadtholder ſhould poſſeſs ſuch powers "only, as might enable him to execute the orders of the "States." In this affair, the new king of Pruſſia offered his mediation; but that being refuſed, he applied to the court of France, to know whether they would co-operate with him in his pacific intention. On receiving a favourable anſwer, both

monarchs

monarchs united their efforts to reconcile the
A. D. 1787. contending parties, but all in vain; ſo that both ambaſſadors departed from the Hague.

This unfortunate event produced various accuſations and vindications between the two parties, with a long train of negociations, reſolutions, and animoſities. Hoſtilities at laſt commenced, and a violent tumult took place at Amſterdam, excited by the partiſans of the Stadtholder, in which ſeveral perſons were killed. This was followed by a revolt of moſt of the regular troops of Holland, who went over to the Stadtholder; but notwithſtanding this apparent advantage, and ſome others which afterwards took place, the diſpute ſtill continued with extreme violence, inſomuch that the princeſs of Orange herſelf was ſeized, and detained a priſoner a night by the patriots. Theſe moſt turbulent commotions, however, were at laſt happily ſettled by the king of Pruſſia, who, for this purpoſe, marched an army into the territories of the United States, and took poſſeſſion of the city of Rotterdam, and ſome other places without reſiſtance. This overawed both parties to ſuch a degree, that they quickly came to an accommodation, and a treaty was concluded between that monarch and the States of Holland. By this the two contending parties were formally reconciled, and the courts of London and Berlin guaranteed the Stadtholderſhip, as well as the hereditary government of each province, in the houſe of Orange, with all the rights and prerogatives formerly ſettled in the family.

Though Holland be a republic, yet its government is far from being of the popular kind; nor do the people enjoy that degree of liberty, which might at firſt view be apprehended. It is, indeed, rather an oligarchy than a commonwealth; for the bulk of the people are not ſuffered to have the leaſt ſhare in any department of government, nor even in the choice of the deputies.

In reſpect to *ſcience*, Eraſmus and Grotius, who were both natives of this country, ſtand almoſt at the head of modern learning, as Boerhaave does of medicine. Haerlem diſputes the invention of printing with the Germans; and the moſt elegant editions of the claſſics have come from the Dutch preſſes of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Leyden and other towns.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE NETHERLANDS.

Ancient Inhabitants, and Government—Revolutions—Liſle, Dunkirk, Ghent, Bruſſels, and Antwerp—Recent Diſturbances.

THE Netherlands, called alſo the Spaniſh provinces, becauſe formerly under the dominion of the Spaniards, are ſituated between France, Germany, and Holland. This country, originally inhabited by the ancient Belgæ, was conquered by Julius Cæſar forty-ſeven years before Chriſt. Having afterwards paſſed into the hands of France, it was governed by its earls, ſubject to that crown, for ſeveral centuries. By marriage it came into the houſe of Auſtria; but was yielded to Spain in 1556. It ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke in 1572 *, and in the year 1725, by the treaty of Vienna, was annexed to the German empire. A. D. 1369.

The French, however, are ſtill in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of the Netherlands. Liſle is a very great, rich and ſtrong town, belonging to France, and the chief town of French Flanders. Dunkirk was taken by Oliver Cromwel from the Spaniards, in 1658, but afterwards moſt ſhamefully ſold to France by king Charles II. for five hundred thouſand pounds, in 1662.

Ghent is the capital of that part of Flanders which belongs to the houſe of Auſtria. It is a very large town, but neither rich nor ſtrong. The emperor Charles V. was born there, and his ſtatue is upon a pillar in the middle of the great ſquare. Bruſſels is the chief town of Brabant, where the beſt camblets are made, and moſt of the fine lace, that are worn in England. Antwerp was once the emporium of the European continent; but the Dutch, ſoon after they ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke, ruined the commerce of it, by ſinking veſſels, loaded with ſtone, in the month of the river Scheldt; thus ſhutting up for ever the entrance of that river to ſhips of burden.

A few years ago, the provinces of the Netherlands, belonging to the emperor, determined to aſſert their liberty. The quarrel originated, like thoſe in other countries, about the perogatives aſſumed by the emperor, and which were more exten-

* Dr. Watſon.

five

ſive than his ſubjects wiſhed to allow. The
A. D. 1789. patriots firſt began to aſſemble in Dutch Brabant, and, being protected by the States General, ſoon became very ſtrong; ſo that, in a ſhort time, they manifeſted a deſign to aſſert their liberty by force of arms. The king of Pruſſia was then aſſembling an army, with which it was thought he deſigned to take ſome active part in the preſent affair; but he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that he did not mean to interfere in the troubles of the Low Countries. Thus the emperor and the patriots were left to decide their quarrel by themſelves; and in this conteſt the latter diſplayed a reſolution, as well as power to accompliſh their purpoſes, which was by no means generally expected. Almoſt every town in Auſtrian Flanders ſhewed its determination to oppoſe the emperor, and the moſt enthuſiaſtic attachment to military affairs diſplayed itſelf in all ranks of men. Even the eccleſiaſtics manifeſted their valour on the occaſion; which perhaps was naturally to be expected, as the emperor had been very active in depriving them of their revenues. A formidable army was ſoon raiſed, which after ſome ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, made themſelves maſters of Ghent, Bruges, Tournay, Malines, and Oſtend; ſo that general Dalton was obliged to retire to Bruſſels. A battle was fought before the city of Ghent, in which the patriots were victorious, though with the loſs of one thouſand men, beſides women and children. It reflects indelible diſgrace on the Imperial character, as well as the commander of the troops, that they committed the moſt dreadful acts of cruelty on the unhappy objects who fell into their hands. Orders were given to plunder and deſtroy wherever they could obtain any booty; while the mercileſs ſavages not only deſtroyed the men, but killed women and ſucking infants. Some of them plunged their bayonets into the bodies of children in the cradle, or pinned them againſt the walls of the houſes. By theſe monſtrous cruelties they inſured ſucceſs to their adverſaries; for the whole countries of Brabant, Flanders, and Maes, almoſt inſtantly declared in their favour. They publiſhed a memorial for their juſtification, in which they gave as reaſons for their conduct, the many oppreſſive edicts with which they had been haraſſed ſince the death of the empreſs-queen; the unwarrantable extenſion of the imperial prerogative, contrary to his coronation-oath, and which could not be done without perjury on his part; the violence committed on his ſubjects by forcibly entering their houſes at midnight, and ſending them priſoners to Vienna, to periſh in a dungeon, or on the banks of the Danube. Not content with this, he had openly maſſacred his ſubjects; he had conſigned towns and villages

to

to the flames, and entered into a deſign of exterminating people, who contended only for their rights. Theſe things, they owned, might be terrible at the time, and eaſily impoſe upon their minds, but "the natural courage of a nation rouſed by "repeated injuries, and animated by deſpair, would riſe ſu-"perior to thoſe laſt efforts of vindictive tyranny, and render "them as impotent and abortive, as they were wicked and "unexampled." For all which reaſons they declared themſelves *independent*, and for ever releaſed from the houſe of Auſtria.

The emperor now publiſhed proclamations of indemnity, but they were treated with the utmoſt contempt. The patriots made the moſt rapid conqueſts, inſomuch, that before the end of the year they were maſters of every place in the Netherlands, except Antwerp and Luxemburg. A new act of union was eſtabliſhed between the Belgic provinces, to which all thoſe formerly ſubject to Auſtria unanimouſly acceded. It originated between thoſe of Flanders and Brabant, and was to the following purpoſe: That neither party ever enter into any compromiſe with their former ſovereign, but by common agreement. They agreed to change this union into one common ſovereignty between the two ſtates; ſo that the whole power ſhould be entered in a congreſs compoſed of deputies named by both parties. The power of this ſovereign aſſembly was to keep good order in the Belgic provinces of his Imperial majeſty, by a general amneſty, and total forgiveneſs of whatever had paſſed during the troubles, under the guarantee of the ſaid powers.

CHAP. I.

ITALY.

Revolutions of this Country.—Venice, Genoa, Milan, Piedmont, Tuſcany, Mantua, Naples, and Sicily.—Veſuvius and Ætna.—Arts and Sciences.

THE empire of Charlemagne ſoon experienced the ſame fate with that of Alexander. Under his ſucceſſors it was in a ſhort time entirely diſmembered. His ſon, Lewis le Debonair, ſucceeded to his dominions in France and Germany, while Bernard, the grandſon of Charlemagne, reigned over Italy and the adjacent iſlands. But Bernard having loſt his life by the cruelty of his uncle, againſt whom he had levied war, and Lewis himſelf dying, his dominions were divided among his ſons, Lothario, Lewis, and Charles. Lothario, with the title A. D. 840.

of emperor, retained Italy, Provence, and the fertile countries, ſituated between the Saone and the Rhine; Lewis had Germany; and France fell to the ſhare of Charles, the youngeſt of the three brothers *. Shortly after this, Italy was ravaged by different contending tyrants, till A. D. 964. Otho the Great reunited Italy to the Imperial dominions. Italy afterwards ſuffered much by the conteſts between the popes and emperors; it was haraſſed by wars and internal diviſions; and at length various principalities and ſtates were erected under different heads †.

Italy is now divided into twelve ſeparate ſtates or governments. Venice, Genoa, and Lucca, are republics; Mantua, Milan, Modena, Parma, Savoy, and Tuſcany, are dukedoms; Piedmont is a principality, and Naples a kingdom. The *Land* of the *Church* makes the twelfth ſtate, of which the capital is Rome, ſituated upon the Tiber, a very inconſiderable river, and navigated only by ſmall boats, barges, and lighters. This is the reſidence of the Pope. Next to Rome, Bologna is the moſt conſiderable city in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

The Venetian territories are as fruitful as any in Italy; the fields abounding with vineyards and plantations of mulberries. Venice, the capital, is ſeated upon ſeventy-two iſlands at the bottom of the north end of the gulf of Venice, and is ſeparated from the continent by a marſhy lake of five Italian miles in breadth, too ſhallow for ſhips to navigate, and contains nothing extraordinary grand, or beautiful. The government is ariſtocratic, under a chief magiſtrate, called a doge, who is very juſtly ſaid to be a king as to robes, a ſenator in the council-houſe, a priſoner within the city, and a private man out of it ‡. The Venetians were formerly the moſt formidable maritime power in Europe. In 1194, they conquered Conſtantinople itſelf, and held it for ſome time, together with great part of the continent of Europe and Aſia. The diſcovery of a paſſage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, gave the firſt blow to their greatneſs, as it loſt them the Indian trade. By degrees the Turks took from them their moſt valuable poſſeſſions on the continent; and ſo late as the year 1715, they loſt the Morea.

The government of *Genoa* is ariſtocratical, being veſted in the duke or doge, choſen every two years, and twelve counſellors, who are continually about him. The Genoeſe, for ſome time, diſputed the empire of the Mediterranean ſea with the Venetians, but were ſeldom or never able to maintain their own independency by land, being generally protected, and ſometimes ſubjected, by the French and Imperialiſts §. The ſucceſsful effort they made in driving the victorious Auſtrians out of their capital, during the war which

* Gibbon. † Dr. Robertſon. ‡ Strada. § Davila.

was

was terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, has few parallels in hiſtory, and ſerves to ſhew the effects of deſpair under oppreſſion. A. D. 1748.

The *Milaneſe*, the faireſt portion of Italy, went through ſeveral hands; but fell at laſt into the hands of the emperor Charles V. who gave it to his ſon Philip II. king of Spain. It remained with that crown till the French were driven out of Italy by the Imperialiſts, who were diſpoſſeſſed of it in 1743, but by the emperor's ceſſion of Naples and Sicily to the king of Spain, it returned to the houſe of Auſtria, and is governed by a viceroy. The fertility and beauty of this country is almoſt incredible. *Milan*, the capital, and its citadel, is very ſtrong.---The government of *Mantua* is annexed to Milan. Virgil was a native of this country.

The duchy of Parma is one of the moſt flouriſhing ſtates in Italy of its extent. The duke's court is thought to be the politeſt of any in Italy. The firſt duke of Parma was natural ſon to pope Paul III. the duchy having been annexed to the holy ſee, by pope Julius II *. The deſcendants of the houſe of Farneſe terminated in the late queen dowager of Spain, whoſe ſon, his preſent Catholic majeſty, obtained that duchy; and his nephew now holds it, with the duchy of Placentia.

On the diviſion of Italy, *Piedmont* and *Savoy* fell to the lot of the counts of Maurienne, the anceſtors of his preſent Sardinian majeſty, whoſe father became king of Sardinia, in virtue of the quadraple alliance concluded in 1718. Turin, the capital of Piedmont, is one of the fineſt cities in Europe. His Sardinian Majeſty keeps his court there, and is ſo abſolute, that his revenues conſiſt of what he pleaſes to lay on his ſubjects. The aggrandizement of this monarch is chiefly owing to England, to whom, by his ſituation, he was eſteemed a natural ally, for the preſervation of the balance of power in Europe.

The great duchy of *Tuſcany* belongs to the emperor of Germany. Florence is the principal city, which in reſpect of the curioſities worthy the attention of the traveller, exceeds every city in Italy, Rome alone excepted †. It is ſaid, that few perſons in Florence are known to have the ſenſe of ſeeing in perfection; and indeed *Florentini ciechi*, or blind Florentines, is a common jeſt. Leghorn carries on a great trade; and ſeveral ſhips of very conſiderable force are now ſtationed on the Tuſcan coaſts, to prevent the depredations of the Barbary rovers and pirates.

* Bentivoglio. † Brydone's Tour.

The kingdom of *Naples* is termed a paradiſe. From this tract, as the fineſt, the moſt fertile, and moſt delightful of all Italy, Virgil took the model of his Elyſian Fields. No country has undergone greater viciſſitudes of government than Naples or Sicily *, chiefly owing to the inconſtancy of the natives, which ſeems to be incorporated with the air †. Chriſtians and Saracens by turns conquered it. The Normans under Tancred drove out the Saracens, and eſtabliſhed a moſt reſpectable monarchy. About the year 1066, the popes being then all powerful in Europe, their intrigues broke the ſucceſſion of Tancred's line, and Naples and Sicily at laſt came into the poſſeſſion of the French; and the houſe of Anjou, with ſome interruptions, and tragical revolutions, held the government, till the Spaniards drove them out in 1504, and the Sicilies were annexed to the crown of Spain. After ſwaying the Sicilian ſceptre for upwards two hundred years, the kings of Spain were diſpoſſeſſed in the year 1707, by the emperor Joſeph; but the Spaniards again made an entire conqueſt of the country in 1735. The preſent king is Ferdinand IV. third ſon of his Catholic Majeſty Charles III.

Mount Veſuvius, which is five Italian miles diſtant from the city of Naples, and Mount Ætna, in Sicily, are celebrated Volcanos, being remarkable for emitting fire from their tops. The declivity of Mount Veſuvius towards the ſea, is every where planted with vines and fruit-trees; and it is equally fertile towards the bottom. The circumjacent plain affords a delightful proſpect, and the air is clear and wholeſome. The height of Mount Veſuvius has been computed to be 3000 feet above the ſurface of the ſea. It hath been a Volcano beyond the reach of hiſtory or tradition. But though this mountain often fills the neighbouring country with terror, yet as few things in nature are ſo abſolutely noxious as not to produce ſome good; even this raging volcano, by its ſulphurous and nitrous manure, and the heat of its ſubterraneous fires, contributes not a little to the uncommon fertility, and to the profuſion of fruits and herbage with which it is every where covered. Beſides it is ſuppoſed that the mountain, being open and active, proves leſs hoſtile to Naples, than it would be, if its eruptions were to ceaſe, and its ſtruggles confined to its bowels *.

Mount Ætna is 10,954 feet in height, and has been computed to be 60 miles in circumference. It ſtands ſeparate from all other mountains, its figure is circular and it ter-

* Naples and Sicily are generally called the Two Sicilies, the name of Sicily being common to both.

† Dr. Moore.

‡ Sir William Hamilton.

minates

minates in a cone. The lower parts of it are very fruitful in corn and ſugar cane; the middle abounds with woods, olive trees, and vines; and the upper part is almoſt the whole year covered with ſnow. Its fiery eruptions have always rendered it famous: in one of theſe, which happened in 1669, fourteen towns and villages were deſtroyed, and there have been ſeveral terrible eruptions ſince that time. There is generally an earthquake before any great eruption. In 1693 the port town of Catania was overturned, and 18,000 people periſhed.

With regard to the arts and ſciences, the mathematics and natural philoſophy owe much to Galileo, Toricelli, and ſeveral other Italians. Strada is an excellent hiſtorian; and the hiſtory of the council of Trent, by the celebrated Father Paul, is a ſtandard work. Guiciardini, Bentivoglio, and Davila, have been much commended as hiſtorians by their ſeveral admirers. Machiavel is equally famous as an hiſtorian, and as a political writer. His comedies have much merit; and the liberality of his ſentiments, for the age in which he lived, is amazing. Among the proſe writers in the Italian language, Boccace has been thought one of the moſt pure and correct in point of ſtyle. He was a very natural painter of life and manners, but his productions are too licentious. Petrarch, who wrote both in Latin and Italian, revived among the moderns the ſpirit and genius of ancient literature: but among the Italian poets, Dante, Arioſto, and Taſſo, are the moſt diſtinguiſhed. There are ſaid to be upwards of a thouſand comedies in the Italian language, though not many that are excellent: but Metaſtaſio has acquired a great reputation by writing dramatic pieces ſet to muſic. Sannazarius, Bembo, Vida, and other natives of Italy, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the elegance, correctneſs, and ſpirit of their Latin poetry, many of their compoſitions approaching in ſome degree to the claſſics themſelves. Socinus, who was ſo much diſtinguiſhed by his oppoſition to the doctrine of the Trinity, was a native of Italy. The Italian painters, ſculptors, architects, and muſicians are unrivalled, not only in their numbers, but their excellencies. The revival of learning, after the ſack of Conſtantinople by the Turks, revived taſte likewiſe, and gave mankind a reliſh for truth, and beauty in deſign and colouring. Raphael, from his own ideas, aſſiſted by the ancients, ſtruck out a new creation by his pencil, and ſtill ſtands at the head of painting. Michael Angelo Buanarotti excelled at once in painting, ſculpture, and architecture. The colouring of Titian has perhaps never yet been equalled. Bramante, Bernini, and many other Italians, carried

ſculpture and architecture to an amazing height. Julio Romano, Correggio, Caraccio, Veroneſe, and others, are, as painters, unequalled in their ſeveral manners; the ſame may be ſaid of Corelli, and other Italians, in muſic. At preſent, Italy cannot juſtly boaſt of any paramount genius in the fine arts.

CHAP. II.

THE OTTOMAN OR TURKISH EMPIRE.

The ancient Settlement of the Huns and Turks.—Othman, Bajazet and Tamerlane.—Eſtabliſhment of the Turkiſh Monarchy on the Ruins of the Eaſtern Empire.—War with Ruſſia.—Deſtruction of the Turkiſh Fleet.—Decline of the Ottoman Power.

THE Huns and Turks, originally the ſame people, deſcended from the ancient Scythians, who in the early ages migrating from the northern regions by the Caſpian ſea, and over mount Caucaſus, eſtabliſhed themſelves in a tract of Aſia, called Georgia a Turcomania *. Here they acquired ſtrength, and ſoon over-ran Thrace. The hiſtory of this period is obſcure and unintereſting, till Othman, one of their caliphs or princes, from whom the preſent ſultans are deſcended, and to whom the Ottoman empire owes its name and eſtabliſhment, ſeized on Bythinia, took the title of ſultan, and fixed the ſeat of his government at Pruſa †. His ſucceſſor, reſtleſs, ambitious, and cruel, greatly extended the limits of their dominions. Amurath, grandſon of Ottoman, firſt eſtabliſhed the order of Janizaries under the form in which they at preſent ſubſiſt. In order to create a body of devoted troops, that might ſerve as the immediate guards of his perſon and dignity, the Sultan commanded his officers to ſeize annually, as the imperial property, the third part of the younger Chriſtian males, taken in war. After being inſtructed in the Mahometan religion, inured to obedience by ſevere diſcipline, and trained to warlike exerciſe, theſe youths were formed into regular bands, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Janizaries*, or new ſoldiers. And as every ſentiment which enthuſiaſm can inſpire, and every mark of ho-

* The word Turk ſignifies a ſhepherd or peaſant.
† Gibbon.

now

nour that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed to animate them with martial ardour, and fill them with a ſenſe of their own pre-eminence, the Janizaries ſoon became the chief ſtrength and pride of the Ottoman armies *.

Amurath being aſſaſſinated, as he was purſuing his victories, was ſucceeded by his ſon Bajazet, ſurnamed Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt. This prince gained many important conqueſts, and rendered the Greek emperor, Manuel Paleologus, tributary to him. He at length laid ſiege to the city of Conſtantinople, and its fall ſeemed inevitable, when the fatal blow was diverted for that time by Timur Beck, a Tartarian prince, commonly called *Tamerlane*.

The dominions of the Moguls, or Weſtern Tartars, extended from the Wolga to the frontiers of China, and as far as the river Ganges. Timur Beck, or Tamerlane, one of the princes of theſe Tartars, and a deſcendant of the famous Jenghiz Khan, their firſt emperor, was born in the city of Caſh, in the ancient Sogdiana, at preſent inhabited by the Uſbecks. He ſubdued almoſt as great an extent of territory as his victorious anceſtor, and in the ſweep of his conqueſts, gave a blow to the empire of the Turks. Having ſubjected Perſia, India, and Syria, the Greek emperor, and five Mahometan princes, whom the Sultan had unjuſtly ſtripped of their dominions, invited him into Aſia Minor, as the only potentate able to deliver them from the tyranny of Bajazet. Thus ſolicited, Tamerlane marched againſt the haughty Sultan. They met between Cæſaria and Ancyra, where all the forces of the world ſeemed aſſembled, and a great and terrible battle was fought. The diſpute was long and obſtinate, but fortune at length declared for Tamerlane. Bajazet himſelf was taken priſoner, and had the affliction to ſee one of his ſons fall by his ſide, and the mortification to find another the companion of his chains. They were treated with great humanity, notwithſtanding the vulgar ſtory of the iron cage, in which the captive Sultan is ſaid to have been ſhut up. Three hundred and forty thouſand men are computed to have fallen on both ſides †.

After the death of Bajazet civil wars and commotions prevailed in the Ottoman empire. Muſa ſucceeded his father Bajazet, and on the death of Mahomet I. who had dethroned and put to death his brother Muſa, Amurath II. the ſon of this Mahomet immediately ſat down before Conſtantinople, but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege to quell the revolt of his brother Muſtapha. This prince carried on hoſtilities with ſucceſs againſt the Chriſtians, but was op-

* Puffendorf. † Hiſtory of Timur Beck.

poſed in his progreſs by George Caſtriot, commonly called Scanderbeg. His father was the hereditary prince of a ſmall diſtrict of Albania, and, unable to contend with the ſultan, delivered as the pledges of his fidelity, his four ſons, who were educated in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the exercise of arms. The three elder periſhed without reputation, though not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. But George ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and ſtrength; and Iskender Beg *, or the lord Alexander, attained the favour of the ſultan Amurath. The loſs of his father's principality was compenſated by the command of a thouſand horſe, and he ſerved with honour in the wars of Europe and Aſia. Whatever ſenſe he might entertain of his father's wrongs, whatever might be his ſecret inclinations towards Chriſtianity, it was not till the age of forty, that he openly avowed his religious ſentiments, and broke the chain of his ſlavery. While he commanded the vanguard of the Turkiſh army, amidſt the tumult of a defeat, occaſioned by his own deſertion, he extorted by his dagger from the Reis Effendi, or prime ſecretary, a patent for the government of Albania. With ſome bold companions, to whom he had revealed his deſign, he eſcaped from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. No ſooner had he poſſeſſed himſelf, by means of the royal mandate, of the fortreſs of Croya, than he diſdained any farther diſſimulation, and invited the Albanians, a martial race, to join the ſtandard of *religion* and *freedom*. The Ottoman garriſons were in-
A. D. 1443. dulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptiſm; and on the aſſembly of the ſtates of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkiſh war. Under his conduct, the Albanians believed themſelves, and became invincible. His ſtanding militia conſiſted only of 8000 horſe and 7000 foot; but on the firſt approach of an enemy, the blaze of the beacons ſummoned the warlike youth of the nation to their different poſts. During twenty-three years, he baffled the powers of the Ottoman empire, though commanded by two of the greateſt and moſt enterpriſing princes. Amurath entered Albania at the head of his valiant Janizaries; but, after a fruitleſs ſiege, he was compelled to retire from the walls of Croya, and the diſappointment contributed perhaps to ſhorten his days. Before his death Scanderbeg ſeems to have been oppreſſed by the irreſiſtible weight of the Turks; his reſources were nearly exhauſted; he was reduced to demand of Pius II. a refuge in the eccleſiaſtical dominions, and expired a fugitive at Leſſus on the Venetian territory. His infant ſon was ſaved amidſt

* Afterwards called Scanderberg.

the

bank of the Theyſe, in the kingdom of Hungary. About twenty thouſand Turks were left dead on the field, and ten thouſand were drowned in the river, in endeavouring to avoid the fury of the ſword. The magnificent pavilion of the ſultan, and all the ſtores, fell into the hands of prince Eugene *. Soon after this misfortune the haughty Muſtapha was dethroned.

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* Voltaire.

ſhips,

inveſted and took Tunis by ſtorm, putting the garriſon to the ſword. On his death, his ſon, Amurath III. aſcended the Ottoman throne, who extended his dominions on both ſides by the addition of Raab, in Hungary, and Tibris, in Perſia. His ſon, Mahomet III. has no claim to notice but his barbarity. He began his reign by ſtrangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives, whom he ſuſpected to be with-child, to be drowned. This monſter of cruelty had a glorious and ſucceſsful reign. During the government of his ſon Achmet I. every thing went to ruin. On his death, the Janizaries and the Divan choſe his brother, Muſtapha, whom in two months they declared incapable of reigning, and threw him into priſon; after which they proclaimed his young nephew, Oſman, the ſon of Achmet, emperor. This prince formed a deſign of curbing the power of the Janizaries, for which he was depoſed and murdered; and Muſtapha was again called from priſon to the imperial throne, but was ſoon after ſtrangled *.

Under Amurath, or Morab IV. ſurnamed Gaſi, the Intrepid, every thing again aſſumed a new face. He was ſucceſsful in his wars, and took Bagdat from the Perſians. A debauch of wine put an end to his life, and diſhonoured his memory. His ſon Ibrahim, who ſucceeded him, had every vice; he was a weak prince, and wholly void of courage. He was ſtrangled by four mutes.

After a long interval of inaction, the Turks again became formidable to Europe under Mahomet IV. who ſucceeded him. His grand viſier, Kupuli, who at once directed the councils, and conducted the armies of the Porte, took Candia from the Venetians. After carrying on many wars againſt the Germans, the Poles, the Ruſſians, and other European powers, he was compelled to reſign the turban to Solyman III. a prince happy in his domeſtic government, but unſucceſsful in his wars. His brother, Achmet, II. was likewiſe unfortunate in his wars. In his reign the Turks were driven out of Hungary and Tranſylvania. The acceſſion of his nephew, Muſtapha II. to the Ottoman throne, gave a new turn to affairs. Poſſeſſed of more vigour than his predeceſſor, he reſolved to command his troops in perſon. He accordingly took the field, paſſed the Danube, ſtormed Lippa, ſeized Itul, and falling ſuddenly on a body of Imperialiſts under Veterani, he killed that officer, diſperſed his forces, and cloſed with ſucceſs the campaign. He was afterwards defeated by prince Eugene in an uncommonly bloody battle at Zenta, a ſmall village on the weſtern

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

bank

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* Voltaire.

ſhips,

ſhips, as well as the danger to thoſe that were near them, produced a kind of pauſe on both ſides; after which the action was renewed, and continued till night without any material advantage on either ſide. When it became dark, the Turkiſh fleet cut their cables, and run into a bay on the coaſt of Natolia: the Ruſſians ſurrounded them thus cloſely pent up, and in the night ſome fire ſhips were ſucceſſively conveyed among the Turkiſh fleet, by the intrepid behaviour of lieutenant Dugdale, an Engliſhman in the Ruſſian ſervice, who, though abandoned by his crew, himſelf directed the operations of the fire ſhips. The fire took place ſo effectually, that in five hours the whole fleet, except one man of war, and a few gallies that were towed off by the Ruſſians, was totally deſtroyed; after which they entered the harbour, and bombarded and cannonaded the town of Patras, and the caſtle that protected it, with ſuch ſucceſs, that a ſhot having blown up a powder magazine in the latter, both were reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. Thus was there ſcarcely a veſtige left, at nine o'clock, of a town, a caſtle, and a fine fleet, which had been all in exiſtence at one the ſame morning. After a moſt unfortunate war on the ſide of the Turks, peace was at length concluded between them and the Ruſſians, a few months after the acceſſion of Achmet IV. Muſtapha left a ſon, then only in his thirteenth year; but as he was too young to manage the reins of government, in the then critical ſituation of the Turkiſh affairs, Muſtapha appointed his brother, the preſent emperor, to ſucceed him in the throne: and to this prince, under the ſtrongeſt terms of recommendation, he confided the care of his infant ſon.

A. D. 1774.

Achmet was ſucceeded by Selim III. the preſent reigning monarch.

A. D. 1789.

Till the time of Solyman II. the Turkiſh arms had been always ſucceſsful. After his death the courſe of their victories and conqueſts began to ſlacken. The Ottoman power is now much on the decline; and, as Germany and Ruſſia are becoming daily more formidable, we may conjecture that the deſtruction of the empire is not far off *. The perſeverance of the Turks, ſupplied by their numerous Aſiatic armies, and the implicit ſubmiſſion to their officers, rather than any excellency in military diſcipline or courage in war, have been the great ſprings of thoſe ſucceſſes which have rendered their empire ſo formidable. The extention, as well as duration of their empire, may indeed be in ſome meaſure owing to the military inſti-

* Playfair.

tution of the Janizaries, a corps originally compoſed of the children of ſuch Chriſtian parents as could not pay their taxes. Theſe being collected together, were formed to the exerciſe of arms under the eyes of their officers in the ſeraglio. They were generally in number about 40,000, long deemed invincible; and they ſtill continue the flower of the Turkiſh armies. The political ſtate of Europe, and the jealouſies that ſubſiſt among its princes, are now the ſureſt baſis of this empire, and the principal reaſon why the fineſt provinces in the world are ſuffered to remain in the poſſeſſion of theſe ignorant and haughty infidels.

The *education* of the Turks ſeldom extends farther than reading the Turkiſh language and the Koran, and writing a common letter. Some of them underſtand aſtronomy ſo far as to calculate the time of an eclipſe; but the number of theſe being very ſmall, they are looked upon as extraordinary perſons.

The manners of the Turks form an extraordinary contraſt. They are fierce, and yet charitable; intereſted, yet hardly ever guilty of theft; and indolent, without being inclined to gaming, or intemperance. Very few avail themſelves of the privilege of marrying many women; and there is no great city in Europe where there are fewer proſtitutes than at Conſtantinople. Inviolably attached to their religion, the Turks hate and deſpiſe Chriſtians, whom they look upon as idolaters; yet they tolerate and protect them throughout their empire, and in their capital. They are proud, yet they have no nobility; and they are brave, though they are ſtrangers to duelling. The Aſiatics never fight any duels, owing, perhaps, to their cuſtom of never wearing arms but when they take the field *.

* Voltaire.

CHAP

CHAP. III.

ARABIA, AND THE EMPIRE OF THE SARACENS.

Mahomet.—The Alcoran.—Subſtance of its Morality.—Succeſſors of Mahomet.—Library at Alexandria burnt.—Copiouſneſs of the Arabic Language.

IF we now turn our view to Aſia, we ſhall there meet with one of the greateſt revolutions that ever happened in the world; I mean that occaſioned by the impoſtor Mahomet, who gave birth to an empire, which in eighty years extended itſelf over more kingdoms and countries than the Romans did in eight hundred. Mahomet was the younger ſon of an indigent family, and was a long time employed in the ſervice of a woman called Cadiga, who exerciſed the profeſſion of a merchant in Mecca; he married his miſtreſs, and lived obſcure to the age of forty. It was not till then that he diſplayed thoſe talents, which ſpoke him ſo much ſuperior to all his fellow citizens. He poſſeſſed a warm and nervous eloquence, deſtitute of art and method, ſuch as was neceſſary to harangue the Arabs; an air of authority and inſinuation, animated by piercing eyes, and ſupported by a happy phyſiognomy; the intrepidity and liberality of an Alexander, and that ſobriety which Alexander wanted, to be completely great in every part of his character. Love, the neceſſary conſequence of a warm conſtitution to which he owes ſo many wives and concubines, neither weakened his courage, his application, nor his health *.

Travelling had taught him the feebleneſs of neighbouring nations, and after having made himſelf entirely acquainted with the character of his countrymen ſcattered over the deſerts, their ignorance, incredulity and aptitude to enthuſiaſm, he plainly perceived that he ſhould be able to erect himſelf into a prophet. Hiſtory affords not another inſtance of a miſſion ſo audacious. He feigned revelations; he uttered predictions; he gained credit with his own family, which was perhaps the moſt difficult part of his undertaking. He was often ſubject to fits of the epilepſy, a diſeaſe which thoſe whom it afflicts are deſirous to conceal. Mahomet gave out, therefore, that theſe fits were trances, into which he was miraculouſly thrown by God Almighty, during which he was inſtructed in his will, which he was commanded to publiſh to the world. By this ſtrange ſtory, and

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

by

by leading a retired, abſtemious, and auſtere life, he eaſily acquired a character for ſuperior ſanctity among his acquaintance and neighbours *.

Many of the inhabitants of the Eaſtern countries were at this time much addicted to the opinions of Arius, who denied that Jeſus Chriſt was co-equal with God the Father, as is declared in the Athanaſian Creed. Egypt and Arabia were filled with Jews, who had fled into theſe corners of the world from the perſecution of the emperor Adrian, who threatened the total extinction of that people. The other inhabitants of thoſe countries were pagans. Theſe, however, had little attachment to their decayed and derided idolatry; and, like men whoſe religious principles is weak, had given themſelves over to pleaſure and ſenſuality, or to the acquiſition of riches, to be the better able to indulge in the gratifications of ſenſe, which together with the doctrine of predeſtination, compoſed the ſole principles of their religion and philoſophy. Mahomet's ſyſtem was exactly ſuited to theſe three kinds of men. To gratify the two former, he declared that was there one God, who created the world and governed all things in it; that he had ſent various prophets into the world to teach his will to mankind, among whom Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt were the moſt eminent; but the endeavours of theſe had proved ineffectual, and God had, therefore, now ſent his laſt and greateſt prophet with a commiſſion more ample than what Moſes or Chriſt had been entruſted with. He had commanded him not only to publiſh his laws, but to *ſubdue* thoſe who were unwilling to believe and obey them; and for this end to eſtabliſh a *kingdom upon earth*, which ſhould propagate the divine law throughout the world; that God had deſigned utter *ruin* and *deſtruction* to thoſe who had refuſed to ſubmit to him; but to his faithful followers he had given the *ſpoils* and poſſeſſions of all the earth, as a reward in this life, and had provided for them hereafter a paradiſe of all ſenſual enjoyments, eſpecially thoſe of love; that the pleaſures of ſuch as died in propagating the faith would be peculiarly exquiſite, and vaſtly tranſcend thoſe of the reſt. Theſe, together with the prohibition of drinking ſtrong liquors (a reſtraint not very ſevere in warm climates), and the doctrine of predeſtination, were the capital articles of Mahomet's Creed †.

They were no ſooner publiſhed than a great number of his countrymen embraced them with implicit faith. They were written by a Sergian monk, who aſſiſted Mahomet in

* Life of Mahomet.
† Univerſal Hiſtory. Moſheim. White's Sermons.

his

his deſign, and compoſe a book called the *Koran*, or Alcoran, by way of eminence, as we ſay the Bible, which means the book. This work abounds with incoherent rhapſodies; but all its interpreters agree, that the morality it inculcates is contained in theſe words: "Court thoſe who drive you "out; give to thoſe who ſtrip you; forgive thoſe who injure "you; do good to all; and never diſpute with the ignorant*."

As the perſon of Mahomet was familiar to the inhabitants of Mecca, the greater part of them were ſufficiently convinced of the deceit. The more enlightened and leading men, therefore, entered into a deſign to cut him off; but Mahomet getting notice of their intention, fled to Medina. His flight from that city, which is denominated Hegira, became the æra of his glory, as well as the foundation of his empire. From a fugitive he ſtarted up a conqueror. He armed his diſciples; beſieged and took Mecca; and ſaw his perſecutors humbled at his feet. After ſubduing all Arabia, and part of the Eaſtern empire, he died a natural death, leaving
A. D. 632. two branches of his race, both eſteemed divine among their ſubjects. Theſe were the caliphs of Perſia and of Egypt, under the laſt of which Arabia was included. Reſolving to behave, in his laſt moments, like a hero and a man of integrity, he cried out, "Let him to whom "I have done violence and injuſtice appear, I am now ready "to make him reparation." On this, a man ſtood up, and deſiring the reſtitution of ſome money, he ordered it to be given him, and expired a ſhort time after, with the character of a great man even in the opinion of thoſe who knew him to be an impoſtor, and revered as a prophet by all the reſt †.

Some have imagined, from an equivocal paſſage in the Koran, that Mahomet could neither read nor write, which would ſtill add to the prodigies of his ſucceſs. But it is not probable that a man who had been long a merchant, ſhould be ignorant of what is ſo neceſſary to trade; much leſs, is it probable, that a man who was ſo well verſed in the hiſtories and fables of his native country, ſhould be ignorant of what was known to all the children in Arabia. Beſides, the Arabian authors obſerve, that Mahomet, when dying, called for pen and ink. His laſt will, however, was not executed. He had nominated Ali his ſon-in-law, and Fatima his daughter, to ſucceed him in the government of his empire. But *ambition* which triumphs over *fanaticiſm* itſelf, induced the chiefs of his army to chuſe for caliph, or vicar of the prophet, old Abubeker, his father-in-law, from the hope that they ſhould ſoon divide the ſucceſſion amongſt themſelves.

* Voltaire. † Ibid.

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He was ſucceeded by Omar, who with aſtoniſhing rapidity over-ran Syria, Phœnicia, Meſopotamia, and the whole Perſian empire. Omar aboliſhed the ancient religion of Zoroaſter, and eſtabliſhed through his empire the faith of Mahomet. His general Amrou Ebnel Aas alſo ſubdued Egypt, Lybia, and Numidia. It was in the courſe of this war that the library at Alexandria, in which the careful Ptolemies had aſſembled more than four hundred thouſand manuſcripts, drew the victor's attention, who wrote to the caliph for orders. "Burn them," replied the ferocious Omar; "if they "contain only what is in the Alcoran, they are uſeleſs, and "dangerous if any thing more *." — Barbarous ſentence, which reduced to aſhes the greateſt part of the learned labours of antiquity! Of what knowledge, what arts, what immortal works did not this fatal conflagration deprive the world! Otman ſucceeded Omar, and extended the empire of the caliphs. Ali, the ſucceſſor of Otman, transferred the ſeat of the caliphs, from Mecca to Couffa. There were nineteen caliphs of the race of Omar, or Ommiades, after whom the throne was filled by the race of the Abaſſidæ, in the perſon of Abdalla. Aboujafar Almanzor, the ſecond caliph of this race, fixed the ſeat of that great empire at Bagdat in Chaldea, on the other ſide of the river Euphrates. The Saracens † now began to be remarkable for their knowledge in the ſciences, and taſte for literature. In the beginning of the eighth century they extended their conqueſt, and diffuſed the religion of Mahomet from Samarkand in Tartary to Spain in the weſt of Europe, where they founded the kingdom of Cordoua. At length the Saracen generals raiſed themſelves into independent ſovereigns, under the name of ſultans, and ſhook off the yoke of the caliphs. Thus the ſultan of Egypt, the emperor of Morocco, the Mooriſh kings of Spain, reſpected the caliphs as the head of their religion, but acknowledged no ſubjection to him as a temporal prince; ſo that the ſucceſſors of Mahomet found themſelves, towards the middle of the eleventh century, in much the ſame ſituation with thoſe of St. Peter, under the firſt German emperors; or with the kings of Europe about the ſame time, whoſe power declined in proportion to the increaſe of their vaſſals.

Though the Arabians in former ages were famous for their learning and ſkill in all the liberal arts, there is ſcarcely a country at preſent where the people are ſo univerſally ignorant. The vulgar language is the *Arabeſk*, or corrupt Ara-

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

† Saracen is derived from Saraz to ſteal, becauſe this people were accuſtomed to traverſe the country to rob on the highway.

bian. The pure old grammatical Arabic, which is a dialect of the Hebrew, and by the people of the Eaſt accounted the richeſt, moſt energetic, and copious language in the world, is taught in their ſchools, as Greek and Latin are among the Europeans, and uſed by Mahometans in their worſhip. As the Koran was written in this language, they will not ſuffer it to be read in any other. They look upon it to have been the language of Paradiſe, and think no man can be maſter of it without a miracle, as conſiſting of ſeveral millions of words. The books which treat of it ſay, they have no fewer than a thouſand terms to expreſs the word *Camel*, and five hundred for that of lion. In the temple of Mecca are ſeven Arabian poems, a fine ſpecimen of oriental poetry *.

CHAP. IV.

CHINA.

Origin of the Chineſe Empire.---Confucius.---Great Wall.---Eighty thouſand Tartar Families emigrate, and offer themſelves as Subjects to the preſent Emperor.---Language and Literature.---Population and Religion.

THE Chineſe pretend to an antiquity beyond all meaſure of credibility; and their annals have been carried beyond the period to which the ſcripture chronology aſſigns, the creation of the world. Poan-Kou is ſaid by them to have been the firſt man; and the interval of time be-
A. C. 479. twixt him and the death of the celebrated Confucius, hath been reckoned about ninety-ſix millions of years. But upon an accurate inveſtigation of this ſubject it appears, that the Chineſe hiſtorical relations of events, prior to the reign of the emperor Yao, who lived 2057 years before Chriſt, are entirely fabulous, compoſed in modern times, unſupported by authentic records, and full of contradictions. It appears alſo, that the origin of the Chineſe empire cannot be placed higher than two or three generations before Yao †. But even this is carrying the empire of China to a very high antiquity, and it is certain that the materials for Chineſe hiſtory are extremely ample. The grand annals of the empire of China are comprehended in 668 volumes,

* Sir William Jones. † Du Halde.

and

and conſiſt of the pieces that have been compoſed by the tribunal or department of hiſtory, eſtabliſhed in China for tranſmitting to poſterity the public events of the empire, and the lives, characters, and tranſactions of its ſovereigns. It is ſaid, that all the facts, which concern the monarchy ſince its foundation, have been depoſited in this department, and from age to age have been arranged according to the order of time, under the inſpection of government, and with all the precautions againſt illuſion or partiality that could be ſuggeſted. Theſe precautions have been carried ſo far, that the hiſtory of the reign of each imperial family has only been publiſhed after the extinction of that family, and was kept a profound ſecret during the dynaſty, that neither fear nor flattery might adulterate the truth. It is aſſerted, that many of the Chineſe hiſtorians expoſed themſelves to exile, and even to death, rather than diſguiſe the defects and vices of the ſovereign. But the emperor Chi-hoangti, at whoſe command the great wall was built, ordered all the hiſtorical books and records, which contained the fundamental laws and principles of the ancient government, with the medals, inſcriptions, and monuments of antiquity to be burnt, that they might not be employed by the learned to oppoſe his authority, and reſiſt the changes he propoſed to introduce into the monarchy; and that there might remain no earlier record, date, or authority, relative to religion, ſcience, or politics, than thoſe of his own reign, and he be conſidered as the founder of the empire. Four hundred literati were burnt with their books. This barbarous edict, however, had not its full effect; for ſeveral books were concealed, and eſcaped the general ruin *. After this period, ſtrict ſearch was made for the ancient books and records that yet remained; but though much induſtry was employed for this purpoſe, it appears that the authentic hiſtorical ſources of the Chineſe, for the times anterior to two centuries before the Chriſtian æra, are very few, and that they are ſtill in ſmaller numbers for more remote periods. But notwithſtanding the depredations that have been made upon the Chineſe hiſtory, it is ſtill immenſely voluminous, and has been judged by ſome writers ſuperior to that of all other nations. Of the grand annals before-mentioned, which amount to 668 volumes, a copy is preſerved in the library, which lately belonged to the French king. A chronological abridgment of this great work, in one hundred volumes, was publiſhed in the forty-ſecond year of the reign of Kang-hi; that is, in the year 1703. From theſe materials the Abbé Groſier propoſed to publiſh at Paris,

A. C. 213.

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

in the French language, a General Hiſtory of China, in twelve volumes quarto; ſome of which have been printed.

It ſeems as if the original form of the Chineſe government was monarchical; and a ſucceſſion of excellent princes, and a duration of domeſtic tranquillity united legiſlation with philoſophy, and produced their Fo-hi, whoſe hiſtory is wrapped up in myſteries, their Li-kaocum, and above all their Confucius, at once the Solon and the Socrates of China. Their long ſtruggle with the Tartars, which laſted ſeveral centuries, and the violence of domeſtic factions, produced bloody wars, and many revolutions; ſo that though the Chineſe empire is hereditary, the imperial ſucceſſion has been often interrupted. Upwards of twenty dynaſties, or different lines and families of ſucceſſion, are enumerated in their annals. Neither the great Jenghiz Khan, nor Tamerlane, though they often defeated the Chineſe, could ſubdue their empire; and neither of them could keep the conqueſts they made there. After their invaſions were over, the Chineſe, went to war with the Manchew Tartars, while an indolent worthleſs emperor, Tſong-ching was upon the throne. In the mean time, a bold rebel, named Li-cong-tſe, in the province of Le-tchuen, dethroned the emperor, who hanged himſelf, as did moſt of his courtiers and women. Ou-ſan-quey, the Chineſe general, on the frontiers of Tartary, refuſed to recogniſe the uſurper, and made a peace with Tſongate, or Chun-tchi, the Manchew prince, who drove the uſurper from the throne, and
A. D. 1644. took poſſeſſion of it himſelf. The Tartar maintained himſelf in his authority, and, wiſely incorporated his hereditary ſubjects with the Chineſe, ſo that in effect Tartary became an acquiſition to China. He was ſucceeded by a prince of great natural and acquired abilities, who was the patron of the Jeſuits, but knew how to check them when he found them intermeddling with the affairs of his government.

All the Tartars which compoſed the nation of
A. D. 1771. the Tourgouths, left the ſettlements which they had under the Ruſſian government on the banks of the Wolga and the Jaick, at a ſmall diſtance from the Caſpian ſea, and in a vaſt body of fifty thouſand families, paſſed through the country of the Haſacks. After a march of eight months, in which they ſurmounted innumerable difficulties and dangers, they arrived in the plains that lie on the frontier of Carapen, not far from the banks of the river Ily, and offered themſelves as ſubjects to Kien-long, emperor of China, who was then in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign. He received them graciouſly, furniſhed them with proviſions, cloaths and money, and alloted to each family a portion of land for agriculture

griculture and paſturage. The year following there was a ſecond emigration of about thirty thouſand other Tartar families, who alſo quitted the ſettlements which they enjoyed under the Ruſſian government, and ſubmitted to the Chineſe ſceptre. The emperor cauſed the hiſtory of theſe emigrations to be engraven upon ſtone, in four different languages.

The Chineſe *oral language* contains only 330 words, all of one ſyllable; but then each word is pronounced with ſuch various modulations, and each with a different meaning, that it becomes more copious than could eaſily be imagined, and enables them to expreſs themſelves very well on the common occaſions of life. Their *literature* is compoſed in arbitrary characters, which are amazingly complicated and numerous. According to ſome writers they amount to twenty-five thouſand; to thirty or forty thouſand according to others; but the lateſt accounts ſay they amount to eighty thouſand, though he is reckoned a very learned man, who is maſter of fifteen or twenty thouſand *. The Chineſe characters, which are by length of time become ſymbolic, were originally imitative. They ſtill partake ſo much of their original hieroglyphic nature, that they do not combine into words like letters, or marks for ſounds; but we find one mark for a man, another for a horſe, a third for a dog, and in ſhort a ſeparate and diſtinct mark for each thing which has a corporeal form. Their books began from the right hand, and the letters are placed in perpendicular columns, of which there are generally ten in a page. They are read downwards, beginning from the right-hand ſide of the paper †. The Chineſe were ignorant of mathematical learning, and all its depending arts, till the Europeans came among them. They had no proper apparatus for aſtronomical obſervations; and the metaphyſical learning, which exiſted among them, was only known to their philoſophers; but even the arts introduced by the Jeſuits were of ſhort duration, and laſted very little longer than the reign of Canghi, who was cotemporary with our Charles II. Perhaps they may be revived by the ingenious gentlemen in the ſuite of Lord Macartney, who lately ſet out for that country with views of a liberal and advantageous tendency. It has been generally reported that they underſtood printing before the Europeans; but that can be only applied to block-printing, for the fuſile and moveable types were undoubtedly Dutch or German inventions. The Chineſe, however, had almanacks which they ſtamped upon plates or blocks, many hundred years before printing was diſcovered in Europe.

* Abbé Groſier. † Mr. Aſtle.

The difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of such a number of arbitrary marks and characters, as there are in what may be called the Chinese written language, greatly retards the progress of their erudition. But there is no part of the globe where learning is attended with such honours and rewards, and where there are more powerful inducements to cultivate and pursue it. The literati are reverenced as men of another species, and are the only nobility known in China. If their birth be ever so mean and low, they become mandarins of the highest rank, in proportion to their extent in learning. On the other hand, however exalted their birth may be, they quickly sink into poverty and obscurity, if they neglect those studies which raised their fathers. It has been observed, that there is no nation in the world where the first honours of the state lie so open to the lowest of the people, and where there is less of hereditary greatness. The literati of China, in all the periods of their monarchy, have applied themselves less to the study of nature, and to the researches of natural philosophy, than to moral inquiries, the practical science of life, and internal polity of manners. The invention of gunpowder is claimed by the Chinese, who made use of it against Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane.

China is about two thousand miles in length, and sixteen hundred in breadth, and is said to contain four thousand four hundred walled cities, the chief of which are Peking, the residence of the royal family, Nankin, and Canton. The walls and gates of Peking are of the surprising height of fifty cubits, so that they hide the whole city; and they are so broad that centinels are placed upon them on horseback; for there are slopes within the city of considerable length, by which horsemen may ascend the walls. The palace is more than three miles in circumference, and the front of the building shines with gilding, paint, and varnish, while the inside is set off and furnished with every thing that is most beautiful and precious in China, the Indies, and Europe *.

About eight hundred years ago, they built their great wall, to separate and defend their state against the neighbouring Tartars, which subsists to this day, on a circumference of fifteen hundred miles, rising over the tops of mountains, and descending into low vallies, being almost every where twenty feet broad and thirty feet high; a monument superior to the pyramids, both for its utility, and immensity. The tea-plant flourishes in this country; and, all teas are the leaf of one and the same shrub. The supposition that green is from one kind of tree, and bohea from another, is a vulgar error;

* M. Astruc.

for they differ only as malt may do in being higher or ſlacker dried, or being finer or coarſer.

China, ſays one who has been at great pains to obtain information, contains two hundred millions of inhabitants *. This enormous population the Abbé Groſier endeavours to prove by a detail of the numbers in each of the fifteen provinces, to be by no means exaggerated. Many intelligent people greatly queſtion the credibility of this large account. On all hands, however, it is admitted that their numbers are very great. The city of Peking is computed to contain two millions of inhabitants, though Nankin is ſaid to exceed it both in extent and population. But Canton is the greateſt port in China, and the only one much frequented by Europeans. The city wall is about five miles in circumference, with very pleaſant walks around it. From the top of ſome adjacent hills, on which forts are built, one has a fine proſpect of the country. It is beautifully interſperſed with mountains, little hills and vallies, all green; and theſe again pleaſantly diverſified with ſmall towns, villages, high towers, temples, the ſeats of mandarins and other great men, which are watered with delightful lakes, canals, and ſmall branches from the river Ta; on which are numberleſs boats and punks, ſailing different ways through the moſt fertile parts of the country.

Though the ancient Chineſe worſhipped idols, yet their philoſophers and legiſlators had juſter notions of the Deity, and indulged the people in the worſhip of ſenſible objects, only to make them more ſubmiſſive to government. The Jeſuits made little oppoſition to this, when they attempted to convert the Chineſe; and ſuffered their proſelytes to worſhip Tren, pretending that it was no other than the name of God. The truth is, Confucius, and the Chineſe legiſlators, introduced a moſt excellent ſyſtem of morals among the people, and endeavoured to ſupply the want of juſt ideas of a future ſtate, by preſcribing to them the worſhip of inferior deities. Their morality approximates to that of Chriſtianity; but as we know little of their religion, only through the Jeſuits, we cannot adopt for truth the numerous inſtances which they tell us of the conformity of the Chineſe with the Chriſtian religion. Thoſe fathers, it muſt be owned, were men of great abilities, and made a wonderful progreſs above a century ago in their converſions; but they miſtook the true character of the emperor, who was their patron; for he no ſooner found that they were in fact aſpiring to the civil direction of the government, then he ex-

* Father Amiot.

pelled them, levelled their churches with the ground, and prohibited the exerciſe of their religion, ſince which time Chriſtianity has made no figure in China.

CHAP. V.

TARTARY.

Extent of the Country.—Siberia.—Beauty of the Circaſſian Women.—Jenghiz-Khan and Tamerlane.—Itinerant Life of the Tartars.—Forces of the Great Khan.—Method of making War.

TARTARY, in length about two thouſand miles, and breadth ſixteen hundred, takes up all the northern regions of Aſia. That part which borders on Muſcovy, is often called Muſcovy in Aſia, where lies Siberia, a vaſt country, more inhabited than any in Tartary, and ſubject to the Ruſſians. Its chief towns are Tobo'ſki, and Aſtracan, a place of great trade. Here alſo are the Calmucs, Uſbecs, and Circaſſians. The Circaſſian women are extremely well ſhaped, with exceeding fine features, ſmooth clear complexion, and beautiful black eyes, which with their black hair hanging in two treſſes, one on each ſide the face, give them a moſt amiable appearance. In this barbarous country, however, parents make no ſcruple of ſelling their daughters to recruit the ſeraglios, or rather harems, of the great men of Turkey and Perſia. They are purchaſed, when young, by merchants, and taught ſuch accompliſhments as ſuit their capacities, to render them more valuable againſt the day of ſale *.

The Tartars are in general great wanderers; in their peregrinations they ſet out in the ſpring, their number in one body being frequently 10,000, preceded by their flocks and herds. When they come to an inviting ſpot, they live upon it till all its graſs and verdure is eaten up. They have little money, except what they get from their neighbours the Ruſſians, Perſians, or Turks, in exchange for cattle; with this they purchaſe cloth, ſilks, ſtuffs, and other apparel for their women. They have few mechanics, except thoſe who make arms. They avoid all labour as the greateſt ſlavery; their

* Mr. Bruce.

only

only employment is tending their flocks, hunting, and managing their horſes. If they are angry with a perſon, they wiſh he may live in one fixed place, and work like a Ruſſian. Though it is certain that Tartary, formerly known by the name of Scythia, peopled the northern parts of Europe, and furniſhed thoſe amazing numbers who, under various names, deſtroyed the Roman empire, yet it is now but very thinly inhabited; and thoſe fine provinces, where learning and the arts reſided, are now ſcenes of horror and barbarity. This muſt have been owing to the dreadful maſſacres made among the nations by the two above-mentioned conquerors and their deſcendants; for nothing is more common in their hiſtories than their putting to the ſword three or four hundred thouſand people in a few days. The country of Uſbec Tartary was once the ſeat of a more powerful empire than that of Rome or Greece. It was not only the native country, but the favourite reſidence of Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane, who enriched it with the ſpoils of India and the eaſtern world. The former, A. D. 1200. made himſelf maſter of thoſe regions, which form at this day the Aſiatic part of the Ruſſian empire; and his ſon Batou Sagin conquered ſouthern Ruſſia, and peopled it with Tartar colonies, which are confounded or blended with the Ruſſians.

Jenghiz-Khan was one of the greateſt conquerors that the world ever produced. In fortune, power, magnificence, and extent of dominions, he was far ſuperior to Alexander, and to all the monarchs, either of the eaſtern or weſtern empires. Tamerlane's memory, however, hath been more permanent. His deſcent is claimed not only by all the Khans, and petty princes of Tartary, but by the emperor of Indoſtan himſelf *.

After defeating Bajazet the Turkiſh Sultan, this victorious Tartar, like all conquerors, who never ſuffer their weaker neighbours to be at reſt, invaded Syria, from whence he returned to Samarcand, which he looked upon as the capital of his vaſt dominions. He had conquered almoſt as great an extent of territory as Jenghiz Khan: for if the latter had part of China and Corea, the former was poſſeſſed of Syria, and the half of Aſia Minor, which Jenghiz Khan was never able to ſubdue. He was likewiſe maſter of almoſt all Indoſtan, whereas Jenghiz Khan had only the northern provinces. Scarce was he ſettled in the poſſeſſion of this immenſe empire, when he began to meditate the conqueſt of China, at too advanced a period of life. In imitation of Jenghiz Khan, he received the homage of ſeveral princes of Aſia, and the

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

embaſſies

embaſſies of many ſovereigns. He gave in marriage, on the ſame day, all his grand-ſons and grand-daughters, when the different orders of the ſtate, and the ſeveral artificers paſſed in review, each with the enſigns of his profeſſion. After having reigned thirty-ſix years, he died a natural death, more fortunate by the length of his days, and the ſucceſs of his grand-children, than Alexander, to whom the eaſtern nations compare him *. A. D. 1406.

The preſent inhabitants of this immenſe common compoſe innumerable tribes, who range at pleaſure with their flocks and herds in the old patriarchal manner. Their tribes are commanded by ſeparate *Khans* or *Leaders*, who, upon particular emergencies, elect a great Khan, inveſted with a paramount power over ſtrangers as well as natives, and whoſe forces often amount to an *hundred thouſand* horſemen. His chief reſidence is a kind of military ſtation, which is moved and ſhifted according to the chance of war and other occaſions. The method of carrying on war, by waſting the country, is very ancient among the Tartars, and practiſed by all of them from the Danube eaſtward. This circumſtance renders them a dreadful enemy to regular troops, who muſt thereby be deprived of ſubſiſtence, while the Tartars, having always many ſpare horſes to kill and eat, are at no loſs for proviſions.

Under Jenghiz-Khan and Tamerlane, and their early deſcendants, Aſtracan and the neighbouring countries were the ſeats of learning and politeneſs, as well as empire and magnificence. Modern luxury, be it ever ſo ſplendid, falls ſhort of that of thoſe princes; and ſome remains of taſte and architecture are ſtill extant, but in ſpots ſo deſolate that they are almoſt inacceſſible. The encouragement of learning was the firſt care of the prince, and it was generally cultivated by his own relations or principal grandees.

* Voltaire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

INDIA OR INDOSTAN, COMPREHENDING THE MOGUL'S EMPIRE, WITH THE BRITISH AND OTHER POSSESSIONS.

Religion, Manners, and Literature of the Indians.—Conqueſt by Tamerlane.—Aurengzebe—Kouli Khan—Mahrattas—Hyder Ally—Tippo Saib—Sir Eyre Coote and Lord Cornwallis—Madras, Bengal, and Bombay—Eaſt-India Company—Diamond Mines.

THE original inhabitants of India, are called Gentoos; or, as others call them, Hindoos, and the country Hindooſtan. They pretend that Brumma, who was their legiſlator, both in politics and religion, was inferior only to God, and that he exiſted many thouſand years before our account of the creation. This Brumma, probably, was ſome great and good genius, whoſe beneficence, like that of the Pagan legiſlators, led his people and their poſterity to pay him divine honours. The foundation of Brumma's doctrine, conſiſted in the belief of a ſupreme Being, who created a regular gradation of Beings, ſome ſuperior, and ſome inferior to man; in the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which is to conſiſt of a tranſmigration into different bodies, according to the lives they have led in their pre-exiſtent ſtate. From this it appears more than probable, that the Pythagorean metempſychoſis took its riſe in India. The neceſſity of inculcating this ſublime, but otherwiſe complicated doctrine into the lower ranks, induced the Bramins, or prieſts, who are by no means unanimous in their doctrines, to have recourſe to ſenſible repreſentations of the deity and his attributes; ſo that the original doctrines of Brumma have degenerated into idolatry, in the worſhip of different animals, and various images.

Every Indian adheres invariably to the profeſſion of his forefathers. From generation to generation, the ſame families have followed, and will always continue to follow one uniform line of life. To this may be aſcribed that high degree of perfection conſpicuous in many of the Indian manufactures; and though veneration for the practices of their anceſtors may check the ſpirit of invention, yet, by adhering to theſe, they acquire ſuch an expertneſs and delicacy of hand, that Europeans, with all the advantages of ſuperior ſcience, and the aid of more complete inſtruments, have never been able to equal the exquiſite execution of their workmanſhip.

The

The inſtitutions of India, are permanent, and the manners of its inhabitants are immutable. What now is in India always was there, and is ſtill likely to continue. Neither the ferocious violence and illiberal fanaticiſm of its Mahometan conquerors, nor the power of its European maſters, have effected any conſiderable alteration. The ſame diſtinctions of condition take place, the ſame arrangements in civil and domeſtic ſociety remain, the ſame maxims of religion are held in veneration, and the ſame ſciences and arts are cultivated. Hence, in all ages, the trade with India has been the ſame. Gold and ſilver have uniformly been carried thither, in order to purchaſe the ſame commodities with which it now ſupplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the preſent times, it has always been conſidered and execrated as a gulf, which ſwallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows inceſſantly towards it, and from which it never returns *.

The manners of the Hindoos are gentle. Their happineſs conſiſts in the ſolaces of domeſtic life; and they are taught by their religion, that matrimony is an indiſpenſible duty in every man, who does not entirely ſeparate himſelf from the world from a principle of devotion. Their religion alſo permits them to have ſeveral wives; but they ſeldom have more than one: and it has been obſerved, that their wives are diſtinguiſhed by a decency of demeanor, a ſolicitude in their families, and a fidelity to their vows, which might do honour to human nature in the moſt civilized countries. The cuſtom of women burning themſelves, upon the death of their huſbands, is ſtill practiſed among ſome of high condition, though much leſs frequently than in former times; and it is ſaid, that the Bramins now do not encourage it.

The inhabitants of this country are remarkably honeſt and humane. There is ſcarcely an inſtance of a robbery in all Indoſtan, though the diamond merchants travel without a defenſive weapon. The temples or pagodas of the Gentoos are ſtupendous but clumſy ſtone buildings. Here the "Bramins live in a ſubordination which knows no reſiſtance, and "ſlumber in a voluptuouſneſs which knows no wants †". If theſe prieſts are maſters of any uncommon art or ſcience, they generally turn it to the purpoſes of profit from their ignorant votaries. They know how to calculate eclipſes; and judicial aſtrology is ſo prevalent, that half the year is taken up with unlucky days. The perpetual uſe of rice, their chief food, gives them but little nouriſhment; and their marrying early, the male before fourteen, and their women at ten or eleven years of age, keeps them low and feeble in their per-

* Dr. Robertſon. † Orme's Hiſtory of Indoſtan.

ſons,

ſons. A man is in the decline of life at thirty, and the beauty of the women begins to decay at eighteen. At twenty-five they have all the marks of old age. We are therefore not to wonder at their being ſoon ſtrangers to all perſonal exertion and vigour of mind.

It is certain, that death is regarded with leſs horror in India than in any other country in the world. The origin and the end of all things, ſay the philoſophers of India of the preſent times, is a *vacuum*. A ſtate of repoſe is the ſtate of greateſt perfection; and this is the ſtate after which a wiſe man aſpires. It is better, ſay the Hindoos, to ſit than to walk, and to ſleep than to wake; but death is the beſt of all.

Of all the Indian tribes, the Mahrattas at preſent makes the greateſt figure. They are a kind of mercenaries, who live on the mountains between Indoſtan and Perſia. They commonly ſerve on horſeback, and, when well commanded, they have been known to give law even to the court of Delhi.

All the *ſcience* and *literature* poſſeſſed by the Bramins, were formerly contained in books written in a language underſtood by a few only of the moſt learned among them. It is a fact which has long been known, and all the Europeans ſettled in India, during three centuries, have complained that the Bramins obſtinately refuſed to inſtruct any perſon in this language. But at length by addreſs, mild treatment, and a perſuaſion that the earneſtneſs with which inſtruction was ſolicited, proceeded not from an intention of turning their religion into deriſion, but from a deſire of acquiring a perfect knowledge of their ſciences and literature, their ſcruples have been overcome. Several Britiſh gentlemen are now complete maſters of the Shanſkreet language. The myſterious veil, formerly deemed impenetrable, is removed, and the curioſity of the public has been gratified by two publications as ſingular as they were unexpected. The one is a tranſlation, by Mr. Wilkins, of an Epiſode from *Mahabarad*, an epic poem, in high eſtimation among the Hindoos, compoſed by one of their Bramins, above three thouſand years before the Chriſtian æra. The other is *Sacontala*, a dramatic poem, written about a century before the birth of Chriſt, tranſlated by Sir William Jones. Beſides theſe, there are other pieces, tranſlated from the Shanſkreet language, the moſt curious of which are ſome *original Grants* of *Land*, of very ancient dates. It may ſeem odd, that a charter of legal conveyance of property ſhould be ranked among the literary compoſitions of any people. But ſo widely do the manners of the Hindoos differ from thoſe of Europe, that as our lawyers multiply words and clauſes, in order to render a grant complete, and to guard againſt every thing that may invalidate it, the Pun-

dits

dits ſeem to diſpatch the legal part of the deed with brevity, but, in a long preamble and concluſion, make an extraordinary diſplay of their own learning, eloquence, and powers of compoſition, both in proſe and in verſe. The preamble to one of theſe deeds is an encomium of the monarch who grants the land, in a bold ſtrain of eaſtern exaggeration: "When "his innumerable army marched, the heavens were ſo filled "with the duſt of their feet, that the birds of the air could reſt "upon it. His elephants moved like walking mountains, "and the earth, oppreſſed by their weight, mouldered into "duſt."

The famous Alexander of Macedon was the firſt who invaded this extenſive and fruitful country; and Jenghiz Khan, the Tartarian prince of celebrated memory, made himſelf maſter of it, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Several revolutions happened before the conqueſt by Tamerlane *, who croſſed the Indus nearly at the ſame
A. D. 1398. place, where Alexander had paſſed long before. This invincible barbarian met with no reſiſtance ſufficient to juſtify, even by the military maxims of Tartars, the cruelties with which he marked his way. But, after an immenſe ſlaughter of human creatures, he at length rendered himſelf lord of an empire which extended from Smyrna to the banks of the Ganges. The hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Tamerlane, who reigned over Indoſtan with little interruption more than 350 years, has been variouſly repreſented; but all agree that they were magnificent and deſpotic princes, and that they committed their provinces to rapacious governors, or to their own ſons, by which their empire was often miſerably torn in pieces. It is worthy of obſervation, that the provinces of Indoſtan have ſeldom continued under one head during a period of twenty years, from the earlieſt hiſtory down to the reign of Acbar in the ſixteenth century. Bengal, Guzerat, and other provinces, were in turn independent, and ſometimes the empire of Indoſtan was confined within the proper limits of the province itſelf. So that the hiſtory of it furniſhes an excellent leſſon to princes not to graſp at too extenſive dominion. Some parts of the empire were 1000 miles diſtant from the ſeat of government. The Engliſh conqueſts in India met thoſe of Tamerlane in a point equidiſtant from the mouths of the Ganges and Indus, in the year 1774, for they cloſed their campaign that year at Loldong, 1150 miles from Calcutta.

* The emperor of Indoſtan is called the Great Mogul, becauſe he is the deſcendant of Tamerlane, the Mongul, or Mogul Tartar.

At

At length, the famous Aurengzebe, in the year 1667, though the youngeſt among many ſons of the reigning emperor, after defeating or murdering all his brethren, mounted the throne of Indoſtan, and may be conſidered as the real founder and legiſlator of the empire. He was a politic but very deſpotic prince, and the firſt who extended his dominion over the Peninſula within the Ganges, which is at preſent ſo well known to the Engliſh. He lived ſo late as the year 1707, and it is ſaid, that ſome of his great officers of ſtate were alive in the year 1750. Aurengzebe ſeems to have left too much power to the governors of his diſtant provinces, and to have been too inattentive to prevent the effects of that dreadful deſpotiſm, which, while in his hands, preſerved the tranquillity of his empire; but when it deſcended to his weak and indolent ſucceſſors, occaſioned its overthrow.

Never was there a ſtronger inſtance than this man, that happineſs, in this life, is not the reward of virtue. Though ſtained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of the murder of his father, he ſucceeded in all his undertakings, and died at the advanced age of 103. Never had prince ſo long and fortunate a career. He increaſed the empire of the Moguls with Golconda, Viſapour, the Carnatic, and almoſt the whole peninſula terminated by the coaſt of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have died by the hand of the executioner, could he have been tried by the cuſtomary laws of nations, was, beyond all diſpute, the moſt potent prince of the univerſe. The magnificence of the kings of Perſia, as dazzling as it has appeared to our eyes, was but a trifle, when compared to the riches of Aurengzebe.

The Aſiatic princes have at all times been remarkable for treaſures. Theſe indeed conſiſt of their own hoards; but the European princes are rich with the money that circulates among their ſubjects. Tamerlane's treaſure was ſtill preſerved, and his ſucceſſors had added to the heap. The increaſe under Aurengzebe was immenſe. One of his thrones only was eſtimated at a hundred and ſixty millions of livres. Twelve columns of maſſy gold which ſupported the canopy of the throne, were covered with large pearls, the canopy was alſo of pearls and diamonds, mounted by a peacock ſpreading a tail of precious ſtones. Every thing elſe was proportioned to this aſtoniſhing magnificence. The greateſt ſolemnity in the year was when the emperor uſed to be weighed in golden ſcales, before all the people; on which occaſion he received above fifty millions of livres in preſents.

If there be any ſuch thing as influence of climate, it is ſurely in India. The Mogul emperors introduced the ſame luxury, and lived in the ſame effeminacy and eaſe, as the Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius; the Tartar conquerors

querors inſenſibly fell into the ſame manners and became Indians. This exceſſive opulence and luxury did but contribute to the miſeries of India. The ſame thing happened in 1739 to the grandſon of Aurengzebe, Mahamad Shah, as to Croeſus. This king of Lydia had been told, "You have a great quantity of gold, but he that can make a better uſe of iron than you will ſtrip you of it all." Thomas Kouli Khan, having raiſed himſelf to the throne of Perſia, marched to the capital of India, in order to ſtrip the Mogul of all thoſe treaſures, of which the latter had robbed the Indians. There is hardly an inſtance in hiſtory of a more numerous army than that which the Great Mogul Mahamad raiſed againſt Thomas Kouli Khan, nor of weaker conduct. He had more than a *million* of men, 10,000 pieces of cannon, and 2000 elephants armed for war, to oppoſe the conqueror of Perſia, whoſe forces were only 60,000. Darius did not march ſo large armies againſt Alexander. Mahamad, however, humbled himſelf in the preſence of Kouli Khan, who ſpoke to him in the tone of a ſovereign, and treated him like a ſubject. The conqueror made his entrance into Delhi, dragged this rich and miſerable emperor in his train, and, after confining him to a tower cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor of India. He plundered Delhi, and pillaged the empire of treaſure to the amount of more than ſeventy millions ſterling; and though he afterwards reſtored the unhappy prince to liberty and to power, he annexed to Perſia all the countries weſtward of the Indus. This dreadful incurſion ſo weakened the authority of the emperor, that the viceroys of the different provinces either threw off their allegiance, or acknowledged a very precarious dependence; and, engaging in wars with each other, called in as allies the Eaſt India companies of England and France, who had been originally permitted as traders to form eſtabliſhments upon the coaſts. Theſe, from the great ſuperiority of European diſcipline, from allies became in a ſhort time principals in an obſtinate conteſt, which at length terminated in the expulſion of the French from Indoſtan; and thus a company of Britiſh merchants have acquired, partly by ceſſion from the country powers, and partly by injuſtice and uſurpation, territories equal in extent, and ſuperior in wealth and population to moſt of the kingdoms of Europe.

The Mahrattas originally poſſeſſed ſeveral provinces of Indoſtan, from whence they were driven by the arms of the Mogul conquerors. They were never wholly ſubjected, but retiring to the northern part of the Gauts, made frequent incurſions from theſe inacceſſible mountains. Taking advantage of the anarchy of the empire, they have extended their fron-

tiers

d are at preſent poſſeſſed of a tract of country 1000
niles long, by 700 wide. In order to throw greater
on this ſubject, it will be proper to give ſome account
ritiſh tranſactions in this part of the world, ſince the
t they were quietly ſettled in the poſſeſ-
ie provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa; A. D. 1765.
ed as abſolute ſovereigns, but as tribu-
the emperor. This ſtate of tranquillity, however,
long continue; for in 1767, they found themſelves
in a very dangerous war with Hyder Ally, the ſove-
Myſore. This man had originally been a military
rer, who learned the rudiments of the art of war in
ich camp; and, in the year 1753, had diſtinguiſhed
n their ſervice. Having been advanced to the com-
the army of Myſore, in 1763, he depoſed his ſove-
nd uſurped the ſupreme authority under the title of
In a ſhort time he extended his dominions on all
ccept the Carnatic, until at laſt his dominions equal-
ſland of Great Britain in extent, with a revenue of
than four millions ſterling annually. The diſcords
ook place in various parts of Indoſtan, particularly
the Mahrattas, enabled him to aggrandiſe himſelf in
nanner, that his power ſoon became formidable to his
urs; and he ſoon found himſelf in danger of being at-
on one ſide by the Mahrattas, and on the other by the
The former were bought off with a ſum of money,
latter were in conſequence obliged to retire. Having
owever, aſſembled all their forces, ſeveral obſtinate
nents took place, and the Britiſh now, for the firſt
ound a ſteady oppoſition from the Indian prince. The
ntinued with various ſucceſs during the years 1767,
nd part of 1769, when Hyder, with a ſtrong detach-
f his army, paſſing by that of the Britiſh, advanced
a little diſtance of Madras, where he intimidated the
nent into a peace upon his own terms. The advan-
ined by this peace, however, were quickly loſt by an
nate war with the Mahrattas, from whom,
ived a moſt dreadful defeat, almoſt his A. D. 1771.
army being killed or taken. Hyder was
duced to the neceſſity of allowing his enemies to deſo-
country, till they retired of their own accord; after
he retrieved his affairs with incredible perſeverance
gence, ſo that in a few years he became more formi-
nan ever. In 1772, the Mahrattas made ſome attempts
poſſeſſion of the provinces of Corah and ſome others,
re oppoſed by the Britiſh; who, next year, defeated
ove them acroſs the river Ganges, where they had in-

vaded the country of the Rohillas. On this occaſion the latter had acted only as the allies of Sujah Dowlaw, to whom the Rohilla chiefs had promiſed to pay forty lacks of rupees for the protection afforded them; but when the money came to be paid, it was under various pretences refuſed; the conſequence of which was, that the Rohilla country was next year invaded and conquered by the Britiſh, as A. D. 1774. well as ſeveral other large tracks of territory; by which means the boundary Oude was advanced to the weſtward, within twenty-five miles of Agra; north weſtward to the upper part of the navigable courſe of the Ganges; and ſouth weſtward to the Junna river.

In 1778, a new war commenced with the Mahrattas; on which occaſion a brigade, conſiſting of 7000 Indian troops, commanded by Britiſh officers, traverſed the whole empire of the Mahrattas, from the river Junna to the weſtern ocean. About this time the war with France broke out, and Hyder Ally, probably expecting aſſiſtance from the French, made a dreadful irruption into the Carnatic, at the head of 100,000 men. For ſome time he carried every thing before him, and, having the good fortune to defeat, or rather deſtroy a detachment of the Britiſh army under colonel Baillie, it was generally imagined, that the power of Britain in that part of the world would have ſoon been annihilated. By the happy exertions of ſir Eyre Coote, however, to whom the management of affairs was now committed, the progreſs of this formidable adverſary was ſtopped, and he ſoon became weary of a war, which was attended with incredible expence to himſelf without any reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs. By the year 1782, therefore, Hyder Ally was ſincerely deſirous of peace, but died before it could be brought to a concluſion; and his rival, ſir Eyre Coote, did not ſurvive him above five months; a very remarkable circumſtance that the commanders in chief of two armies, oppoſed to each other, ſhould both die natural deaths, within ſo ſhort a ſpace of time.

The military ſucceſs of Hyder Ally founded on the improvement of diſcipline; attention to merit of every kind; conciliation of the different tribes that ſerved under his banners; contempt of ſtate and ceremony, except what naturally aroſe from the dignity of his character; and his conſequent œconomy in perſonal expences (the different habits of which, form the chief diſtinction of what is called character among ordinary princes) together with his minute attention to matters of finance, and the regular payment of his army; all theſe together raiſed him as far above the princes of Indoſtan, as the great qualities of the late Pruſſian mo---ch raiſed him above the generality of European princes: e he has generally

nerally been conſidered as the Frederic of the Eaſt. Cruelty was the vice of Hyder; but we are to conſider that Hyder's ideas of mercy were regulated by an Aſiatic ſtandard; and it is not improbable that he might rate his own character for moderation and clemency, as far above thoſe of Tamerlane, Nadir Shah, and Abdallah, as he rated his diſcipline above theirs *.

This able and active prince, the moſt formidable enemy that the Engliſh ever experienced in Indoſtan, left to his ſon Tippoo Saib the poſſeſſion of dominions ſuperior in extent to the kingdom of England. Tippoo, as well as his father, has been a troubleſome neighbour to the Britons in India; but, in 1792, lord Cornwallis purſued the war with ſo great ſucceſs, that towards the end of the year an honourable peace was concluded. A. D. 1783.

It is the intereſt of the Eaſt India Company, that their governments in India ſhould interfere as little as poſſible in the domeſtic or national quarrels of the country powers, and that they ſhould always endeavour to be in a ſtate of peace and tranquillity with their neighbours. But theſe maxims of ſound policy they have not adhered to; their governors and ſervants having unneceſſarily, and ſometimes very iniquitouſly, embroiled themſelves with the country powers, and engaged in wars of a very pernicious and indefenſible nature. The wars into which they have entered with the Mahrattas, Hyder Ally, and his warlike ſon, Tippo Saib, have been attended with an enormous expence, and been extremely prejudicial to the intereſts of the company and the nation at home. By temporary plans of violence and injuſtice, and ſometimes diſregarding their own treaties, they have forfeited the good opinion of the natives, and by exciting the indignation of the country princes againſt them, greatly leſſened the ſecurity of the poſſeſſions of the company.

That the modern hiſtory of Indoſtan may be better underſtood, I ſhall give a ſhort account of the preſent diviſion of property in it. Such is the inſtability of human greatneſs, that the preſent Mogul, Shaw Allum, the deſcendant of the Great Tamerlane, is merely a *nominal prince*, of no importance in the politics of Indoſtan. He is permitted to reſide at Delhi, which, with a ſmall adjacent territory, is all that remains to him of that vaſt empire, which his anceſtors governed for more than 350 years. The principal diviſions of this country are as follow, namely, "*The Britiſh poſſeſſions*; *ſtates* "*in alliance with Britain*; *Tippoo Saib's territories*; *Maha-* "*ratta ſtates and their tributaries*; *and the territories of the* "*Subah of the Deccan.*"

* Major Rennell.

The Britiſh poſſeſſions contain about a hundred and fifty thouſand ſquare Britiſh miles *, and ten millions of inhabitants. They conſiſt of three diſtinct governments, *viz.* Calcutta or Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The government of *Bengal* was rich, flouriſhing, and populous, before the late uſurpations in Indoſtan. It is finely watered by the Ganges and Burrampooter with their numerous navigable channels, and the ſeveral navigable rivers they receive; it is fertilized by their periodical inundations; and by its natural ſituation it is well ſecured againſt foreign enemies. *Madras* carries on a conſiderable trade with China, Perſia and Mocha. Eighty thouſand inhabitants of various nations are ſaid to be dependent upon it; but its ſafety conſiſts in the ſuperiority of the Engliſh by ſea. Immenſe fortunes have been acquired by the Engliſh upon this coaſt within forty years; but ſome of theſe fortunes appear to have been obtained by the moſt iniquitous practices. There ſeems to have been ſome fundamental errors in the conſtitution of the Eaſt India Company. The directors conſidered the riches acquired by their governors, and other ſervants, as being plundered from the company, and accordingly ſent out ſuperintendants to control their governors and overgrown ſervants, and have from time to time changed their governors and members of the council there.

With regard to the Engliſh Eaſt India Company we may obſerve, that through the diſtractions of the Mogul empire, the enterprizing ſpirit of their military officers, and the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh navy, they have acquired an income ſuperior to the revenues of many crowned heads; and ſome of their own ſervants pretend, that when all their expences are paid, their clear revenue amounts to near *two millions* ſterling; out of which they were to pay 400,000l. annually to the government, while ſuffered to enjoy their dominions. The company has exerciſed many rights appropriated to ſovereignty; ſuch as thoſe of holding forts, coining money, and the like. Theſe powers were thought incompatible with the principles of a commercial limited company, and therefore the Engliſh miniſtry and parliament have repeatedly interfered, and at length have eſtabliſhed a board of control at home. It is hoped, that in conſequence of this inſtitution, ſuch meaſures may be taken with the Eaſtern princes and potentates, as may render the acquiſitions of the company permanent and national

The [illegible] is naturally bad, which ſeems to be owing [illegible] of the diamond mines. Theſe mines [illegible] a Mogul officer, who left [illegible] ſo many by 18,000. [illegible]

* G

them out by admeaſurement, encloſing the contents by palliſadoes. All diamonds above a certain weight originally belonged to the emperor. The diſtrict belonging to Madras doth not extend much more than forty miles round, and is of little value for its product.—*Bombay* is well fortified, and has a fine harbour. *Telicherry*, on the Malabar coaſt, is dependent on Bombay. *Surat* is one of the moſt rich and commercial cities in Indoſtan.

The *Britiſh Allies* are the Nabobs of Oude and Arcot, comprehending the eaſtern part of the ancient Carnatic; Futty Sing Guicker, in the Soubah of Guzerat; and the Rajah of Ghod.

The language of the court of Delhi is Perſian, but in the peninſula beyond the Ganges it is chiefly Malayan, interſperſed with other dialects.

It is a problem, which at firſt ſight appears difficult to ſolve, that the gold and ſilver imported from America into Europe, ſhould be continually ſwallowed up in India, never to return, and yet that the common people ſhould be ſo poor as to work almoſt for nothing. But the reaſon is, becauſe this money does not go among the common people, but among the merchants. The price of labour is leſs in this country, though the richeſt upon earth, than in any other. In all parts of the world a labourer's daily hire ſeldom exceeds his food and raiment. Now, the extreme fertility of the ſoil, and the heat of the climate, are the cauſes why this food and raiment are ſo cheap in India. The labourer, who digs for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy a little rice, and a cotton ſhirt. The poor, all over the world, ſell their ſervice for a trifle to the rich.

Some have imagined, that the Mogul was originally inveſted with arbitrary power, becauſe Aurengzebe made every thing yield to his authority. But they did not conſider, that his power being entirely founded on force, can laſt no longer than a prince is at the head of an army; and that this deſpotiſm, which deſtroys every thing, is at length ſelf-deſtroyed. It is not a form of government, but a ſubverſion of all government. It admits of caprice as its only rule. It does not rely upon laws to ſecure its duration; ſo that the coloſſus tumbles down to the ground, when it ceaſes to lift up its arm. Out of its ruins ſeveral petty tyrants ariſe; and the ſtate does not reſume a ſettled form till it is governed by law *.

* Voltaire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

MODERN PERSIA.

Revolutions.—Nadir Shah aſſaſſinated.—Kerim Khan.—Competitors for the Perſian Throne.—Manufactures.—Ruins of Darius, Palace.—Moſques.—Hoſpitality, Religion, and Literature of the Perſians.

PERSIA is a large empire, lying eaſtward of Turkey, between the Caſpian and Arabian ſeas. The metropolis, and reſidence of the ſovereign, is Iſpahan *, a fine ſpacious city, containing 600,000 inhabitants. It is ſubject to its own ſophi, or emperor, and its government is abſolute. The Perſian empire, founded by Cyrus, after his conqueſt of Media, continued till it was overthrown by Alexander the Great. A new empire, ſtiled the Parthian, was formed by the Perſians under Arbaces; but Artaxerxces reſtored it to its ancient title. The Saracens, however, at laſt put an end to it. From this time Perſia
A. D. 651. was a prey to the Tartars, and a province of Indoſtan, till it was once more raiſed to a powerful kingdom, in the following ſingular manner. Shah Huſſein, known only by lending his name to the epocha of his country's ruin, had been dethroned during the commotions. One of this emperor's ſons, named Thomas, having eſcaped the maſſacre of the Imperial family, was followed by ſome faithful ſubjects to the neighbourhood of Tauris. Civil wars and national calamities are productive of extraordinary men, who would never perhaps have been heard of in peaceful times. A ſhepherd's ſon became the protector of prince Thomas, and the ſupport of a throne which he afterwards uſurped. This man, who ranks among the greateſt conquerors, was named Nadir, and kept his father's ſheep in the plains of Khoraſſan. We muſt not imagine thoſe ſhepherds to be like ours. The paſtoral life, as ſtill preſerved in many parts of Aſia, is not inconſiſtent with wealth. The tents of thoſe rich ſhepherds are far more valuable than the houſes of our farmers. Nadir ſold the greateſt part of his father's flocks, and put himſelf at the head of a gang of banditti; a practice very common in thoſe parts, where the people retain the manners of antiquity. He ſurrendered himſelf, and his men to prince Thomas, and by his ambition, courage, and activity, was raiſed to the

* Its diſtance from London is about 2,460 miles.

command

command of the army. He then took the name of Thomas Kouli Khan; that is, the *Khan, ſlave* to *Thomas*. But the ſlave was maſter, under a weak effeminate prince like his father Huſſein. Having recovered Iſpahan and all Perſia, he reſtored prince Thomas to the throne of his anceſtors. He reſolved, however, to prevent him from being ungrateful; for, after putting out his eyes, he cauſed himſelf to be declared king of Perſia by the name of Shah Nadir *. He beat the Turks in ſeveral engagements, but could not take Bagdad. The great principle of his government was to ſtrike terror into all his ſubjects by the moſt cruel executions. His conduct became ſo intolerable, that it was thought his brain was touched; and he was aſſaſſinated in his own tent, partly in ſelf-defence, by his chief officers and relations. A. D. 1747.

The confuſion which prevailed through the whole country, from the death of Nadir, until the ſettlement of Kerim Khan, prevented all attempts of literature, arts, and ſciences. During this interval, the whole empire of Perſia was in arms, and rent by commotions. Different parties, in different provinces of the kingdom, ſtruggled for power, and each endeavoured to render itſelf independent of the other. Torrents of blood were ſhed, and the moſt ſhocking crimes were committed with impunity †.

Kerim Khan was a favourite officer of Nadir Shah, and at the time of his death was in the ſouthern provinces. Shirauz and other places had declared for him. He found means, at laſt, after various encounters, with doubtful ſucceſs, completely to ſubdue all his rivals, and finally to eſtabliſh himſelf as ruler of all Perſia. He was in power about thirty years, the latter part of which he governed Perſia under the appellation of regent; for he never would receive the title of Shah. He made Shirauz the chief city of his reſidence, in gratitude for the aſſiſtance he had received from its inhabitants. He died in the eighticth year of his age, regretted by all his ſubjects, who eſteemed and honoured him as the glory of Perſia. A. D. 1779.

His character is moſt deſervedly celebrated for the public buildings which he erected, and the excellent police which he maintanied. During his whole reign, there was not in Shirauz a ſingle riot productive of bloodſhed. Beſides theſe, his averſion to ſevere puniſhments, his liberality and kindneſs to the poor, his toleration of people of different perſuaſions, his partiality for Europeans, and his enouragement of trade, togetner with his great military abililities and perſonal courage, rendered him not only beloved by his own ſubjects, but greatly reſpected by foreign powers.

* Voltaire. † Univerſal Hiſtory.

Of all the competitors for the throne of Perſia ſince the death of Kerim Khan, I ſhall only take notice of the two principal. Akau Mahomet Khan is acknowledged as ſovereign in the provinces of Mazanderan and Ghilan, as well as the cities of Iſpahan and Tauris. Jaafar Khan has poſſeſſion of the city of Shiraz, and ſeveral provinces. In the places where he is acknowledged, he is well beloved and reſpected. He is very kind and obliging to ſtrangers in general, and to the Engliſh in particular. In caſe of ſucceſs againſt his opponent, he is very likely to reſtore the country to a happy and reputable ſtate. But it will require a long ſpace of time to recover it from the calamities into which the different revolutions have brought it:—a country, if an Oriental metaphor may be allowed, once blooming as the garden of Eden, fair and flouriſhing to the eye;—now ſad reverſe! deſpoiled and leafleſs, by the cruel ravages of war, and deſolating contention.—The forces of the two competitors are nearly equal, conſiſting of about *twenty thouſand* men, chiefly cavalry.

The trade of the Perſians, who have little or no ſhipping of their own, is carried on in foreign bottoms. That with the Engliſh and other nations, by the gulf of Ormus at Gombroon, was the moſt lucrative they had; but the perpetual wars in which they are engaged have ruined their commerce. They equal, if not exceed, all the manufacturers in the world, in ſilk, carpets, and leather. Their works in theſe join fancy, taſte, and elegance, to richneſs, neatneſs, and ſhew; and yet they are ignorant of painting, and their drawings are very rude. Their dying excels that of Europe. Their ſilver and gold laces are admirable for preſerving their luſtre. Their embroideries and horſe furniture are not to be equalled *.

The ruins of Darius's palace are by many preferred to thoſe of ancient Rome or Greece, and even to the pyramids of Egypt, or the ſtructures of Alexander the Great. This vaſt fabric is at the foot of a high mountain that overlooks a plain above thirty miles in length and twenty in breadth, where the famous Perſepolis is ſuppoſed to have ſtood. The front of it looks towards the weſt, and is five hundred common paces in length. In the middle of the palace is the amphitheatre for the ſhews of wild beaſts, and other ſports. Here likewiſe are the remains of ſeveral figures cut in half relief, of men fighting with wild beaſts, and princes ſitting with truncheons in their hands, or walking under umbrellas. Beſides the rare deſign and workmanſhip of theſe figures,

* Hanway.

they

they are very remarkable for their variety of habits, ſome having long beards down to the waiſt, and hair on the other ſide ſo ſhort that it ſcarce touches the neck. Others have a flat round cap on their heads, and their garments down to their heels, wide and full of gathers like the gowns of ſenators. It is very remarkable, however, that among ſo many hundred figures, there is not one woman; and that, though the ſtructure has ſtood upwards of two thouſand years, the marble is not the leaſt decayed. It ſhines with ſuch brightneſs as if it were newly finiſhed *.

Whilſt a rude and inſolent demeanour peculiarly marks the character of the Turkiſh nation towards foreigners and Chriſtians, the behaviour of the Perſians would, on the contrary, do honour to the moſt civilized nations. The practice of hoſpitality is with them ſo grand a point, that a man thinks himſelf highly honoured if you will enter his houſe and partake of what the family affords; whereas going out of a houſe, without ſmoaking a calean, or taking any other refreſhment, is deemed, in Perſia, a high affront; they ſay that every meal a ſtranger partakes with them brings a bleſſing upon the houſe. They are ſo immoderately fond of tobacco, which they ſmoke through a tube fixed in water, ſo as to be cool in the mouth, that when it has been prohibited by their princes, they have been known to leave their country †. In the converſations of the Perſians, there is one thing much to be admired, and that is the ſtrict attention they always pay to the perſon ſpeaking.

Juſtice is adminiſtered in Perſia in a very ſummary manner; the ſentence, whatever it may be, being always put into execution on the ſpot. Theft is generally puniſhed with the loſs of noſe and ears; robbing on the road, by ripping up the belly of the criminal, in which ſituation he is expoſed upon a gibbet in one of the moſt public parts of the city and there left until he expires in torment; a dreadful puniſhment; but it renders robberies in Perſia very uncommon. The puniſhments in this country are ſo varied and cruel, that humanity ſhudders at the thought; and the happy Engliſhman viewing them, bleſſes himſelf that he is born in the arms of freedom, where property is not only ſacred, but juſtice adminiſtered with mercy!

The Perſians are Mahometans; but the preſent race are ſaid to be very cool in the doctrines of the *Prophet*, owing chiefly to their late wars with the Turks. Their *moſques*, or churches, as in other Mahometan countries, are ſquare, and generally of ſtone. Before the chief gate there is a

* Gemelli. † Francklin.

ſquare court paved with white marble, and low galleries round it, which ſerve for places of ablution before worſhip is begun. About every moſque there are ſix high towers, from which inſtead of a bell the people are called to prayer by certain officers appointed for that purpoſe. No woman is allowed to enter the moſques; nor can a man with his ſhoes or ſtockings on. Near moſt moſques is a place of entertainment for ſtrangers; and the tomb of the founder, with conveniencies for reading the Koran, and praying.

It has been diſputed among the learned, whether the Arabs had their language from the Perſians; but this chiefly reſts on the great intermixture of Arabic words in the Perſian language, and the deciſion ſeems to be in favour of the Arabs. There is a manuſcript at Oxford containing the lives of many fine Perſian poets. Ferduſi compoſed the hiſtory of Perſia in a ſeries of epic poems, which are ſaid to be a *glorious* monument of eaſtern genius and learning *. Sadi, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, wrote many fine pieces, both in proſe and verſe. Jami was a moſt animated and elegant poet, whoſe beautiful compoſitions, on A.D. 1450. a great variety of ſubjects, are preſerved at Oxford, in 22 volumes. The name and character of the ſprightly Hafez are ſufficiently known to Orientaliſts. Seventeen of his odes have been tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. Nott, with which he has publiſhed the originals, for the purpoſe of promoting the ſtudy of the Perſian language. The *twelfth* ode has alſo appeared in Engliſh dreſs by the elegant hand of Sir William Jones. Hafez is in greater eſteem among his countrymen than any other of their poets. They venerate him almoſt to adoration, never ſpeaking of him but in the higheſt terms of rapture and enthuſiaſm. A moſt elegant copy of his works is kept upon his tomb, for the inſpection of all who go to it. The principal youth of Shirauz, his native city, aſſemble there, and ſhew every poſſible mark of reſpect for their favourite poet, making plentiful libations of delicious wine to his memory.—At preſent, learning is at a very low ebb among the Perſians. Their boaſted ſkill in aſtronomy is now reduced to a mere ſmattering in that ſcience, and terminates in judicial aſtrology; ſo that no people in the world are more ſuperſtitious than the Perſians. Should a Newton, a Halley, or a Caſſini, appear in Perſia, they would be neglected, if they did not predict †.

* Sir William Jones. † Voltaire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

JAPAN AND OTHER ASIATIC ISLANDS.

Of the Inhabitants of Japan.—They ſeem to be Aborigines.—Philippine, Molucca, and Sunda Iſlands.—Ouran-Outang.—Batavia.—Ceylon.

JAPAN ought to have been known to Europe ſo early as the thirteenth century, by the travels of the celebrated Mark Paolo, a Venetian, who went to China by land. But though his cotemporaries uſed to ſwallow the abſurdeſt fables, they would not give credit to the truths revealed by Paolo. His manuſcript lay a long time in obſcurity, till it fell at length into the hands of Chriſtopher Columbus, and greatly contributed to confirm him in his hopes of diſcovering a new world, which ſhould join the Eaſt and Weſt. Columbus was only miſtaken in his opinion, that Japan joined the weſtern hemiſphere.

The Japan iſlands, Japan or Nipham, Bongo, Tonſo, and Dezima, form together what has been called the empire of Japan, and are governed by a moſt deſpotic prince, who is ſometimes called emperor and ſometimes king. They are ſituate about 150 miles eaſt of China, their ſoil and productions being pretty much the ſame with thoſe of that country. The inhabitants are famous for their lacker ware, known by the name of Japan; and they are the only people in Aſia who were never conquered. They are compared to the Engliſh for that inſular pride which is common to them both; and for *ſuicide* which is thought to be ſo frequent. The Japaneſe do not appear to be a mixture of different nations, like the Engliſh, and almoſt all nations in this part of the globe. They ſeem rather to be Aborigines *. The firſt compliment offered to a ſtranger, in their houſes, is a diſh of tea and a pipe of tobacco. Fans are uſed by both ſexes equally, and are, within or without doors, their inſeparable companions. Obedience to parents, and reſpect to ſuperiors are the characteriſtics of this nation; and, perhaps, there is no country where fewer crimes againſt ſociety are committed. Commerce and manufactures flouriſh here, though, as theſe people have few wants, they are not carried to the extent which we ſee in Europe. They trade with no foreigners but the Dutch and Chineſe, and in both caſes with companies of privileged merchants. All the

* Voltaire.

eaſtern

eaſtern nations were formerly much ſuperior to us in the arts of deſign and in mechanics. But how amazingly have we recovered our loſt time! The countries where Raphael and Hogarth painted, where Bramante and Michael Angelo built St. Peter's of Rome, where Newton aſcertained the laws of the univerſe, where Shakeſpear, Milton, Swift, and Thomſon flouriſhed, where Handel "waked to eccſtaſy "the living lyre," are become the principal parts of the globe. Other nations are no more than barbarians or infants in the polite arts, notwithſtanding their antiquity, and all that nature hath done in their favour.

The Philippine iſlands are ſaid to be ***eleven hundred*** in number. They were diſcovered by Magellan, and afterwards conquered by the Spaniards in the reign of Philip II. from whom they take their name. If a ſprig of an orange or lemon tree is planted there, it becomes within the year a fruit-bearing tree; ſo that the verdure and luxuriancy of the ſoil are almoſt incredible. The tree amet ſupplies the natives with water; and there is alſo a kind of cane, which if cut yields water enough for a draught. This abounds in the mountains where the water is moſt wanted.

The *Molucca* iſlands are famous for their cloves, mace, and nutmegs.—The Sunda iſlands, ſo denominated from lying near the ſtraits of that name, are Borneo, Sumatra, and Java; Borneo is one of the largeſt iſlands in the world, being 700 miles long and as many broad. The famous *Ourang-outang* is a native of this iſland. It is now found to have the intermaxillary bone, in common with other quadrupeds, and in many other particulars to differ from the human form, with which it was long ſuppoſed to have ſo near a reſemblance. *Sumatra* has a ſettlement on its coaſt named Bencoolen, made by the Engliſh Eaſt-India Com-
A. D. 1682. pany, which preſerved to them the pepper trade, after the Dutch had diſpoſſeſſed them of Bantam. This iſland produces ſo much gold, that it is thought by ſome to be the Ophir mentioned in the ſcriptures; but a judicious writer*, in his late hiſtory of the iſland, thinks it was unknown to the ancients. The capital of Java is Batavia, where the Dutch have erected a kind of commercial monarchy, and which is furniſhed with one of the fineſt harbours in the world. The city is as beautiful as it is ſtrong, and its canals, bridges, and avenues render it a moſt agreeable reſidence. — Ceylon, is thought to be the richeſt and fineſt iſland in the world. The Indians call it Cachi, and all the idolaters of Aſia look upon it as the abode of

* Mr. Marſden.

their

their gods. In 1656, the Dutch were invited by the natives of this delicious iſland, to defend them againſt the Portugueſe, whoſn they expelled, and have ever ſince monopolized the ſpice trade, for which it is famous.

CHAP. IX.

THE EMPIRE OF MOROCCO, AND OTHER STATES OF BARBARY.

Revolutions.—Muley Moluc.—Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers.—Dreſs and Habitations of the Moors.—The Camel.—Of the Deys or Baſhaws.—Carthage and Utica.

AFRICA once contained ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates, eminent for the liberal arts, for wealth and power, and the moſt extenſive commerce. The kingdoms of Egypt and Ethiopia, in particular, were much celebrated; and the rich and powerful ſtate of Carthage, that once formidable rival to Rome itſelf, extended her commerce to every part of the ancient world; even the Britiſh ſhores were viſited by her fleets, till Juba, who was king of Mauritania, but tributary to the republic of Carthage, unhappily called in the Romans, who, with the aſſiſtance of the Mauritanians, ſubdued Carthage, and by degrees all the neigbouring kingdoms and ſtates. After this, the natives conſtantly plundered, and conſequently impoveriſhed, by the governors ſent from Rome, neglected their trade, and cultivated no more of their lands than might ſerve for their ſubſiſtence. Upon the decline of the Roman empire, in the fifth century, the north of Africa was over-run by the Vandals, who contributed ſtill more to the deſtruction of arts and ſciences; and to add to this country's calamity, the Saracens made a ſudden conqueſt of all the coaſts of Egypt and Barbary, in the ſeventh century. Theſe were ſucceeded by the Turks; and both being of the Mahometan religion, whoſe profeſſors carried deſolation with them wherever they came, the ruin of that once flouriſhing part of the world was thereby completed.

The ſtates of Barbary, Morocco and Fez, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Barca, form one great political confederacy, though each be independent as to the exerciſe of its internal policy.

The emperor of Morocco and Fez is not immediately ſubject to the Porte; but he acknowledges the Grand Signior

nior to be his ſuperior, and pays him a diſtant allegiance as the chief repreſentative of Mahomet. From Morocco, which includes part of Mauritania Tingitana, came thoſe Moors who afterwards conquered Spain. In the thirteenth century Fez and Tremecen, provinces of this empire, revolted and became ſeparate kingdoms. Morocco was afterwards ſeized by the kings of Fez; and finally, the deſcen-
A. D. 1550. dants of Mahomet ſubdued and united the three kingdoms again, under the title of Empire of Morocco, and thus they ſtill continue.

Tangiers was its capital when a Roman colony. This place was taken towards the end of the fifteenth century by the Portugueze, and given away to Charles II. king of England as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal. At length Charles relinquiſhed it to the kings of Morocco; ſo that few towns have undergone more revolutions.

The Emperors of Morocco have been in general a ſet of bloody tyrants, though they have had among them ſome able princes, particularly Muley Moluc, who defeated and killed Don Sebaſtian king of Portugal. They have lived in almoſt a continual ſtate of warfare with the kings of Spain and other Chriſtian princes ever ſince; nor does the crown of Great Britain ſometimes diſdain to purchaſe their friendſhip with preſents.

Tripoli, which is the next ſtate we come to in going weſtward; having been conquered by Peter of Navarre, in the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, was given by Charles VI. to the knights of Malta. But Solyman's admirals ſeized it; and ever ſince that time it has been governed in the form of a republic, at the head of which is a general called the Dey, who is choſen by the militia. Tripoli was once the richeſt, moſt populous, and opulent of all the ſtates on the coaſt; but it is now much reduced.

Farther on we meet with TUNIS, the ancient reſidence
A. D. 1590. of the Carthaginians. The inhabitants of this province obtained leave of the emperor of the Turks to elect their own Dey, in the ſame manner as Tripoli. The people of Tunis are more poliſhed than thoſe of the other Barbary ſtates. Even the moſt civilized of the European governments might improve from their manners. The complexion of the ladies is very delicate, nor are they leſs neat and elegant in their dreſs; but they improve the beauty their eyes by art, particularly the powder of lead ore, which, according to the opinion of a learned author*, Jezebel made uſe of, when, in the ſacred writings, ſhe is ſaid to have *painted her face*. Tunis contains the remains of

* Dr. Shaw.

many

many noble cities. The capital, which alſo bears the name of Tunis, is about thirty miles ſouth of old Carthage, and three miles in circumference.

Algiers, which bounds the Turkiſh empire in Africa, is the ancient Mauritania, ſo famous for the kings Juba, Maſiniſſa, and Syphax. There is ſcarce any veſtige of Cirta the capital. Juba's kingdom, ſeveral centuries ago, had become ſo trifling a concern, that Chereds Barbaroſſa choſe rather to be admiral to the Grand Signior than king of Algiers. This province he reſigned to Solyman, and from a king condeſcended to become a baſhaw. Since that time, till the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, Algiers was governed by baſhaws ſent thither by the Porte. But at length the ſame form of government was introduced here as at Tripoli and Tunis, and Algiers became a neſt of pirates. The proſpect of the country and ſea from the metropolis is very beautiful; but though, for ſeveral ages, Algiers has braved ſome of the greateſt powers in chriſtendom, it could make but a faint defence againſt a regular ſiege. Three Engliſh fifty-gun ſhips might batter it about the ears of the inhabitants from the harbour. They attacked it by land and by ſea, but were repulſed with great loſs, though they had near 20,000 foot and 2,000 horſe, *forty-ſeven* king's ſhips of different rates, and 346 tranſports. A. D. 1775.

The ſubjects of the Barbary ſtates, in general ſubſiſting by piracy, are allowed to be bold, intrepid mariners, and will fight deſperately when they meet with a prize at ſea; but if we except the inhabitants of Tunis, they are void of all arts and literature. How humiliating is it for human nature to ſee almoſt all nations degenerate inſenſibly from the virtues of their anceſtors, and preſerve only their vices! This, however, is the picture which the hiſtory of all ages preſents to us. Where at preſent ſhall we find the ſages of Greece, the learned Egyptians, and the heroes of ancient Rome? We ſhould in vain ſeek for them in their deſcendants, while the Aſiatic has preſerved his primitive effeminacy, and the barbarous African ſtill thirſts after blood.

The dreſs of the Moors of the deſerts and mountains is perfectly well deſcribed by Fenelon, when ſpeaking of the cuſtoms of the Bæotians, he ſays, "Their dreſſes are eaſily made; for, in that mild climate, nothing is worn but a piece of fine light ſtuff, uncut, which they throw about their body in long folds, giving it whatever form they pleaſe *." The habitations of the Moors are as ſimple as

* Telemachus, Book VIII.

their

their dreſs. They inhabit only tents or huts, conſtructed with the branches of trees and reeds. The form of each tent is almoſt like that of a tomb, or of the keel of a veſſel reverſed, as Salluſt ſays, when ſpeaking of the habitations of the Numidians *. The facility with which theſe habitations are tranſported makes the Moors often change their abode, according to the ſeaſon, or as their wants may require. In winter they chooſe a ſouthern expoſure at the bottom of ſome hill; in ſummer they approach thoſe places where there are plenty of paſtures and abundance of ſprings.

According to the principles of their religion, the Moors are obliged, both before and after meat, to waſh their hands, beard, and mouth; but many neglect this ceremony. As Mahometans, they have nothing to drink but water, drawn up in a wooden baſon, from which they all drink in their turn. However, they do not refuſe wine, when it is offered them, if they are not ſeen †.

The Barbary horſes were formerly very valuable, and thought equal to the Arabian. Though their breed is now ſaid to be decayed, yet ſome very fine ones are occaſionally imported into England.

Dromedaries and mules are the African beaſts of burthen; but from the ſervices of the camel the natives derive the greateſt advantages. This uſeful quadruped enables them to perform their toilſome journies acroſs that continent. The camel, is, therefore, emphatically called the *ſhip of the deſert* ‡. He ſeems to have been created for this very trade, endued with parts and qualities adapted to the office he is employed to diſcharge. The drieſt thiſtle, and the bareſt thorn, is all the food this uſeful animal requires, and even theſe, to ſave time, he eats while advancing on his journey, without ſtopping, or occaſioning a moment of delay. As it is his lot to croſs immenſe deſerts, where no water is to be found, and countries not even moiſtened by the dew of heaven, he is endued with the power at one watering-place to lay in a ſtore with which he ſupplies himſelf for thirty days to come. To contain this enormous quantity of fluid, nature has formed large ciſterns within him, from which, once filled, he draws at pleaſure the quantity he wants, and pours it into his ſtomach with the ſame effect as if he then drew from a ſpring, and with this he travels, patiently and vigorouſly, all day long, carrying a prodigious load upon him, through countries infected with

* Cæterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agreſtiumque Mapilia illi vocant oblonga lateribus incurvis tecta, quaſi navium carinæ ſunt. Sall. Bell. Jugur.

† M. Poiret.

‡ Mr. Bruce.

poiſonous

poiſonous winds, and glowing with parching and never-cooling ſand.

Though Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, have each of them a Turkiſh baſhaw or dey, who govern in the name of the Grand Signior, yet very little regard is paid by his ferocious ſubjects to his authority. He cannot even be ſaid to be nominated by the Porte. When a vacancy of the government happens, which it commonly does by murder, every ſoldier in the army has a vote in chooſing the ſucceeding dey. It is true, he muſt be confirmed by the Porte; but that is ſeldom refuſed, as the divan is no ſtranger to the diſpoſitions of the people. The income of the deys is very conſiderable. A detachment of the army of their ſtates is annually ſent into each province to collect the tribute from the Moors and Arabs; and the prizes taken at ſea, ſometimes equal the taxes laid upon the natives. Theſe deys pay ſlight annual tributes to the Porte. When the Grand Signior is at war with a Chriſtian power, he requires their aſſiſtance, as he does that of the king of Morocco, but he is obeyed only as they think proper. The authority of the dey is unlimited; but an unſucceſsful expedition, or too pacific a conduct, ſeldom fails to put an end to his life and government.

It has often been thought ſurpriſing, that the Chriſtian powers ſhould ſuffer their marine to be inſulted by thoſe barbarians, who take the ſhips of all nations with whom they are not at peace, or rather, who do not pay them a ſubſidy either in money or commodities. Perhaps a breach with them might provoke the Porte, who pretends to be their lord paramount; and nothing could be got by a bombardment of any of their towns, as the inhabitants would inſtantly carry their effects to their deſerts and mountains, ſo that the benefit, reſulting from the conqueſt, muſt be tedious and precarious. Beſides, no Chriſtian power would be fond of ſeeing Algiers, and the reſt of that coaſt, in poſſeiſion of another.

With regard to the Ottoman Porte we may remark, that the ſituation of Conſtantinople ſeems to have formed it for empire, as it has Aſia in the front, and Europe behind its back. Its harbour, ſafe and ſpacious, opens and ſhuts the paſſage of the Black Sea towards the eaſt, and of the Mediterranean to the weſt. Rome, far leſs advantageouſly ſituated, in an unfavourable ſoil and a corner of Italy, did not ſeem to be near ſo well adapted for eſtabliſhing a dominion over nations; and yet ſhe became the capital of an empire three times as extenſive as that of the Turks. The reaſon is obvious. The ancient Romans met with no na-

tion that underſtood the art of war ſo well as themſelves. The Ottomans, on the contrary, after the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, found almoſt all the other nations of Europe as warlike as themſelves, and with better diſciplined troops *.

I ſhall conclude this chapter with obſerving, that a few of the aqueducts of Carthage are ſaid ſtill to remain, but no veſtige of its walls. The ſame is the fate of Utica, famous for the retreat and death of Cato, and many other renowned cities of antiquity. With regard to Carthage, an intelligent writer †, who had frequent opportunities of going over the ground where it ſtood, is of opinion that this celebrated city was about fifteen miles in circumference. There are three eminences, which are ſo many heaps of fine marble pounded together, and were, in all probability, the ſites of temples, and other diſtinguiſhed buildings. The preſent buildings, he ſays, are not the remains of the ancient city deſtroyed by the Romans, who entirely raſed it and ploughed up the very foundations. They are the ruins of the city, which was built on the ſite of the former, and which was deſtroyed by the Saracens in the beginning of the ſeventh century.

CHAP. X.

MODERN EGYPT AND ABYSSINIA.

Conqueſt of Egypt by the Turks—Origin of the Gipſies—The famous Ali Bey—Grand Cairo, Alexandria and Thebes—The Crocodile, Cameleon, and Ceraſtes—Incantation of Serpents—Extraction of the King of Abyſſinia—Source of the Nile—Deſcription of a remarkable Fly—Peculiar method of computing Time—Interior Parts of Africa—Sierra Leone—African Iſlands.

AFTER the death of Cleopatra, who had been miſtreſs ſucceſſively to Julius Cæſar and Mark Antony, Egypt became a Roman province, and thus remained till the reign of Omar, the ſecond calif of the ſucceſſors of Mahomet, who expelled the Romans after it had been in their hands 700 hundred years. Vizirs then governed it in the name of

* Voltaire. † Mr. Stanley.

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the caliſs, and, poſſeſſed of unbounded power, exerciſed ſupreme authority. Many of theſe viziſs ſwayed an iron ſceptre; ſome few made commerce, agriculture, and the arts, to flouriſh. Others, among whom was the famous Ebn Toulon, rebelled, and proclaimed themſelves kings; but the crown ſeldom deſcended to their children. After the death of the rebel, the province returned to the dominion of its former maſters.

In the year 982, Moaz, ſovereign of the weſtern part of Africa, and a deſcendant of the Fatimite caliſs, who had founded a kindom there two centuries before, ſent his generals to conquer Egypt, which having performed, he made it the ſeat of empire. His offſpring reigned till Saladin eſtabliſhed the empire of the Turks in Africa. This warlike prince, the terror of the cruſaders, whom he had almoſt driven out of Paleſtine, was overthrown by Richard Cœur de Lion, near the walls of St. John d'Acre; and the name of the Engliſh monarch became terrible throughout the eaſt. The government of Saladin and his ſucceſſors was monarchical, when Egypt became very flouriſhing. In the year 1250, the Baharite Mamluks *, Turks by deſcent, maſſacred Touran Shah, the laſt prince of the family of Saladin, and the ſon of Nijem Eddin their benefactor, with whom ended the reign of the Arabian princes over Egypt. The Baharite Mamluks changed its form of government, and made it republican. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the Circaſſian Mamluks dethroned the Baharites, but preſerved their form of government, and continued in poſſeſſion of Egypt till the conqueſt of it by the Turkiſh emperor Selim, who reduced it to its preſent ſtate of ſubjection. A. D. 1189. A. D. 1517.

While Selim was ſettling the government of Egypt, great numbers of the ancient inhabitants withdrew into the deſerts and plains, under one Zinganeus, from whence they attacked the cities and villages of the Nile, and plundered whatever fell in their way. Selim and his officers perceiving that it would be a matter of great difficulty to extirpate thoſe marauders, left them at liberty to quit the country, which they did in great numbers, and their poſterity is known all over Europe and Aſia, by the name of Gipſies. Of late, however, many of them have incorporated with, and adopted the manners of, the people among whom they reſide.

* They were bought of Syrian merchants by Nijem Eddin. Mamluk ſignifies acquired or poſſeſſed.

An attempt was made ſome years ago to deprive the Ottoman Porte of its authority over Egypt by Ali Bey, whoſe father was a prieſt of the Greek church. Ali turned Mahometan, and being a man of great abilities and addreſs, rendered himſelf extremely popular in Egypt. A falſe accuſation having been made againſt him to the Grand Signior, his head was ordered to be ſent to Conſtantinople, but being apprized of the deſign, he ſeized and put to death the meſſenger who brought the order, and was ſoon enabled to put himſelf at the head of an army. Taking advantage of the diſtreſsful and dangerous ſituation to which the Turkiſh empire was reduced, in conſequence of the war with Ruſſia, he boldly mounted the throne of the ancient ſultans of Egypt. But not content with the kingdom of Egypt, he alſo laid claim to Syria, Paleſtine, and that part of Arabia which had belonged to the ancient ſultans. He marched at the head of his troops to ſupport theſe pretenſions, and actually ſubdued ſome of the neighbouring provinces both of Arabia and Syria. At the ſame time that he was engaged in theſe great enterpriſes, he was no leſs attentive to the eſtabliſhing of a regular form of government, and introducing order into a country that had been long the ſeat of anarchy and confuſion. His views were equally extended to commerce; for which purpoſe he gave great encouragement to the Chriſtian traders, and took off ſome ſhameful reſtraints and indignities, to which they were ſubjected in that barbarous country. He alſo wrote a letter to the republic of Venice, with the greateſt aſſurances of his friendſhip, and that their merchants ſhould meet with every degree of protection and ſafety. His great deſign was ſaid to be, to make himſelf maſter of the Red Sea; to open the port of Suez to all nations, but particularly to the Europeans, and to render Egypt once more the great centre of commerce. The conduct and views of Ali Bey ſhewed an extent of thought and ability that indicated nothing of the barbarian, and beſpoke a mind equal to the founding of an empire: but he was not finally ſucceſsful. He was, however, for ſome time extremely fortunate. He aſſumed the titles and ſtate of the ancient ſultans of Egypt, and was ably ſupported by Sheik Daher, and ſome other Arabian princes, who warmly eſpouſed his intereſts. He alſo ſucceeded in almoſt all his enterprizes againſt the neighbouring Aſiatic governors and baſhaws, whom he repeatedly defeated; but he was afterwards deprived of the kingdom of Egypt by the baſe and ungrateful conduct of his brother-in-law, Mahomed Bey Aboudaab, his troops being totally defeated, and himſelf wounded

A.D. 1773

and

and taken priſoner. He died of his wounds, and was buried at Grand Cairo. Aboudaab afterwards governed Egypt as Sheik Bellet, and marched into Paleſtine to ſubdue Sheik Daher. After behaving with great cruelty to the inhabitants of the places he took, he was found dead in his bed one morning at Acre, ſuppoſed to be ſtrangled. Sheik Daher accepted the Porte's full amneſty, and truſting to their aſſurances, embraced the captain baſhaw's invitation to dine on board his ſhip, when the captain produced his orders, and the brave Daher, Ali Bey's ally, had his head cut off in the eighty-fifth year of his age. From that time Egypt has been torn by a civil war, between the adherents of Ali, and other beys or princes, who roſe on his ruins. Of theſe the principal are Morad and Ybrahim, who having driven their enemies into baniſhment, began to quarrel among themſelves. Alternately expelled from Cairo, they finally agreed to a compromiſe; but it is A.D. 1785. not expected that their agreement will be laſting. The Porte ſtill retains a baſhaw in Egypt; but this baſhaw, confined and watched in the caſtle of Cairo, is rather the priſoner of the Mamluks, than the repreſentative of the ſultan.

The chief cities of Egypt are Grand Cairo, one of the largeſt cities in the world, near which was the ancient city of Memphis. Thebes, which once had in it an hundred royal palaces; and Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great. This city, which lies on the Levant coaſt, was once the emporium of the world, and by the means of the Red Sea furniſhed Europe, and great part of Aſia, with the riches of India. It ſtands forty miles weſt from the Nile, and is a hundred and twenty north-weſt of Cairo. It roſe upon the ruins of Tyre and Carthage.

When the Nile riſes to its uſual height, the principal ſtreet of Cairo, called the *Kaliſch*, is converted into a canal. "The feſtival," ſays a late traveller, "was very brilliant; "the ſtreets, the windows, and the roofs of the houſes "were filled with people. The water having been ſlow "in coming, they teſtified ſome uneaſineſs, but its abun"dance ſoon made every one quiet; and thoſe unhap"py wretches, whom I before mentioned, ſent forth "cries of joy, without reflecting, that the half of them "would periſh with hunger, before they could ſee that "harveſt from which they hoped to derive ſo much relief. "Nothing can equal the ſuperſtitious reſpect which the "inhabitants of Egypt entertain for the river that nouriſhes "them. Some took a pleaſure in croſſing the muddy water "in all directions, and mothers plunged their children into

" it, who came out as black as toads. In ſhort, the croud " did not diſperſe until the water came ſo high, that it ob- " liged them to retire. Since that time, the Kaliſch has " been covered with elegant barks, the rowers of which " accompany their labour with a ſong rather monotonous, " but harmonious, and which has nothing of the diſ- " cordant and ſhrill cries of the Turkiſh muſic. The " pacha and principal beys aſſiſt at the opening of the " Kaliſch, and certify by a writing, that the water has en- " tered it; without this the Grand Signior could not demand " any tribute from Egypt. But all this is only ceremony; " for the beys, nevertheleſs, keep all the revenues of the " country to themſelves, and ſend very little to Conſtanti- " nople."

Egypt is inhabited by four different races of people, the Turks, who pretend to be maſters of the country; the Arabs, who were conquered by the Turks; the Coptes, who are deſcended from the ancient Egyptians, mixed with the Perſians, Greeks, and Romans, who ſucceſſively conquered Egypt; and, the Mamluks, who were originally Circaſſian and Mingrelian ſlaves, and being the only military force, are the real maſters of the country. The Turks, who reſide in Egypt, retain all their Ottoman pride and inſolence, and wear the Turkiſh habit, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Arabs and Coptes, who dreſs very plain. Though it is ſuppoſed that the Greeks derived all their knowledge from the ancient Egyptians, yet ſcarcely a veſtige of it remains among their deſcendants. The jargon of aſtrology, with ſuch knowledge as is neceſſary for the diſpatch of buſineſs, is all the learning they poſſeſs.

The women of modern Egypt are far from being on ſo reſpectable a footing as they were in ancient times, or as the European women are at preſent. In Europe, women act parts of great conſequence, and often reign ſovereigns on the world's vaſt theatre. They influence manners and morals, and decide on the moſt important events. The fate of nations is frequently in their hands. How different is their ſituation in Egypt! there they are bound down by the fetters of ſlavery, condemned to ſervitude, and have no influence in public affairs. Their empire is confined within the walls of the harem *. There are their graces and charms entombed. The circle of their life extends not beyond their own family and domeſtic duties. Their firſt care is to educate their children. The harem is the cradle and ſchool of infancy. The new-born feeble being is not there ſwaddled and filletted up in a ſwathe, the ſource of a thouſand diſeaſes. Laid naked on a mat, expoſed in a vaſt

* The women's apartment.

chamber

chamber to the pure air, he breathes freely, and with his delicate limbs ſprawls at pleaſure. The new element, in which he is to live, is not entered with pain and tears. Daily bathed beneath his mother's eye, he grows apace. Free to act, he tries his coming powers; rolls, crawls, riſes, and, ſhould he fall, cannot much hurt himſelf on the carpet or mat, which covers the floor. The daughter's education is the ſame. Whalebone and buſks, which martyr European girls, they know not. The dreſs they wear confines none of their limbs, but ſuffers the body to take its true form; and nothing is more uncommon than ricketty children, and crooked people. In Egypt, man riſes in all his majeſty, and woman diſplays every charm of perſon. Subject to the immutable laws by which cuſtom governs the Eaſt, the women do not aſſociate with the men, not even at table, where the union of ſexes produces mirth and wit, and makes food more ſweet. When the great incline to dine with one of their wives, ſhe is informed, prepares the apartment, perfumes it with precious eſſences, procures the moſt delicate viands, and receives her lord with the utmoſt attention and reſpect. Among the common people, the women uſually ſtand, or ſit in a corner of the room, while the huſband dines. They often hold the baſon for him to waſh, and ſerve him at table. Cuſtoms like theſe, which the Europeans rightly call barbarous, and exclaim againſt with juſtice, appear ſo natural in Egypt, that they do not ſuſpect it can be otherwiſe elſewhere. Such is the power of habit over men. What has been for ages, he ſuppoſes a law of nature.

The *crocodile* was formerly thought peculiar to Egypt, but there does not ſeem to be any material difference between it and the aligators of India and America. They are both amphibious animals, in the form of a lizard, and grow till they are about twenty feet in length, and have four ſhort legs, with large feet, armed with claws, and their backs are covered with a kind of impenetrable ſcales like armour. The crocodile waits for his prey in the ſedge, and other cover, on the ſides of the rivers; and, pretty much reſembling the trunk of an old tree, ſometimes ſurpriſes the unwary traveller with his fore paws, or beats him down with his tail. The *camelion*, a little animal ſomething reſembling a lizard, that changes colour as you ſtand to look upon him, is found here as well as in neighbouring countries. The *hyppopotamus*, or river horſe, an amphibious animal, reſembling an ox in its hinder parts, with the head of a horſe, is common in Upper Egypt.

The *ceraſtes*, or horned viper, inhabits the greateſt part

of the eaſtern continent, eſpecially the deſert ſandy parts of it. It abounds in Syria, in the three Arabias, and in Africa. It is probable that this was the aſp which Cleopatra employed to procure her death. Alexandria, plentifully ſupplied by water, muſt then have had fruit of all kinds in its gardens. The baſkets of figs muſt have come from thence, and the aſp, or ceraſtes, that was hid in them, from the adjoining deſert, where there are plenty to this day. The poiſon is very copious for ſo ſmall a creature; it is fully as large as a drop of laudanum dropped from a phial by a careful hand. Viewed through a glaſs, it appears not perfectly tranſparent or pellucid. People have doubted whether or not this yellow liquor is the poiſon, and the reaſon has been, that animals who had taſted it did not die as when bitten, but this reaſon does not hold in modern phyſics. We know that the ſaliva of a mad dog has been given to animals and has not affected them; and a German phyſician was bold enough to diſtil the pus, or putrid matter flowing from the ulcer of a perſon infected by the plague, and taſte it afterwards without any bad conſequences, ſo that it is clear that the poiſon has no activity, till through ſome ſore or wound it is admitted into circulation.

There are few ſubjects of more curious inveſtigation, than the incantation of ſerpents. There is no doubt of its reality. The ſcriptures are full of it. All that have been in Egypt have ſeen as many different inſtances as they choſe. Some have doubted that it was a trick, and that the animals, ſo handled, had been firſt trained, and then diſarmed of their powers of hurting; and fond of the diſcovery they have reſted themſelves upon it, without experiment, in the face of all antiquity. But I will not heſitate to aver, ſays a late ingenious traveller *, that I have ſeen at Cairo (and this may be ſeen daily without trouble or expence) a man who has taken a ceraſtes with his naked hands from a number of others lying at the bottom of a tub, has put it upon his bare head, and tied it about his neck like a necklace; after which it has been applied to a hen, and bit it, which has died in a few minutes.

Abyssinia is an extenſive country, of which, for a long time, our European nations had no other knowledge than by name. It was under the celebrated John II. king of Portugal, that Don Franciſco d'Alvarez firſt found his way to thoſe immenſe regions, ſituated between the tropic and the equator, of ſuch difficult acceſs by ſea. The country was poor, though abounding with ſilver mines. The in-

* Mr. Bruce.

habitants

habitants, leſs induſtrious than the Americans, knew neither how to work thoſe mines, nor to make uſe of the treaſure which the earth abundantly furniſhed for the real wants of man. Agreeably to this we meet with a letter from David, king of Abyſſinia, to the Portugueſe governor of India, begging for workmen of every kind. This indeed was very poor. Three fourths of Africa, America, and the northern parts of Aſia, laboured under the ſame poverty. In the midſt of the luxurious opulence of our towns, we are apt to imagine, that the reſt of the world are like ourſelves; not reflecting, that mankind, till they are civilized, "live in the midſt of gold and diamond mines, "with hardly food and raiment*." So weak was this boaſted kingdom of Abyſſinia, that a petty Mahometan prince, poſſeſſed of a neighbouring province, made almoſt an entire conqueſt of it, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century. We have ſtill the famous letter from John Bermudes to Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, whereby we may be convinced, either that the Abyſſinians are not the invincible nation mentioned by Herodotus, or that they have greatly degenerated. They give the name of *Preſter John* to the negus or king of Abyſſinia, becauſe he is ſaid, to be deſcended from the race of Solomon, by the queen of Sheba. He is abſolute both in eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs. He very often judges capital crimes himſelf; but no man is condemned to die for the *firſt fault*, unleſs the crime be of a horrid nature, ſuch as parricide or ſacrilege. And, in general, the life and merits of the priſoner are weighed againſt his immediate guilt; ſo that if his firſt behaviour has had more merit towards the ſtate than his preſent delinquency is thought to have injured it, the one is placed fairly againſt the other, and the accuſed is generally abſolved when the ſovereign judges alone.

The Nile takes its riſe in this country, to diſcover the ſources of which animated a late celebrated traveller through toils and dangers innumerable. When he ſtood in rapture over the principal fountain, what mingled emotions muſt have ariſen in his mind! "It is eaſier to gueſs than to de-"ſcribe the ſituation of my mind," ſays he, "when ſtanding "in that ſpot which had baffled the genius, induſtry, and "enquiry of both ancients and moderns, for the courſe of "near three thouſand years. Kings had attempted this "diſcovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was "diſtinguiſhed from the laſt, only by the difference of the "numbers which had periſhed, and agreed alone in the

* Voltaire.

"diſ-

" diſappointment which had uniformly and without excep
" tion followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour, had
" been held out for a ſeries of ages to every individual of
" thoſe myriads theſe princes commanded, without having
" produced one man capable of gratifying the curioſity of
" his ſovereign, or wiping off this ſtain upon the enterprize
" and abilities of mankind, or adding this deſideratum for
" the encouragement of geography. Though a mere pri-
" vate Briton, I triumphed here in my own mind, over
" kings and their armies; and every compariſon was lead-
" ing nearer and nearer to preſumption, when the place it-
" ſelf where I ſtood, the object of my vain-glory, ſuggeſted
" what depreſſed my ſhort-lived triumphs. I was but a few
" minutes arrived at the ſources of the Nile, through num
" berleſs dangers and ſufferings, the leaſt of which would
" have overwhelmed me but for the continued goodneſs and
" protection of providence; I was, however, but then half
" through my journey, and all thoſe dangers which I had
" already paſſed, awaited me again on my return. I ſaw
" Strates expecting me on the ſide of the hill: " Strates,"
ſaid I, " faithful ſquire, come and triumph with your Don
" Quixote at that iſland of Barataria, where we have wiſely
" and fortunately brought ourſelves; come and triumph
" with me over all the kings of the earth, all their armies, all
" their philoſophers and all their heroes."—"Sir, ſays Strates,
" I do not underſtand a word of what you ſay, and as little
" of what you mean: you very well know I am no ſcholar;
" but you had much better leave that bog, and come into the
" houſe."—" Come," ſaid I, " take a draught of this excel-
" lent water, and drink with me a health to his Majeſty
" George III. and a long line of princes." " I had in my
" hand a large cup of cocoa-nut ſhell, which I procured
" in Arabia, and which was brim full. He drank to the
" king ſpeedily and chearfully, with the addition of " con-
" fuſion to his enemies," and toſſed up his cap with a loud
" huzza. " Now friend," ſaid I, " here is to a more
" humble, but ſtill a ſacred name; here is to—Maria!"
" He aſked, if that was the virgin Mary? I anſwered,
" In faith I believe ſo, Strates." He did not ſpeak, but only
gave a humph of diſapprobation.

The day had been very hot, ſo that my thirſt led me to theſe frequent libations at this long ſought for ſpring, the moſt ancient of all altars. " Strates," ſaid I, " here is to
" our happy return. Come, friend, you are yet two toaſts
" behind me; can you ever be ſatiated with this excellent
" water?" " Look you, Sir," ſays he very gravely, " as for
" king George, I drank to him with all my heart, to his
" wife,

" wife, to his children, to his brothers and ſiſters, God " bleſs them all! amen;—but as for the virgin Mary, as I " am no papiſt, I beg to be excuſed from drinking healths, " which my church does not drink. But you muſt forgive " me, if I refuſe to drink any more water."

The number of birds in Abyſſinia exceeds that of other animals beyond proportion. The Tſaltſalya, or fly, is an inſect that has not been deſcribed by any naturaliſt. It is in ſize very little larger than a bee, of a thicker proportion, and its wings, which are broader than thoſe of a bee, placed ſeparate like thoſe of a fly. Of all thoſe that have written upon theſe countries, the prophet Iſaiah alone has given an account of this animal, and the manner of its operation. " And it ſhall come to paſs, in that day, that the Lord ſhall " hiſs for the fly that is in the uttermoſt parts of the rivers " of Egypt, And they ſhall come, and ſhall reſt all of " them in the deſolate vallies, and in the holes of the rocks, " and upon all thorns, and upon all buſhes *." We cannot read the hiſtory of the plagues which God brought upon Pharoah by the hands of Moſes, without ſtopping a moment to conſider a ſingularity, which attended this plague of the fly. It was not till this time and by means of this inſect, that God ſaid, he would ſeparate his people from the Egyptians. And it would ſeem that then a law was given to them, which fixed the limits of their habitation. It is well known that the land of Goſhen, or Geſhen, the poſſeſſion of the Iſraelites was a land of paſture, which, was not tilled or ſown, becauſe it was not overflowed by the Nile. But the land overflowed by the Nile was the black earth of the valley of Egypt, and it was here that God confined the flies; for he ſays, it ſhall be a ſign of this ſeparation of the people, which he had then made, that not one fly ſhould be ſeen in the ſand or paſture ground, the land of Goſhen; and this kind of ſoil has ever ſince been the refuge of all cattle emigrating from the black earth to the lower part of Atbara.

Balm, or *balſam*, is found in Abyſſinia. We know from ſcripture, the oldeſt hiſtory extant, as well as the moſt infallible, that the Iſhmaelites, or Arabian carriers and merchants, trafficking with the India commodities into Egypt, brought with them balm as part of the cargo. The Jewiſh hiſtorian †, in his account of the antiquities of his country, ſays, that a tree of this balſam was brought to Jeruſalem by the queen of Sheba, or Abyſſinia, and given among other preſents to Solomon, who, as we know from ſcripture, was

* Iſaiah, vii. 18. † Joſephus.

very

very ſtudious of all ſorts of plants, and ſkilful in the deſcription and diſtinction of them. Notwithſtanding this poſitive authority of Joſephus, we are not to put it in competition with that of ſcripture, from which we know the place where it grew and was ſold to merchants, was Gilead in Judæa, more than 1780 years before Chriſt, or 1000 before the queen of Sheba; ſo that upon reading the verſe, nothing can be more plain than that it had been tranſplanted into Judæa, flouriſhed, and had become an article of commerce in Gilead, long before the period Joſephus mentions: "And they ſat down to eat bread, and then lifted up their "eyes and looked, and behold a company of Iſhmaelites "came from Gilead, with their camels, bearing ſpicery, "and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down into Egypt*."

The Abyſſinians have a way of deſcribing time peculiar to themſelves. They read the whole of the four evangeliſts every year in their churches. They begin with Matthew, then proceed to Mark, Luke and John in order; and when they ſpeak of an event, they write and ſay it happened in the days of Matthew, that is in the firſt quarter of the year, while the goſpel of St. Matthew was yet reading in the churches.

Their firſt biſhop, Frumentius, being ordained about the year 353, and inſtructed in the religion of the Greeks of the church of Alexandria, by St. Athanaſius, then ſitting in the chair of St. Mark, it follows that the true religion of the Abyſſinians, which they received on their converſion to Chriſtianity, is that of the Greek church. They receive the holy ſacrament in both kinds, in unleavened bread, and in the grape bruiſed with the huſk as it grows; ſo that it is a kind of marmalade, and is given in a flat ſpoon. They alſo obſerve circumciſion.

The *interior parts* of Africa are, comparatively ſpeaking, very little known. In moſt material circumſtances, the inhabitants of this extenſive continent agree with each other. If we except the people of Abyſſinia, who are tawny, and profeſs Chriſtianity blended with Judaiſm and Paganiſm, they are all of a black complexion. In their religion, except on the ſea-coaſts which have been viſited and inhabited by ſtrangers, they are pagans; and the form of government is every where monarchical. The countries of Mandengo, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Balua, and Monomotapa, are extremely rich in gold and ſilver. The baſer metals likewiſe are found in theſe and many other parts of Africa. But the perſons of the natives make the moſt conſiderable

* Gen. xxxvii. 25.

articles

article in the produce and traffic of this miſerable quarter of the globe. On the Guinea or weſtern coaſt, the Engliſh trade to James Fort, and other ſettlements on the river Gambia, where they exchange their woollen and linen manufactures, their hardware and ſpirituous liquors, for the perſons of the natives. Among the negroes a man's wealth conſiſts in the number of his family, whom he ſells like ſo many cattle, and often at an inferior price. When will this moſt infamous of all trades, ſo diſgraceful to the Chriſtian name, and ſo repugnant to the principles of our conſtitution, be aboliſhed! Let the negroes already in our iſlands be properly treated, made free, and encouragement given to their population; meaſures that would be attended with no leſs profit than honour.

Gold and ivory, next to the ſlave trade, form the principal branches of African commerce. Theſe are carried on from the ſame coaſt, where the Dutch and French, as well as Engliſh, have their ſettlements for this purpoſe. The Portugueſe are in poſſeſſion of the eaſt and weſt coaſt of Africa, from the tropic of capricorn to the equator; which immenſe tract they became maſters of, by their happy diſcovery and navigation of the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch have ſettlements towards the ſouthern part of the continent in the country called Caffraria, or the land of the Hottentots, particularly Cape Town, which is well ſettled and fortified. Here their ſhips bound for India uſually put in, and trade with the natives for their cattle, in exchange for which they give them ſpirituous liquors. The Cape of Good Hope is very mountainous, and the top is always covered with a cap of clouds before a ſtorm.

Were Africa civilized, and could we pre-occupy the affections of the natives, and introduce gradually our religion, manners and language among them, we ſhould open a market that would fully employ our manufacturers and ſeamen, morally ſpeaking, till the end of time, and while we enriched ourſelves we ſhould contribute to their happineſs. It is much to be wiſhed by every friend to humanity, that the new ſettlement lately formed at Sierra Leone, under the patronage of a very reſpectable ſociety of gentlemen in London, may anſwer thoſe benevolent purpoſes, for which it was intended, viz. to introduce the light of knowledge, and the comforts of civilization into Africa, to cement and perpetuate the moſt confidential union between the European colony and the natives of that country.

With regard to Africa we may obſerve, that there is no medium as to the advantages of ſoil. It is either perfectly barren or extremely fertile: this ariſes from the intenſe heat

of the ſun, which, where it meets with ſufficient moiſture produces the utmoſt luxuriancy; and in thoſe countries where there are few rivers, reduces the ſurface of the earth to a barren ſand. Of this ſort are the countries of Anian and Zaara, which, for want of water, and conſequently of all other neceſſaries, are reduced to perfect deſerts, as the name of the latter denotes. In thoſe countries, on the other hand, where there is plenty of water, and particularly where the rivers overflow the land, part of the year, as in Abyſſinia, the productions of nature, both of the animal and vegetable kinds, are found in the higheſt perfection and greateſt abundance.

There are ſeveral *African Iſlands*, ſome of which lie in the Eaſtern or Indian Ocean, and ſome in the Weſtern or Atlantic. *Socatra* is famous for its aloes, which are eſteemed the beſt in the world. If we wiſh to pay a viſit to this iſland, we muſt ſail round the Cape of Good Hope, to the Arabic gulph, on the eaſtmoſt point of Africa, called formerly the Red-Sea,

> —— Whoſe waves o'erthrew
> Proud Pharaoh, and his Memphian chivalry,
> While with perfidious hatred they purſued
> The ſojourners of Goſhen; who beheld,
> From the ſafe ſhore, their floating carcaſes,
> And broken chariot wheels *.

Madagaſcar is a very large iſland, being near 1000 miles long, and 300 broad. It abounds in cattle and corn, and moſt of the neceſſaries of life, but there is not ſufficient merchandiſe to induce Europeans to ſettle colonies.—*Mauritius*, or Maurice, was ſo called by the Dutch, who firſt touched there, in honour of prince Maurice their Stadtholder; but the French, its preſent maſters, have given it the name of the *Iſle of France*.

A. D. 1598.

The firſt iſland on this ſide the Cape is the pleaſant *St. Helena*, where the Engliſh Eaſt-India ſhips ſtop to get water and freſh proviſions in their way home. Though the iſland appears on every ſide a hard barren rock, yet it is agreeably diverſified with hills and plains, adorned with plantations of fruit-trees and garden-ſtuff. St. Helena is ſaid to have been firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe on the feſtival of the empreſs Helena, mother of the emperor Conſtantine the Great, whoſe name it ſtill bears. It does not appear that the Portuguſe ever planted a colony here; and the Engliſh Eaſt-India company took poſſeſſion of it in

* Milton.

1600

)o, and held it without interruption, till the year 1673, en the Dutch took it by ſurpriſe. The Engliſh, how- r, recovered it within the ſpace of a year, and at the ıe time took three Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips that lay in road. There are about two hundred families in the nd, moſt of whom are deſcended from Engliſh pa- ts.—The *Cape Verd* iſlands, which belong to the Por- ueſe, are ſo called from their verdure. The ancients ed them *Heſperides*, or Golden Apples, well known in :tic ſtory.—*Goree* is a ſmall ſpot, not exceeding two es in circumference, but its importance ariſes from its ıation for trade ſo near Cape Verd, and it has been refore a bone of contention between European nations. was firſt poſſeſſed by the Dutch, from whom it was en by the Engliſh; but it was retaken by Dutch, and ſoon after ſubdued by the French, A. D. 1759. whoſe poſſeſſion it remained till the Britiſh ns were every where triumphant. It was reſtored to the ench at the treaty of peace in 1763. It was retaken by the gliſh in the laſt war, but again reſtored at the peace of 63. The *Canaries*, from whence firſt came our Ca- ry wine, and thoſe delightful ſongſters, called *Canary rds*, are ſeven in number. The ancients called them the rtunate Iſles, and placed there the Elyſian fields. Te- iffe, one of the largeſt of theſe iſlands, is very moun- nous. The peak is an aſcent in the form of a *ſugar loaf*, ›ut fifteen miles in circumference, and, according to the :ount of Sprat biſhop of Rocheſter, publiſhed in the iloſophical Tranſactions, near three miles perpendicular; : lately aſcertained to be only 13,265 feet. This moun- ı is a volcano, and ſometimes throws out ſuch quantities ſulphur and melted ore, as to convert the richeſt lands › barren deſerts These iſlands were firſt diſcovered and nted by the Carthaginians; but the Romans deſtroying t ſtate, put a ſtop to the navigation on the weſt c aſt of rica, and the Canaries lay concealed from the : of the world, till they were diſcovered by A. D. 1405. Spaniards, to whom they ſtill belong. The ile iſlands of *Madeira*, famous for the beſt ſtomachic wine, which no leſs than 20,000 hogſheads are yearly exported, ong to the Portugueſe. The inhabitants make the beſt eet-meats in the world, and ſucceed wonderfully in pre- ving citrons and oranges, and in making marmalade and fumed paſtes, which exceed thoſe of Genoa. The ar they make is extremely beautiful, and ſmells natu- ly of violets.

CHAP

CHAP. CXI.

OF AMERICA IN GENERAL.

Columbus diſcovers this immenſe Continent—Extent, Climate, and Soil of America—Opinions concerning the Manner in which it was peopled—Complexion, Underſtanding, Manners, Cuſtoms and Language of the Natives—Of the North-American Aborigines—A ſingular Occurrence—Practice of putting to Death their infirm Relations.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of Genoa, was the firſt who undertook to extend the boundaries which ignorance had given to the world. He A. D. 1492. ſailed from Spain with a fleet of three ſhips, upon the moſt adventurous attempt ever undertaken by man, and in the fate of which the inhabitants of two worlds were intereſted. After a voyage of thirty-three days, he landed on one of thoſe iſlands, now called the Bahamas. He afterwards touched on ſeveral of the iſlands in the ſame cluſter, enquiring every where for gold, which was the only object of commerce he thought worth his attention. In ſteering ſouthward he found the iſland called Hiſpaniola, abounding in all the neceſſaries of life, and inhabited by a humane and hoſpitable people. Here Columbus was viſited by a prince or *cazique* of the country. He appeared with all the pomp known among a ſimple people, being carried in a ſort of palanquin upon the ſhoulders of four men, and attended by many of his ſubjects who ſerved him with great reſpect. His deportment was grave and ſtately, very reſerved towards his own people, but with Columbus and the Spaniards extremely courteous: He gave the admiral ſome thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanſhip, receiving in return preſents of ſmall value, but highly acceptable to him *. On his return home, Columbus touched on ſeveral iſlands to the ſouthward, and diſcovered the Caribbees. He was welcomed in Spain with all the acclamations which the populace are ever ready to give on ſuch occaſions, and the court received him with the higheſt marks of reſpect. He afterwards ſailed on on other diſcoveries to America; but the ungrateful avaricious Spaniards, not immediately receiving thoſe advantages

* Life of Columbus.

they

they had promiſed themſelves from his firſt voyages, at laſt ſuffered him to die neglected and diſregarded. The court of Spain, however, were ſo juſt to his memory, that they buried him magnificently in the cathedral of Seville, and erected a tomb over him with this inſcription: "Columbus has "given a new world to the kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon." The wealth which Columbus brought into Europe, tempted many to make equipments at their own expence. In one of theſe expeditions, Americus Veſpuſius, a merchant of Florence, ſailed to the ſouth continent of America, and, being a man of addreſs, had the honour of giving his name to half the globe But no one is now impoſed on by the name; all the world knows that Columbus was the firſt diſcoverer.

This immenſe continent, frequently called the New World, is of greater extent than either Europe, or Aſia, or Africa, the three noted diviſions of the ancient continent; and not much inferior in dimenſions to a third part of the habitable globe. Its length from the fartheſt point of New South Wales north, to the Streights of Magellan ſouth, is about eight thouſand miles; and its greateſt breadth, from the Cape of St. Auguſtine, on the coaſt of Brazil eaſt, to the South Sea about Quito, is about three thouſand miles. The grandeur of the objects which it preſents to view cannot fail to ſtrike the eye of every obſerver. Nature ſeems here to have carried on her operations with a bolder hand, and to have diſtinguiſhed the features of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains of America are much ſuperior in height to thoſe in the other diviſions of the globe. Even the plain of Quito, which may be conſidered as the baſe of the Andes, is elevated farther above the ſea than the top of the Pyrenees. This ſtupendous ridge of the Andes, no leſs remarkable for extent than elevation, riſes in different places more than one third above the Peak of Teneriffe, the higheſt land in the ancient hemiſphere. The Andes may literally be ſaid to hide their heads in the clouds; the ſtorms often roll, and the thunder burſts below their ſummits, which, though expoſed to the rays of the ſun in the centre of the torrid zone, are covered with everlaſting ſnows. From thoſe lofty mountains deſcend rivers proportionably large, with which the ſtreams in the ancient continent are not to be compared, either for length of courſe, or the vaſt body of water which they roll towards the ocean. The Maragnon, Oronoco, the Plata, in South America, the Miſſiſſippi and St. Laurence in North America, flow in ſuch ſpacious channels, that, long before they feel the influence

fluence of the tide, they reſemble arms of the ſea rather than rivers of freſh water.

But what moſt diſtinguiſhes America from other parts of the earth, is the peculiar temperature of its climate, and the different laws to which it is ſubject with reſpect to the diſtribution of heat and cold. We cannot determine preciſely the portion of heat felt in any part of the globe, merely by meaſuring its diſtance from the equator. The climate of a country is affected, in ſome degree, by its elevation above the ſea, by the extent of continent, by the nature of the ſoil, the height of adjacent mountains, and many other circumſtances. The maxims, however, which are founded upon obſervation of our hemiſphere will not apply to the other. The rigour of the frigid zone extends over half of that which ſhould be temperate by its poſition. Countries where the grape and the fig ſhould ripen, are buried under ſnow one half of the year; and lands ſituated in the ſame parallel with the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated provinces in Europe, are chilled with perpetual froſts, which almoſt deſtroy the power of vegetation. While the negro on the coaſt of Africa is ſcorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually ſhaded under a canopy of grey clouds, which intercepts the fierce rays of the ſun, without obſtructing his friendly influence. There is no effect without a cauſe. In America the land ſtretches from the river St. Laurence towards the pole, and ſpreads out immenſely to the weſt. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with ſnow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind, in paſſing over ſuch an extent of high and frozen lands, becomes ſo impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenneſs, which it retains in its progreſs through warmer climates, and is not entirely mitigated until it reaches the Gulph of Mexico. This is the reaſon why the cold is ſo intenſe in many provinces in that part of the globe. Other cauſes, no leſs remarkable, diminiſh the active power of heat in thoſe parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invariable direction from eaſt to weſt. As this wind holds its courſe acroſs the ancient continent, it arrives at the countries which ſtretch along the weſtern ſhore of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it hath collected from the ſultry plains of Aſia, and the burning ſands in the African deſerts. The coaſt of Africa is, accordingly, the region of the earth which feels the moſt fervent heat, and is expoſed to the unmitigated ardour of the torrid zone. But this ſame wind which brings ſuch an acceſſion

ceſſion of warmth to the countries lying between the river of Senegal and Caffraria, traverſes the Atlantic ocean before it reaches the American ſhore. It is cooled in its paſſage over this vaſt body of water, and is felt as a refreſhing gale along the coaſts of Brazil and Guiana, rendering theſe countries, though among the warmeſt in America, temperate, when compared with thoſe which lie oppoſite to them in Africa. As this wind advances in its courſe acroſs America, it meets with immenſe plains, covered with impenetrable foreſts, or occupied by large rivers, marſhes, and ſtagnating waters, where it can recover no conſiderable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to ſouth through the whole continent. In paſſing over their elevated and frozen ſummits, it is ſo thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardour to which they ſeem expoſed by their ſituation. In the other provinces of America, from Terra Firma weſtward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in ſome places, by the elevation of the land above the ſea, in others, by their extraordinary humidity, and in all by the enormous mountains ſcattered over this tract. The iſlands of America in the torrid zone are either ſmall or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreſhing ſea and land breezes.

The effects of human ingenuity and labour are more extenſive and conſiderable, than even our own vanity is apt to imagine. When we ſurvey the face of the habitable globe, no ſmall part of that fertility and beauty, which we aſcribe to the hand of nature, is the work of man. His efforts, when continued through a ſucceſſion of ages, change the appearance and improve the qualities of the earth, as well as render it more wholeſome and friendly to life. All the provinces of America, when firſt diſcovered, were found to be remarkably unhealthy. This the Spaniards experienced in every expedition, whether deſtined for conqueſt or ſettlement. The want of cultivation renders the principle of life leſs active and vigorous. The animals originally belonging to this quarter of the globe appear to be of an inferior race, neither ſo robuſt nor ſo fierce, as thoſe of the other continent. America gives birth to no creature of ſuch bulk as to be compared with the elephant or rhinoceros, or that equals the lion and tyger in ſtrength and ferocity. The Puma and Jaguar, its fierceſt beaſts of prey, which the Europeans have inaccurately denominated lions and tygers, poſſeſs neither the undaunted courage of the former, nor the ravenous cruelty of the latter. They are inactive and

timid, hardly formidable to man, and often turn their back upon the leaſt appearance of reſiſtance *.

The American birds of the torrid zone, like thoſe of the ſame climate in Aſia and Africa, are decked in plumage, which dazzles the eye with the vivid beauty of its colours, but nature, ſatisfied with clothing them in this gay dreſs has denied moſt of them that melody of ſound and vatiety of notes, which catches and delights the ear. The birds of the temperate climates there, in the ſame manner as in our continent, are leſs ſplendid in their appearance, but, in compenſation for that defect, have all the power and ſweetneſs of muſic in their voice. In ſome diſtricts of America, the unwholeſome temperature of the air ſeems to be unfavourable even to this part of the creation. The number of birds is leſs than in other countries, and the traveller is ſtruck with the amazing ſolitude and ſilence of its foreſts.

The ſoil, in a continent ſo extenſive as America, muſt of courſe be extremely various; but, if allowance be made for this diverſity, it is naturally as rich and fertile as in any part of the earth. As the country was thinly inhabited, and by a people of little induſtry, who had none of the domeſtic animals, which civilized nations rear in ſuch vaſt numbers, the earth was not exhauſted by their conſumption. The vegetable production to which its fertility gave birth, often remained untouched, and being ſuffered to corrupt on its ſurface, returned with increaſe into its boſom. As trees and plants derive a great part of their nouriſhment from air and water, if they were not deſtroyed by man and other animals, they would render to the earth more, perhaps, than they take from it, and feed rather than impoveriſh it. Thus the unoccupied ſoil of America might go on enriching for many ages. The vaſt numbers as well as enormous ſize of the trees in America, indicate the extraordinary vigour of the ſoil in its native ſtate. When the Europeans firſt began to cultivate the new world, they were aſtoniſhed at the luxuriant power of vegetation in its virgin mould; and in ſeveral places the ingenuity of the planter was employed in diminiſhing and waſting its ſuperfluous fertility, in order to bring it down to a ſtate fit for uſeful culture.

It has often been aſked. "How was America peopled? "By what courſe did mankind migrate from the one con- "tinent to the other? and in what quarter is it moſt proba- "ble that a communication was opened between them?" We know, with infallible certainty, that all the human race ſpring from the ſame ſource, and that the deſcendants of one

* Buffon's Natural Hiſtory.

man under the protection as well as in obedience to the command of Heaven, multiplied and replenished the earth. But neither the annals nor the traditions of nations reach back to those remote ages, in which they took possession of the different countries where they are now settled. We cannot trace the branches of this first family, nor point out with certainty the time and manner in which they divided and spread over the face of the globe. Even among the most enlightened people, the period of authentic history is extremely short, and every thing prior to that is fabulous or obscure. When the people of Europe unexpectedly discovered a new world, removed at a vast distance from every part of the ancient continent which was then known, and filled with inhabitants whose appearance and manners differed remarkably from the rest of the human species, the question concerning their original became naturally an object of curiosity and attention. The theories and speculations, with respect to this subject, would fill many volumes. Some have presumptuously imagined that the people of America were not the offspring of the same common parent with the rest of mankind, but that they formed a separate race of men, distinguishable by peculiar features in the constitution of their bodies, as well as in the characteristic qualities of their minds. Others contend that they are descended from some remnant of the antediluvian inhabitants of the earth, who survived the deluge, which swept away the greatest part of the human species in the days of Noah; and preposterously suppose rude, uncivilized tribes, scattered over an uncultivated continent, to be the most ancient race of people on the earth. There are authors who have endeavoured by mere conjectures to account for the peopling of America. Some have supposed that it was originally united to the ancient continent, and disjoined from it by the shock of an earthquake, or the irruption of a deluge. Others have imagined that some vessel being forced from its course by the violence of a westerly wind, might be driven by accident towards the American coast, and have given a beginning to population in that desolate continent *. But, with respect to all those systems, it is in vain either to reason or enquire, because it is impossible to come to any decision. Such events as they suppose are barely possible, and may have happened. That they ever did happen, we have no evidence, either from the clear testimony of history, or from the obscure intimations of tradition.

From considering the animals with which America is

* Universal History. Parson's Remains of Japhet.

ſtored, we may conclude that the neareſt point of contact between the old and new continents is towards the northern extremity of both, and that here the communication was opened and the intercourſe carried on between them. The northern provinces of the new world abound with many of the wild animals, which are common in ſuch parts of our hemiſphere as lie in a ſimilar ſituation. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, and ſeveral other ſpecies frequent the forreſts of North America, no leſs than thoſe in the north of Europe and Aſia *. It ſeems to be evident then, that the two continents approach each other in this quarter, and are either united, or ſo nearly adjacent, that theſe animals might paſs from the one to the other; and this vicinity has been aſcertained by diſcovery. With regard to the human ſpecies, ſome tribe, or ſome families of wandering Tartars from the reſtleſs ſpirit peculiar to their race, might migrate to the neareſt iſlands, and, rude as their knowledge of navigation was, might, by paſſing from one to the other, reach at length the coaſt of America, and give a beginning to population in that continent.

It is likewiſe evident from recent diſcoveries, that an intercourſe between our continent and America might be carried on with no leſs facility from the north-weſt extremities of Europe. As early as the ninth century, the Norwegians diſcovered Greenland and planted colonies there. The communication with that country, after a long interruption, was renewed in the laſt century. Some Lutheran and Moravian miſſionaries, prompted by zeal for propagating the Chriſtian faith, have ventured to ſettle in this frozen and uncultivated region. To them we are indebted for much curious information with reſpect to its nature and inhabitants. We learn that the north-weſt coaſt of Greenland is ſeparated from America by a very narrow ſtrait; that, at the bottom of the bay into which this ſtrait conducts, it is highly probable that they are united; that the inhabitants of the two countries have ſome intercourſe with one another; that the Eſquimaux of America perfectly reſemble the Greenlanders in their aſpect, dreſs, and mode of living; that ſome ſailors who had acquired the knowledge of a few words in the Greenlandiſh language, reported that theſe were underſtood by the Eſquimaux; that, at length, a Moravian miſſionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having viſited the country of the Eſquimaux, found, to his aſtoniſhment, that they ſpoke the ſame language with the Green-

landers,

landers, and were in every reſpect the ſame people, and he was accordingly received and entertained by them as a friend and brother *.

The Eſquimaux, however, are the only people in America, who, in their aſpect or character, bear any reſemblance to the *northern Europeans*. Among all the other inhabitants of America, there is ſuch a ſtriking ſimilitude in the form of their bodies, and the qualities of their minds, that, notwithſtanding the diverſities occaſioned by the influence of climate, or unequal progreſs in improvement, we muſt pronounce them to be of *Aſiatic extraction*. There may be a variety in the ſhades, but we can every where trace the ſame original colour. Each tribe has ſomething peculiar which diſtinguiſhes it, but in all of them we diſcern certain features common to the whole race. It is remarkable that in every peculiarity, which characterizes the Americans, either in their perſons or diſpoſitions, they have ſome reſemblance to the rude tribes ſcattered over the north-eaſt of Aſia, but almoſt none to the nations ſettled in the northern extremities of Europe. We may therefore conclude that their Aſiatic progenitors, having ſettled in thoſe parts of America, where the Ruſſians diſcovered the proximity of the two continents, ſpread gradually over its various regions. This account of the progreſs of population in America, coincides with the tradition of the Mexicans concerning their own origin, which, imperfect as they are, were preſerved with more accuracy, and merit greater credit than thoſe of any people in the new world. According to them, their anceſtors came from a remote country, ſituated to the north-eaſt of Mexico. They point out their various ſtations as they advance from this, into the interior provinces, and it is preciſely the ſame route which they muſt have held, if they had been emigrants from Aſia. The Mexicans, in deſcribing the appearance of their progenitors, their manners, and habits of life at that period, exactly delineate thoſe of the *rude Tartars*, from whom they are ſuppoſed to have ſprung †.

The condition and character of the American nations, at the time when they became known to the Europeans, deſerve attentive conſideration. It is both pleaſing and inſtructive to contemplate man in the various ſituations wherein he hath been placed; and to follow him in his progreſs through the different ſtages of ſociety, as he gradually advances from the infant ſtate of civil life towards its maturity and decline. When America was firſt diſcovered, man appeared under the rudeſt form in which we can conceive him to ſubſiſt. That

* Crantz's Hiſtory of Greenland. † Dr. Robertſon.

ſtate of primæval ſimplicity, which was known in our continent only by the fanciful deſcriptions of the poets, really exiſted in the other. The greater part of its inhabitants were ſtrangers to induſtry and labour, ignorant of arts, and almoſt unacquainted with property, enjoying in common the bleſſings which flow ſpontaneouſly from the bounty of nature. Their firſt appearance filled the diſcoverers with ſuch aſtoniſhment, that they were apt to imagine them a race of men different from thoſe of the other hemiſphere. Their complexion is of a reddiſh brown, nearly reſembling that of copper. The hair of their heads is always black, long, coarſe, and lank. They have no beard, and every part of their body is perfectly ſmooth, which ſeems to indicate a defect of vigour, occaſioned by ſome vice in their frame. This peculiarity cannot be attributed, as ſome travellers have ſuppoſed, to their mode of ſubſiſtence. For though the food of many Americans be ſo extremely inſipid, that they are altogether unacquainted with the uſe of ſalt, rude tribes in other parts of the earth have ſubſiſted on aliments equally ſimple without this mark of degradation, or any apparent ſymptom of a diminution in their vigour.

There is leſs variety in the human form throughout the new world, than in the ancient continent. When Columbus and the other diſcoverers firſt viſited the different countries in America, which lie within the torrid zone, they naturally expected to find people of the ſame complexion with thoſe in the correſponding regions of the other hemiſphere. To their amazement, however, they diſcovered that America contained no negroes; and the cauſe of this ſingular appearance became as much the object of curioſity as the fact itſelf was of wonder. In what part or membrane of the body that humour reſides which tinges the complexion of the negro with a deep black, it is the buſineſs of anatomiſts to enquire and deſcribe. The powerful operation of heat appears manifeſtly to be the cauſe which produces this ſtriking variety in the human ſpecies *. All Europe, almoſt the whole of Aſia, and the temperate parts of Africa, are occupied by men of a fair complexion. All the torrid zone in Africa, ſome of the warmer regions adjacent to it, and a few countries in Aſia, are filled with people of a deep black colour. If we trace the nations of our continent, making our progreſs from cold and temperate countries towards thoſe parts which are expoſed to the influence of vehement and unremitting heat, we ſhall find that the extreme whiteneſs of their ſkin ſoon begins to diminiſh; that its colour deepens gradually as we advance; and after

* Dr. Robertſon.

paſſing

paſſing through all the ſucceſſive gradations of ſhade, terminates in an uniform unvarying black. But in America, where the agency of heat is checked and abated by various cauſes, the climate ſeems to be deſtitute of that force which produces ſuch wonderful effects on the human frame. The colour of the natives of the torrid zone, in America, can hardly be ſaid to be of a deeper hue than that of the people in the more temperate parts of their continent. Accurate obſervers, who have had an opportunity of viewing the Americans in very different climates, and in countries far removed from each other, have been ſtruck with the amazing ſimilarity of their figure and aſpect.

The exerciſe of the underſtanding among rude tribes is very limited. In every civilized nation, arithmetic, or the art of numbering, is deemed an eſſential and elementary ſcience; and in our continent, the invention and uſe of it reaches back to a period ſo remote as is beyond the knowledge of hiſtory. But among ſavages, who have no property to eſtimate, no hoarded treaſures to count, no variety of objects or multiplicity of ideas to enumerate, arithmetic is a ſuperfluous and uſeleſs art. Accordingly, among ſome tribes in America, it ſeems to be quite unknown. There are many who cannot reckon farther than three; and have no denomination to diſtinguiſh any number above it. Several can proceed as far as ten, others to twenty. When they would convey an idea of any number beyond theſe, they point to the hairs of their head, intimating that it is equal to them, or with wonder declare it to be ſo great that it cannot be reckoned. Not only the Americans, but all nations, while extremely rude, ſeem to be unacquainted with the art of computation. As ſoon, however, as they acquire ſuch acquaintance or connection with a variety of objects, that there is frequent occaſion to combine or divide them, their knowledge of numbers increaſes; ſo that the ſtate of this art among any people may be conſidered as one ſtandard by which to eſtimate the degree of their improvement. The Iroquois, in North America, as they are much more civilized than the rude inhabitants of Brazil, Paraguay, or Guiana, have likewiſe made greater advances in this reſpect; though even their arithmetic does not extend beyond a thouſand, as in their petty tranſactions they have no occaſion for any higher number. The Cherokees, a leſs conſiderable nation on the ſame continent, can only reckon as far as a hundred, and to that extent have names for the ſeveral numbers. The ſmaller tribes in their neighbourhood can riſe no higher than ten *.

* Adair's Hiſtory of American Indians.

A general

A general ſtate of promiſcuous intercourſe between the ſexes never exiſted but in the imagination of poets. Accordingly, in America, even amongſt the rudeſt tribes, a regular union between huſband and wife is univerſal, and the rights of marriage are underſtood and recognized. In ſome countries the marriage union ſubſiſts during life; in others, the impatience of the Americans under reſtraint of any ſpecies, together with their natural levity and caprice, prompt them to diſſolve it on very ſlight pretexts, and often without aſſigning any cauſe. Some of them marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient cuſtom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is ſeldom an inſtance of their ſeparating after they have children. If it ſhould ſo happen, the mother takes the children under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood. Among ſome tribes the ceremony is performed in the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a cane or reed, with which he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and aſſociates, and in the preſence of the wedding-gueſts, ſticks his reed into the ground. His bride comes forth ſoon after with another reed, which ſhe ſticks by the ſide of his; and then they are married. They afterwards exchange reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, uſually celebrated by feaſting, muſic and dancing. Each of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contribute ſomething towards eſtabliſhing the new family. As ſoon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be conſtructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finiſhed in the ſame day. The principal accompliſhments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himſelf a brave warrior, and a cunning, induſtrious hunter. Polygamy in its utmoſt latitude is allowed by ſome tribes. Every man takes as many wives as he chooſes; but the firſt is queen, and the others her handmaids and aſſociates *.

With regard to property, it has been aſſerted by ſome authors, who have written concerning the cuſtoms of the aborigines of America, that they have all things in common. This, however, is not the caſe. An Indian town is generally ſo ſituated, as to be convenient for procuring game, and ſecure from ſudden invaſion, having a large diſtrict of arable ground in its vicinity, and, if poſſible on an iſthmus

* Bartram's Travels.

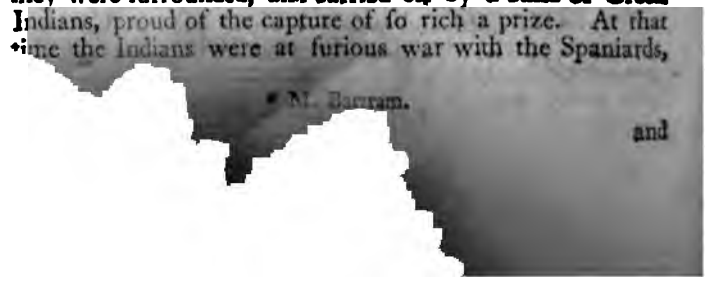
betwixt

betwixt two waters, or where the doubling of a river forms a peninſula. Such a ſituation generally comprehends a ſufficient quantity of excellent land for planting corn, potatoes, beans, ſquaſh, pumpkins, melons, and the like. At other times, however, they chooſe ſuch a convenient fertile ſpot at a little diſtance from their town, when circumſtances will not admit of having both together. This is their common plantation, and the whole town plant in one vaſt field together; but the ſhare of every family is ſeparated from the adjoining one by a narrow ſtrip of graſs, or any other natural or artificial boundary. In the ſpring, after the ground is prepared on one and the ſame day, early in the morning, the whole town is ſummoned, by the ſound of a ſhell from the mouth of the overſeer, to meet at the public ſquare, whither the people repair with their hoes and axes; and from thence proceed to their plantation, where they continue planting till the whole is finiſhed. When their riſing crops are ready for dreſſing and cleanſing, they go on in the ſame order day after day, until the crop is laid by for ripening. After all the grain is ripe, the whole town again aſſembles, and every man carries off the fruits of his labour, from the part firſt allotted to him, which he depoſits in his own granary as his property. But previous to their carrying off their crops from the field, there is a large crib or granary erected in the plantation, which is called the king's crib, and in this each family depoſits a certain quantity, according to his ability or inclination. Though this might appear to be a revenue for the king, it is in fact deſigned for another purpoſe, namely, that of a public ſtorehouſe, to which every citizen has the right of free and equal acceſs, when his own private ſtores are conſumed; to ſerve as a ſurplus to flee to for ſuccour; to aſſiſt neighbouring towns whoſe crops may have failed; to accommodate ſtrangers, or travellers; to afford proviſions or ſupplies, when they go forth on hoſtile expeditions; and for all other exigencies of the ſtate. As to mechanic arts or manufactures, they have ſcarcely any thing worth obſervation, ſince they are ſupplied with neceſſaries, conveniences and even ſuperfluities, by the white traders. The men do nothing but erect their mean habitations, form their canoes, and ſome other trifling matters; for war and hunting are their principal employments; the women are more active, and turn their attention to various manual employments; they make all their earthen-ware, ſpin and weave curious belts and diadems for the men, and embroider and decorate their apparel.

The North-American aborigines are not idolaters, unleſs puffing the tobacco-ſmoak towards the ſun, and rejoicing

at the appearance of the new-moon, may be termed ſo. They adore the *Great Spirit*, the giver and taker away of the breath of life, with the moſt profound and reſpectful homage. They believe in a future ſtate, which they call the world of ſpirits, where they enjoy different degrees of tranquillity or comfort, according to their behaviour here. A perſon, who in his lifetime, has been an induſtrious hunter, an intrepid and active warrior, juſt and upright, has provided well for his family, and done all the good he could, will, they ſay, in the world of ſpirits, live in a warm, pleaſant country, where there are green, flowery, expanſive ſavannas and high foreſts, watered with limpid ſtreams, repleniſhed with deer, and every ſpecies of game; a ſerene, unclouded and peaceful ſky; in ſhort, where there is fulneſs of pleaſure, uninterrupted. They have many accounts of trances and viſions of their people, who have been ſuppoſed to be dead, but afterwards reviving, have related their viſions, which tend to enforce the practice of virtue and the moral duties.

As an inſtance of their ideas of political impartial juſtice, and homage to the Supreme Being, as the high arbiter of human tranſactions, who alone claims the right of taking away the life of man, the following event, as a late traveller * had it from the mouth of a Spaniard, a reſpectable inhabitant of Eaſt-Florida, is very remarkable. The ſon of the Spaniſh governor of St. Auguſtine, together with two young gentlemen, his friends and aſſociates, conceived a deſign of amuſing themſelves in a party of ſport at hunting and fiſhing. Having provided themſelves with a convenient bark, ammunition, and fiſhing-tackle, they ſet ſail, directing their courſe ſouth, along the coaſt, towards the point of Florida, putting into bays and rivers, as conveniency and the proſpect of game invited them. The pleaſing rural and and diverſified ſcenes of the Florida coaſt, imperceptibly allured them far to the ſouth, beyond the Spaniſh fortified poſts. Unfortunate youths! regardleſs of the advice and injunctions of their parents and friends, ſtill purſuing the deluſive objects, they entered a harbour at evening with a view of chaſing the roe-buck and hunting the ſturdy bear, ſolacing themſelves with delicious fruits, and repoſing under aromatic ſhades, when, alas! cruel unexpected event! in the beatific moments of their ſlumbers, they were ſurrounded, and carried off by a band of Creek Indians, proud of the capture of ſo rich a prize. At that time the Indians were at furious war with the Spaniards,



* M. Bartram.

and

and no bounds were ſet to their cruelties on either ſide. In ſhort, the miſerable youths were condemned to be burnt. But there were Engliſh traders in theſe towns, who, learning the character of the captives, and expecting large rewards from the Spaniſh governor, if they could deliver them, petitioned the Indians on their behalf, and offered a great ranſom; acquainting them at the ſame time that they were young men of high rank, and one of them the governor's ſon. Upon this, the chiefs convened, and, after ſolemn and mature deliberation, returned the traders their final anſwer and determination, which was as follows: "Brothers and friends, we have been conſidering "upon this buſineſs concerning the captives,——and that, "under the eye and fear of the *Great-Spirit*. You "know that theſe people are our cruel enemies; they ſave "no lives of us red-men, who come into their power. "You ſay that the youth is the ſon of the Spaniſh go- "vernor. We believe it; we are ſorry he has fallen into "our hands; but he is our enemy. The two young men, "his friends, are equally our enemies. We are ſorry to "ſee them here; but we know no difference in their fleſh "and blood. If we ſave one we muſt ſave all; but "we cannot do it. The red-men require their blood to "appeaſe the ſpirits of their ſlain relatives. They have "entruſted us with the guardianſhip of our laws and "rights, and we cannot betray them. We, however, "have a ſacred preſcription reſpecting this affair, which "allows us to extend mercy to a certain degree. One "may be ſaved by lot; the Great-Spirit allows us to put "it to that deciſion; he is no reſpecter of perſons." The lots were caſt; but the governor's ſon was not ſo lucky as to eſcape; he and one of his companions were taken and burnt.

If we conſider them with reſpect to their private character, they muſt claim our approbation. As moral men they certainly ſtand in no need of European civilization. They are juſt, honeſt, liberal, and hoſpitable to ſtrangers; conſiderate, loving, and affectionate to their wives and relations; fond of their children; induſtrious, frugal, temperate, and perſevering; charitable and forbearing. The firſt and moſt cogent article in all their treaties with the white-people, is, that there ſhall not be any kind of ſpirituous liquors brought into their towns; and the traders are allowed but two kegs of five gallons each, to ſerve them on the road. If any of this remains on their approaching the towns, they muſt ſpill it on the ground. Two young traders were lately ſurpriſed on the road in the evening,

juſt

juſt after they had come to camp, by a party of Creeks, who diſcovering that they had ſeveral kegs of Jamaica ſpirits, immediately ſtruck their tomahawks into every keg, giving the liquor to the thirſty ſand, but not taſting a drop of it themſelves; and the traders had enough to do to keep the tomahawks from their own ſkulls. "I ſaw a "young Indian," ſays Mr. Bartram, "who, beholding "the ſcenes of mad intemperance and folly acted by the "white-men in the town, clapped his hand to his breaſt, "and with a ſmile looked aloft as if ſtruck with aſto-"niſhment, and wrapt in love and adoration to the Deity, "whilſt he thus exclaimed, *O thou great and good Spirit!* "*we are indeed ſenſible of thy benignity and favour to us* "*red-men, in denying us the underſtanding of white-men.* "*We did not know before they came amongſt us that man-*"*kind could become ſo baſe, and fall ſo much below the dignity* "*of their nature. Defend us from their manners, laws,* "*and power.*" How are we to account for their excellent policy and civil government? It cannot derive its influence from coercive laws, for they have no ſuch artificial ſyſtem; divine wiſdom dictates, and they obey.

As to *language*, the Cherokee tongue is very loud, ſomewhat rough and very ſonorous, ſounding the letter R frequently, yet very agreeable and pleaſant to the ear. All the Indian languages are truly rhetorical or figurative, aſſiſting the ſpeech by tropes; their hands, flexure of the head, the brow, in ſhort, every member, naturally aſſociate, and lend their aid to render their harangues eloquent, perſuaſive, and effectual.

To enumerate all the detached cuſtoms, which have excited the wonder of travellers in America, would be an endleſs taſk; one however is ſo ſingular that it muſt not be omitted. When their parents and other relations become old, or labour under any diſtemper which their ſlender knowledge of the healing art cannot remove, they cut ſhort their days with a violent hand, in order to be relieved from the burden of ſupporting and attending them. This practice prevailed among the ruder tribes in every part of the continent, from Hudſon's Bay to the river de la Plata; and however ſhocking it may be to thoſe ſentiments of tenderneſs and attachment, which, in civilized life, we are apt to conſider as congenial with our frame, the condition of man in the ſavage ſtate leads and reconciles him to it. The ſame hardſhips and difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence, which deter ſavages, in ſome caſes, from rearing their children, prompt them to deſtroy the aged and infirm. The declining ſtate of the one is as helpleſs as the infancy of the other.

other. The former are no leſs unable than the latter to perform the functions that belong to a warrior or hunter, or to endure thoſe various diſtreſſes in which ſavages are ſo often involved, by their own want of foreſight and induſtry. Their relations feel this; and, incapable of attending to the wants or weakneſſes of others, their impatience under an additional burden prompts them to extinguiſh that life which they find it difficult to ſuſtain. This is not regarded as a deed of cruelty, but as an act of mercy. An American, ſays a philoſophical hiſtorian*, broken with years and infirmities, conſcious that he can no longer depend on the aid of thoſe around him, places himſelf contentedly in his grave; and it is by the hands of his children or neareſt relations that the thong is pulled, or the blow inflicted, which releaſes him for ever from the ſorrows of life. A late traveller†, however, was aſſured by the traders, that, among the North-American aborigines, they knew no inſtance of ſuch barbariſm, with regard to perſons ſo nearly related; but that ſometimes the community performed ſuch a deed at the earneſt requeſt of the victim.

CHAP XII.

EMPIRES OF MEXICO AND PERU.

Conqueſt of Mexico by Cortez.—Magno Capac, founder of the Peruvian Empire.—Pizarro's expedition to Peru.—The Inca Atabalipa is put to death.—Almagro is defeated, impriſoned, and beheaded.—Pizarro divides Peru among his followers.—Remarkable expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro.—The celebrated Orellana.—Pizarro is aſſaſſinated, and young Almagro acknowledged as his ſucceſſor.—The celebrated Pedro de la Gaſca.—Gonzalo Pizarro defeated and executed.—Remarks.

THE governors of Cuba and Hiſpaniola, who ſucceeded Columbus, endeavoured to purchaſe the ſame advantages by the blood of the natives, which he had obtained by his good ſenſe and humanity. Theſe iſlands contained mines of gold. The Indians only knew where they were ſituated; and the extreme avarice of the Spaniards, too furious to work by the gentle means of per-

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ſuaſion,

ſuaſion, hurried them to acts of the moſt ſhocking violence and cruelty againſt thoſe unhappy men, who, they believed, concealed from them part of their treaſure. The ſlaughter once begun, they ſet no bounds to their fury; in a few years they depopulated Hiſpaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants; and Cuba, that had about ſix hundred thouſand. An eye witneſs * of thoſe barbarous depopulations ſays, that the Spaniards went out with their dogs to hunt them. The unhappy ſavages, almoſt naked and unarmed, were purſued like deer in the foreſts, devoured by dogs, killed by gun-ſhot, or ſurprized and burnt in their habitations. The Spaniards had hitherto only viſited the continent; from what they ſaw with their eyes, or learned by report, they conjectured that this part of the new world would afford a ſtill more valuable conqueſt. Fernando Cortez was diſpatched from Cuba with ſix hundred men, eighteen horſes, and a ſmall number of field-pieces. With this inconſiderable force he propoſed to ſubdue the moſt powerful ſtate on the continent of America; this was the empire of Mexico; rich, extenſive, and inhabited by millions of Indians, paſſionately fond of war, and then headed by Montezuma, whoſe fame in arms ſtruck terror into the neighbouring nations. Never hiſtory, to be true, was more improbable and romantic than that of this war. The empire of Mexico it is ſaid had ſubſiſted for ages: its inhabitants were not rude and barbarous; every thing announced a poliſhed and intelligent people. They knew, like the Egyptians of old, that the year conſiſted nearly of 365 days. Their ſuperiority in military affairs was the object of admiration and terror over all the continent; and their government, founded on the ſure baſis of laws combined with religion, ſeemed to bid defiance to time itſelf. Mexico, the capital of the empire, ſituated in the middle of a ſpacious lake, was the nobleſt monument of American induſtry: it communicated with the continent by immenſe cauſeways, which were carried through the lake. The city was admired for its buildings, all of ſtone, its ſquares and market-places, the ſhops which glittered with gold and ſilver, and the ſumptuous palaces of Montezuma, ſome erected on columns of jaſper, and containing whatever was moſt rare, curious, or uſeful. But all the grandeur of his empire could not defend it againſt the Spaniards. Cortez, in his march, met with ſeeble oppoſition from the nations along the coaſt of Mexico, who were terrified at their firſt appearance. The [illegible]like animals on which the Spaniſh officers were

* Bartholemew de la Caſas.

mounted

mounted, the artificial thunder which iſſued from their hands, the wooden caſtles which had waſted them over the ocean, ſtruck a panic into the natives, from which they did not recover till it was too late. Wherever the Spaniards marched they ſpared no age or ſex, nothing ſacred or profane. At laſt the inhabitants of Kaſcala, and ſome of the ſtates on the coaſt, deſpairing of being able to oppoſe them, entered into their alliance, and joined armies with thoſe terrible, and, as they believed, invincible conquerors.—Cortez, thus reinforced, marched onward to Mexico; and in his progreſs diſcovered a volcano of ſulphur and ſaltpetre, whence he could ſupply himſelf with powder. Montezuma heard of his progreſs, without daring to oppoſe it. This ſovereign is reported by the boaſting Spaniards to have commanded thirty vaſſals, of whom each could appear at the head of one hundred thouſand combatants, armed with bows and arrows, and yet he durſt not reſiſt a handful of Spaniards, aided by a few Americans, whoſe allegiance would be ſhaken by the firſt reverſe of fortune. Such was the difference between the inhabitants of the two worlds; and ſuch the effect of the Spaniſh victories, the fame of which always marched before them.

By ſending a rich preſent of gold which only whetted the Spaniſh avarice, Montezuma haſtened the approach of the enemy. No oppoſition is made to their entry into his capital. A palace is ſet apart for Cortez and his companions, who are already treated as the maſters of the new world. He had good reaſon, however, to diſtruſt the affected politeneſs of this emperor, under which he ſuſpected ſome plot for his deſtruction was concealed; but he had no pretence for violence; Montezuma loaded him with kindneſs, and with gold in greater quantities than he demanded, and his palace was ſurrounded with artillery, the moſt frightful of all engines to the Americans. At laſt a circumſtance fell out which afforded Cortez a pretext for beginning hoſtilities. In order to ſecure a communication, to receive the neceſſary reinforcements, he had erected a fort, and left a ſmall garriſon behind him at Vera Cruz, which has ſince become an emporium of commerce between Europe and America. He underſtood that the Americans in the neighbourhood had attacked this garriſon in his abſence, and that a Spaniard was killed in the action; that Montezuma himſelf was privy to this violence, and had iſſued orders that the head of the ſlain Spaniard ſhould be carried through his provinces, to deſtroy a belief, which then prevailed among them, that the Europeans were immortal. Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortez went in

perſon to the emperor, attended by a few of his moſt experienced officers. Montezuma pleaded innocence, and Cortez ſeemed extremely ready to believe him; though at the ſame time he alledged that the Spaniards in general would never be perſuaded of it, unleſs he returned along with them to their reſidence, which would remove all jealouſy between the two nations. The ſucceſs of this interview ſhewed the ſuperiority of the European addreſs. A powerful monarch, in the midſt of his own palace, and ſurrounded by his guards, gave himſelf up a priſoner to be diſpoſed of according to the will of a few gentlemen who came to demand him. Cortez had now got into his hands an engine, by which every thing might be accompliſhed. The Americans had the higheſt reſpect, or rather ſuperſtitious veneration for their emperor. Cortez, therefore, by keeping him in his power, allowing him to enjoy every mark of royalty but his freedom, and at the ſame time, from a thorough knowledge of his character, being able to flatter all his taſtes and paſſions, maintained the eaſy ſovereignty of Mexico, by governing its prince. Did the Mexicans, grown familiar with the Spaniards, begin to abate of their reſpect? Montezuma was the firſt to teach them more deference. Was there a tumult excited through the cruelty or avarice of the Spaniards? Montezuma aſcended the battlements of his priſon, and harangued his Mexicans into order and ſubmiſſion. This farce continued a long time: but, on one occaſion, when Montezuma was ſhamefully diſgracing his character by juſtifying the enemies of his country, a ſtone, from an unknown hand, ſtruck him on the temple, which in a few days occaſioned his death. The Mexicans, now delivered from this emperor, who co-operated ſo ſtrongly with the Spaniards, elected a new prince, the famous *Guatimozin*, who from the beginning diſcovered an implacable animoſity againſt the Spaniſh name. Under his conduct the unhappy Mexicans ruſhed againſt thoſe very men, whom a little before they had offered to worſhip. The Spaniards, however, by the dexterous management of Cortez, were too firmly eſtabliſhed to be expelled from Mexico. The immenſe tribute which the grandees of this country had agreed to pay to the crown of Spain, amounted to 600,000 marks of pure gold, beſides an amazing quantity of precious ſtones, a fifth part of which being diſtributed among the ſoldiers, ſtimulated their avarice and their courage, and made them willing to periſh, rather than part with ſo precious a booty. The Mexicans, however, made no ſmall efforts for independence; but all their valour, and deſpair itſelf, gave way before

before what they called the Spaniſh thunder. Guatimozin and the empreſs were taken priſoners. This was the prince who (when he lay ſtretched on burning coals, by order of one of the receivers of the king of Spain's exchequer, who inflicted the torture to make him diſcover in what part of the lake he had thrown his riches) ſaid to his high-prieſt, condemned to the ſame puniſhment, and who loudly expreſſed his ſenſe of the pains that he endured, "Do you "take me to lie on a bed of roſes?" The high-prieſt remained ſilent, and died in an act of obedience to his ſovereign. Cortez, by getting a ſecond emperor into his hand, made a complete conqueſt of Mexico; together with which the Caſtile *D'Or*, *Darien*, and other provinces fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

While Cortez and his ſoldiers were employed in reducing Mexico, they got intelligence of another great empire, ſituated towards the equinoctial line, and the tropic of Capricorn, which was ſaid to abound in gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, and to be governed by a prince more magnificent than Montezuma. This was the empire of Peru, which extended in length near thirty degrees, and was the only other country in America which deſerved the name of a civilized kingdom. Whether it happened that the Spaniſh government had not received certain intelligence concerning Peru, or that, being engaged in a multiplicity of other concerns, they did not chuſe to adventure on new enterprizes; certain it is, that this extenſive country, more important than Mexico itſelf, was reduced by the endeavours, and at the expence of three private perſons. The names of theſe were, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Lucques, a wealthy and artful prieſt. The two former were natives of Panama, men of doubtful birth, and of low education. Pizarro, the ſoul of the enterprize, could neither read nor write. They ſailed over into Spain, and without difficulty obtained a grant of what they ſhould conquer. Pizarro then ſet out for the conqueſt of Peru, with two hundred and fifty foot, ſixty horſe, and twelve ſmall pieces of cannon, drawn by ſlaves from the conquered countries. If we reflect that the Peruvians naturally entertained the ſame prejudices with the Mexicans, in favour of the Spaniſh nations, and were beſide of a character ſtill more ſoft and unwarlike, it need not ſurpriſe us, after what has been ſaid of the conqueſt of Mexico, that, with this inconſiderable force, Pizarro ſhould make a deep impreſſion on the Peruvian empire. There were particular circumſtances likewiſe, which conſpired to aſſiſt him, and which, as they diſcover ſomewhat of the hiſtory, religion,

and ſtate of the human mind in this immenſe continent, it may not be improper to relate.

Mango Capac was the founder of the Peruvian empire. He was one of thoſe uncommon men who, calm and diſpaſſionate themſelves, can obſerve the paſſions of their fellow-creatures, and turn them to their own profit or glory. He obſerved that the people of Peru were naturally ſuperſtitious, and had a particular veneration for the ſun. He pretended, therefore, to be deſcended from that luminary, whoſe worſhip he was ſent to eſtabliſh, and whoſe authority he was entitled to bear. By this ſtory, romantic as it appears, he eaſily deceived a credulous people, and brought a large extent of territory under his juriſdiction; a larger ſtill he ſubdued by his arms; but both the force and the deceit he employed for the moſt laudable purpoſes. He united and civilized the diſtreſſed and barbarous people; he beat them to laws and arts; he ſoftened them by the inſtitution of a benevolent religion; in ſhort, there was no part of America where agriculture and the arts were ſo aſſiduouſly cultivated, and where the people were of ſuch mild and ingenuous manners. A race of princes ſucceeded Mango, diſtinguiſhed by the title of Yncas, and revered by the people as deſcendants of their great God, the Sun. The twelfth of theſe was now on the throne, and named Atabalipa. His father Guaiana Capac, had conquered the province of Quito, which now makes a part of Spaniſh Peru. To ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion, he had married the daughter of the natural prince of that country; and of this marriage was ſprung Atabalipa. His elder brother, named Hueſcar, of a different mother, had claimed the ſucceſſion to the whole of his father's dominions, not excepting Quito, which devolved on the other by a double connection. A civil war had been kindled on this account, which, after various turns of fortune, and greatly weakening the kingdom, ended in favour of Atabalipa, who detained Hueſcar, as a priſoner in the tower of Cuſco, the capital of the Peruvian empire. In this feeble and disjointed ſtate was the kingdom of Peru when Pizarro advanced towards it. The ominous predictions of religion too, as in moſt other caſes, joined their force to human calamities. Prophecies were recorded, dreams were recollected, which foretold the ſubjection of the empire by unknown perſons, whoſe deſcription was ſuppoſed to correſpond to the appearance of the Spaniards. In theſe circumſtances, Atabalipa, inſtead of oppoſing the Spaniards, ſet himſelf to procure their favour. Pizarro, however, whoſe temper partook of the meanneſs of his education, had

had no conception of dealing gently with thoſe he called barbarians; but who, however, though leſs acquainted with the cruel art of deſtroying their fellow-creatures, were more civilized than himſelf. While he was engaged in conference, therefore, with Atabalipa, his men, as they had been previouſly inſtructed, furiouſly attacked the guards of that prince, and having butchered 5000 of them, as they were preſſing forward, without regard to their particular ſafety, to defend the ſacred perſon of their monarch, ſeized Atabalipa himſelf, whom they carried off to the Spaniſh quarters. Pizarro, with the ſovereign in his hands, might already be deemed the maſter of Peru; for the inhabitants of this country were as ſtrongly attached to their emperor, as the Mexicans themſelves. Atabalipa was not long in their hands before he began to treat of his ranſom. On this occaſion the ancient ornaments amaſſed by a long line of magnificent kings, the hallowed treaſures of the moſt magnificent temples were brought out to ſave him, who was the ſupport of the kingdom and of the religion. While Pizarro was engaged in this negotiation, by which he propoſed, without releaſing the emperor, to get into his poſſeſſion an immenſe quantity of his beloved gold, the arrival of Almagro cauſed ſome embarraſſment in his affairs. The friendſhip, or rather the external ſhew of friendſhip, between theſe men, was ſolely founded on the principle of avarice, and a bold enterpriſing ſpirit, to which nothing appeared too dangerous that might gratify their ruling paſſion. When their intereſts, therefore, happened to interfere, it was not to be thought that any meaſures could be kept between them. Pizarro expected to enjoy the moſt conſiderable ſhare of the treaſure ariſing from the emperor's ranſom, becauſe he had the chief merit in acquiring it. Almagro inſiſted on being upon an equal footing; and, at length, leſt the common cauſe might ſuffer by any rupture between them, this diſpoſition was agreed to. The ranſom was paid without delay, a ſum exceeding their conception, but not ſufficient to gratify their avarice. It amounted to 1,500,000l. ſterling; and, conſidering the value of money at that time, was prodigious; on the dividend, after deducting a fifth for the king of Spain, and the ſhares of the chief commanders and officers, each private ſoldier had above 2000l. Engliſh money. With ſuch fortunes, it was not to be expected that a mercenary army would patiently ſubmit to the rigours of military diſcipline. They inſiſted on being diſbanded, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labour in quiet. Pizarro complied with this demand; ſenſible that avarice would ſtill de-

tain many in his family, and that thoſe who returned with ſuch magnificent fortunes, would induce new adventurers to purſue the ſame road to wealth. Theſe wiſe reflections were abundantly verified; it was impoſſible to ſend out better recruiting officers than thoſe who had themſelves ſo much profited by the field; new ſoldiers conſtantly arrived, and the American armies never wanted reinforcement.

This immenſe ranſom was only a farther reaſon for detaining Atabalipa in confinement, until they diſcovered whether he had another treaſure to gratify their avarice. But whether they believed he had no more to give, and were unwilling to employ their troops in guarding a prince, from whom they expected no farther advantage, or that Pizarro had conceived an averſion againſt the Peruvian emperor, on account of ſome inſtances of craft and duplicity which he obſerved in his character, and which he conceived might prove dangerous to his affairs, it is certain, that by his command Atabalipa was put to death. To juſtify this cruel proceeding, a ſham charge was exhibited againſt the unhappy prince, in which he was accuſed of idolatry, of having many concubines, and other circumſtances equally impertinent. The only juſt ground of accuſation againſt him was, that his brother Hueſcar had been put to death by his command; and even this was conſiderably palliated, becauſe Hueſcar had been plotting his deſtruction, that he might eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne. Upon the death of the Ynca, a number of candidates appeared for the throne. The principal nobility ſet up the full brother of Hueſcar; Pizarro ſet up a ſon of Atabalipa; and two generals of the Peruvians endeavoured to eſtabliſh themſelves by the aſſiſtance of the army. Theſe diſtractions, which in another empire would have been extremely hurtful, and even here at another time, were at preſent rather advantageous to the Peruvian affairs. The candidates fought againſt each other; their battles accuſtomed theſe harmleſs people to blood; and ſuch is the preference of a ſpirit of any kind raiſed in a nation to a total lethargy, that in the courſe of thoſe quarrels among themſelves, the inhabitants of Peru aſſumed ſome courage againſt the Spaniards, whom they regarded as the ultimate cauſe of all their calamities. The loſſes which the Spaniards met with in theſe quarrels, though inconſiderable in themſelves, were rendered dangerous, by leſſening the opinion of their invincibility, which they were careful to preſerve among the inhabitants of the new world. This conſideration engaged Pizarro to conclude a truce; and this interval he employed in laying the foundations of the famous city of Lima, and

in ſettling the Spaniards in the country. But, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity offered, he renewed the war againſt the Indians, and after many difficulties made himſelf maſter of Cuſco, the capital of the empire. While he was engaged in theſe conqueſts, new grants and ſupplies arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained two hundred leagues along the ſea-coaſt, to the ſouthward of what had been before granted, and Almagro two hundred leagues to the ſouthward of Pizarro's government. This diviſion occaſioned a warm diſpute between them, each reckoning Cuſco within his own diſtrict. But the dexterity of Pizarro brought about a reconciliation. He perſuaded his rival, that though the country which really belonged to him, lay to the ſouthward of Cuſco, it was equally rich and fertile, and might be as eaſily conquered as Peru. He offered him his aſſiſtance in the expedition, the ſucceſs of which he did not even call in queſtion.

Almagro, that he might have the honour of ſubduing a kingdom for himſelf, liſtened to his advice; and joining as many of Pizarro's troops to his own as he judged neceſſary, penetrated, with great danger and difficulty, into Chili; loſing many of his men as he paſſed over mountains of an immenſe height, and always covered with ſnow. He reduced, however, a very conſiderable part of this country. But the Peruvians were now become too much acquainted with war, not to take advantage of the diviſion of the Spaniſh troops. They made an effort for regaining their capital, in which, Pizarro being indiſpoſed, and Almagro removed at a great diſtance, they were well nigh ſucceſsful. The latter, however, no ſooner got notice of the ſiege of Cuſco, than, relinquiſhing all views of diſtant conqueſts, he returned, to ſecure the grand object of his former labours. He raiſed the ſiege with infinite ſlaughter of the aſſailants; but having obtained poſſeſſion of this city, he was unwilling to give it up to Pizarro, who now approached with an army, and knew of no other enemy but the Peruvians. This diſpute occaſioned a long and bloody ſtruggle between them, in which the turns of fortune were various, and the reſentment fierce on both ſides, becauſe the fate of the vanquiſhed was certain death. This was the lot of Almagro, who, in an advanced age, fell a victim to the ſecurity of a rival, in whoſe dangers and triumphs he had long ſhared, and with whom, from the beginning of the enterprize, he had been intimately connected. During the courſe of this civil war, many Peruvians ſerved in the Spaniſh armies, and learned, from the practice of Chriſtians, to butcher one another. That blinded nation, how-

ever, at length opened their eyes, and took a very remarkable reſolution. They ſaw the ferocity of the Europeans, their unextinguiſhable reſentment and avarice, and they conjectured that theſe paſſions would never permit their conteſts to ſubſide. Let us retire, ſaid they, from among them; let us fly to our mountains, they will ſpeedily deſtroy each other, and then we may return in peace to our former habitations. The reſolution was inſtantly put in practice; the Peruvians diſperſed, and left the Spaniards in their capital. Had the force on each ſide been exactly equal, this ſingular policy of the natives of Peru might have been attended with ſucceſs. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to the hopes of the Peruvians.

On the deciſive day, the conflict was maintained by each party with equal courage; but unfortunately for Almagro, he was ſo worn out with the fatigues of the ſervice, to which his advanced age was unequal, that at the *criſis of his fate*, he could not exert his wonted activity. He was, therefore, obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not poſſeſs the ſame aſcendant either over the ſpirit or affections of the ſoldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accuſtomed to follow and revere. On the ſide of Almagro were more veteran ſoldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry, but theſe were overbalanced by Pizarro's ſuperiority in numbers, and by two companies of well diſciplined muſketeers, which, on receiving an account of the inſurrection of the Indians, the emperor had ſent from Spain. As the uſe of fire arms was not frequent among the adventurers in America, haſtily equipped for ſervice, at their own expence, this ſmall band of ſoldiers, regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well-ſuſtained fire bore down horſe and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavoured to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the route became general. The barbarity of the conquerors ſtained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on ſome to ſlaughter their countrymen with indiſcriminate cruelty; the meanneſs of private revenge inſtigated others to ſingle out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and ſeveral officers of diſtinction were maſſacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty ſoldiers fell in the field; a large proportion where the number of combatants was few, and the heat of the conteſt ſoon over. Almagro, though ſo feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horſe, had

inſiſted on being carried on a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmoſt agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at laſt beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the paſſionate indignation of a veteran leader, long accuſtomed to victory. He endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight, but was taken priſoner, and guarded with the greateſt vigilance.

Cuſco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a conſiderable booty, conſiſting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treaſures, and partly of the wealth amaſſed by their antagoniſts from the ſpoils of Peru and Chili. But ſo far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompence which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify ſuch extravagant expectations, had recourſe to the ſame expedient which his brother had employed on a ſimilar occaſion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent aſſuming ſpirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his moſt active officers to attempt the diſcovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto ſubmitted to the Spaniards. To every ſtandard erected by the leaders, who undertook any of theſe new expeditions, volunteers reſorted with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's ſoldiers joined them, and thus Pizarro had the ſatisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his diſcontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

Almagro himſelf remained for ſeveral months in cuſtody under all the anguiſh of ſuſpence. For, although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence conſtrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the ſoldiers who had ſerved under him, as well as ſeveral of their own followers, in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuſco. As ſoon as they ſet out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treaſon, formally tried, and condemned to die. The ſentence aſtoniſhed him, and though he had often braved death with an undaunted ſpirit in the field, its approach under this ignominious form appalled him ſo much, that he had recourſe to abject ſupplications, unworthy of his former fame. He beſought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendſhip between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the ſucceſs and proſperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in oppoſition to the repeated remon-

remonſtrances of his own moſt attached friends; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to ſuffer him to paſs the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with heaven. "The intreaties," ſays a Spaniſh hiſtorian, "of a man ſo much "beloved, touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew "tears from many a hard eye *." But the brothers remained unflexible. As ſoon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was ſtrangled in priſon, and afterwards publickly beheaded. He ſuffered in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age and left one ſon by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a priſoner in Lima, he named as ſucceſſor to his government, purſuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

A. D. 1539.

Bred, like Pizarro, in the camp, Almagro yielded not to him in any of the ſoldierly qualities of intrepid valour, indefatigable activity, or inſurmountable conſtancy in enduring the hardſhips inſeparable from military ſervice in the new world. But in Almagro theſe virtues were accompanied with the openneſs and candour natural to men whoſe profeſſion is arms, in Pizarro they were united with the addreſs, the craft, and the diſſimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purpoſes, and with ſagacity to penetrate into thoſe of other men.

During the civil diſſenſions in Peru, all intercourſe with Spain was ſuſpended. On this account, the detail of the extraordinary tranſactions there did not ſoon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the firſt intelligence was brought thither by ſome of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cauſe; and they related what had happened, with every circumſtance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the moſt ſolemn engagements, their violence and cruelty were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived ſoon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary ſplendor, endeavoured to efface the impreſſion which their accuſations had made, and to juſtify his brother and himſelf by repreſenting Almagro as the aggreſſor. The emperor and his miniſters, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was the moſt criminal, clearly diſcovered the fatal tendency of their diſſenſions. It was obvious, that while the leaders, entruſted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the

* Zarate.

arms

arms which ſhould have been turned againſt the common enemy, in deſtroying one another, all attention to the public good muſt ceaſe, and there was reaſon to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which their diſunion preſented to them, and extirpate both the *victors* and the vanquiſhed. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information that had been received was ſo defective and ſuſpicious, and the ſcene of action ſo remote, it was almoſt impoſſible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that ſhould be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the ſituation of the parties and the circumſtances of affairs, might alter ſo entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing, therefore, remained but to ſend a perſon to Peru, veſted with extenſive and diſcretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the poſture of affairs with his own eyes, and enquiring upon the ſpot, into the conduct of the different leaders, ſhould be authoriſed to eſtabliſh the government in that form, which he deemed moſt conducive to the intereſts of the parent ſtate, and the welfare of the colony. The man ſelected for this important charge was Chriſtoval Vaca de Caſtro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmneſs juſtified the choice. His inſtructions, though ample, were not ſuch as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aſpect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor ſtill alive, he was to aſſume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard againſt the appearance of giving any juſt cauſe of offence to a man who had merited ſo highly of his country. But if Pizarro was dead, he was entruſted with a commiſſion that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his ſucceſſor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, ſeems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his meaſures; for at the very time that the court ſeemed ſo ſolicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arreſted at Madrid, and confined to a priſon where he remained above twenty years.

While Vaca de Caſtro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru.

The governor conſidering himſelf, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled poſſeſſor of that vaſt empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this diviſion been made A. D. 1540.

with

with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow, was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction not with the equity and candour of a judge, attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his allies, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, all who were disappointed in their expectations, exclaimed loudly against the partial councils and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces, and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which extended their knowledge of the country, as well as added to their power. Pedro de Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion there. But of all the enterprizes undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers

thers in courage, and no leſs ambitious of acquiring diſtinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult ſervice. He ſet out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty ſoldiers, near one half of whom were horſemen, with four thouſand Indians to carry their proviſions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, exceſs of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accuſtomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robuſt and inured to a variety of climates, ſuffered conſiderably, and loſt ſome men; but when they deſcended into the low country their diſtreſs encreaſed. During two months it rained inceſſantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their cloaths. The vaſt plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudeſt and leaſt induſtrious tribes of the new world, yielded little ſubſiſtence. They could not advance a ſtep but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marſhes. Such inceſſant toil, and continual ſcarcity of food, ſeemed more than ſufficient to have exhauſted and diſpirited any troops. But the fortitude and perſeverance of the Spaniards in the ſixteenth century, were inſuperable. Allured by frequent but falſe accounts of rich countries before them, they perſiſted in ſtruggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the largeſt rivers, whoſe waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, both in conveying them over rivers, in procuring proviſions, and exploring the country. This was manned with fifty ſoldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The ſtream carried them down with ſuch rapidity, that they were ſoon far a-head of their countrymen, who followed ſlowly, and with difficulty by land.

At this diſtance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aſpiring mind, began to fancy himſelf independent, and tranſported with the predominant paſſion of the age, he formed the ſcheme of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a diſcoverer, by following the courſe of the Maragnon, until it joined the ocean, and by ſurveying the vaſt regions through which it flows. This ſcheme of Orellana was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-ſoldiers in a pathleſs deſart, where they had hardly any hopes of ſucceſs, or even of ſafety, but what were founded on the ſervice which

which they expected from the bark; his crime is in some measure balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the South, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlements in the island Cubagua, from whence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of El Dorado, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the new world; and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty, that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventrous age, but as the first event that led to any certain knowledge of those immense regions that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had entrusted with such an important

command, could be ſo baſe and ſo unfeeling as to deſert him at ſuch a juncture. But, imputing his abſence from the place of rendezvous to ſome unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to ſee the bark appear with a ſupply of proviſions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to periſh in the deſert, becauſe he had the courage to remonſtrate againſt his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own deſperate ſituation, when deprived of their only reſource. The ſpirit of the ſtouteſt hearted veteran ſunk within him, and all demanded to be led back inſtantly. Pizarro, though he aſſumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppoſe their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardſhips greater than thoſe they had endured in their progreſs outward, without the alluring hopes which then ſoothed and animated them under their ſufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horſes, to devour the moſt loathſome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their ſaddles and ſword-belts. Four thouſand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards periſhed in this wild diſaſtrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were on board the bark with Orellana, only fourſcore got back to Quito. Theſe were naked like ſavages, and ſo emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of ſpectres than men.

But, inſtead of returning to enjoy the repoſe which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him, than thoſe through which he had paſſed. From the time that his brother made that partial diviſion of his conqueſts, which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, conſidering themſelves as proſcribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in deſpair reſorted to Lima, where the houſe of young Almagro was always open to them, and the ſlender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was ſpent in affording them ſubſiſtence. The warm attachment with which every perſon who ſerved under the elder Almagro, devoted himſelf to his intereſts, was quickly transferred to his ſon, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and poſſeſſed all the qualities which captivate the affections of ſoldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial

martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him at their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement, they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them destitute of common necessaries, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty rendered their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends.— "Be in no pain," said he carelessly, "about my life, it is "perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that "I can in a moment put him to death who dares to har-"bour a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the lead in their consultations, with all the zeal which that connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

A. D. 1541.

On Sunday, the twenty-sixth of June, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in sultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house in complete armour; and drawing their [illegible] as they advanced hastily towards the governor's [illegible] long live the king [illegible] the tyrant [illegible] warned [illegible] tions by a [illegible] to support [illegible] by such [illegible] licence [illegible] of

the moſt opulent ſubject of the age in which he lived, as he was juſt riſen from table, and moſt of his do-ſtics had retired to their own apartments, the conſpira-s paſſed through the two outer courts of the palace un-erved. They were at the bottom of the ſtaircaſe before age in waiting could give the alarm to his maſter, who s converſing with a few friends in a large hall. The vernor, whoſe ſteady mind no form of danger could ap-, ſtarting up, called for arms, and commanded Franciſco Chaves to make faſt the door. But that officer who did retain ſo much preſence of mind as to obey this prudent er, running to the top of the ſtaircaſe, wildly aſked the ſpirators what they meant, and whither they were ng. Inſtead of anſwering, they ſtabbed him to the rt, and burſt into the hall. Some of the perſons who re there threw themſelves from the windows; others at-pted to fly; a few drawing their ſwords, followed their der into an inner apartment. The conſpirators, ani-ted with having the object of their vengeance now in w, ruſhed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other ns than his ſword and buckler, defended the entry, and ported by his half brother Alcantara, and his little knot friends, he maintained the unequal conteſt with intre-ity worthy of his paſt exploits, and with the vigour of outhful combatant. "Courage," cried he, "compa-nions, we are yet enow to make thoſe traitors repent of their audacity." But the armour of the conſpirators otected them, while every thruſt they made took effect. antara fell dead as his brother's feet; his other defendants re mortally wounded. The governor, ſo weary that he ld hardly wield his ſword, and no longer able to parry many weapons furiouſly aimed at him, received a dly thruſt full in his throat, ſunk to the ground, and ired.

As ſoon as he was ſlain, the aſſaſſins ran out into the ets, and waving their bloody ſwords, proclaimed the th of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their aſſo-tes having joined them, they conducted young Almagro, [illegible] proceſſion, through the city, and aſſembling the [illegible]ates and principal citizens, compelled them to ac-[illegible]ge him as lawful ſucceſſor to his father in his [illegible]ent. The palace of Pizarro, together with the [illegible] ſeveral of his adherents, were pillaged by the [illegible] had the ſatisfaction at once of being avenged [illegible], and of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils [illegible] whoſe hands all the wealth of Peru had

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As ſoon as he was ſlain, the aſſaſſins ran out into the ſtreets, and waving their bloody ſwords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their aſſociates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro, in ſolemn proceſſion, through the city, and aſſembling the magiſtrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful ſucceſſor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houſes of ſeveral of his adherents, were pillaged by the ſoldiers, who had the ſatisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of thoſe through whoſe hands all the wealth of Peru had paſſed.

The boldneſs and ſucceſs of the conſpiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many ſoldiers to his ſtandard. Every adventurer of deſperate fortune, all who were diſſatisfied with Pizarro, (and from the rapaciouſneſs of his government, in the latter years of his life, the number of malcontents was conſiderable,) declared without heſitation in favour of Almagro; and he was ſoon at the head of eight hundred of the moſt gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience diſqualified him from taking the command of them himſelf, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro ſpeedily collected ſuch a reſpectable force, the acquieſcence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous aſſaſſination of a man to whom his country was ſo highly indebted, filled every impartial perſon with horror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretenſions, led others to conſider him as an uſurper. The officers, who commanded in ſome provinces, refuſed to recognize his authority, until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuſco, the royal ſtandard was erected, and preparations made to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

Thoſe ſeeds of diſcord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired greater vigour and activity when the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro was known. After a long and diſaſtrous voyage, he was driven by ſtreſs of weather into a ſmall harbour in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no leſs tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commiſſion appointing him governor of Peru, with the ſame privileges and authority, and his juriſdiction was acknowledged without heſitation by Benalcazar Adelantado, a lieutenant general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the abſence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Caſtro not only aſſumed the ſupreme authority, but ſhewed that he poſſeſſed the talents which the exerciſe of it at that juncture required. By his influence and addreſs he ſoon aſſembled ſuch a body of troops, as not only ſet him above all fear of being expoſed to any inſult from the adverſe party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. By diſpatching perſons of confidence to the different ſettlements in Peru, with a

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formal notification of his arrival and of his commiſſion he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleaſure with reſpect to the government of the country. By private emiſſaries, he excited ſuch officers as had diſcovered their diſapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifeſt their duty to their ſovereign by ſupporting the perſon honoured with his commiſſion. Thoſe meaſures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldneſs; the timid ventured to declare their ſentiments; the neutral and wavering finding it neceſſary to chooſe a ſide, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the ſafeſt as well as the moſt juſt.

Almagro obſerved the rapid progreſs of this ſpirit of diſaffection to his cauſe, and in order to give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro, he ſet out at the head of his troops for Cuſco, where the moſt conſiderable body of opponents had erected the royal ſtandard, under the command of Pedro Avarez Holguin.—During his march thither, Harrada, the ſkilful guide of his youth and of his counſels, died; and from that time his meaſures were conſpicuous for their violence, but concerted with little ſagacity, and executed with no addreſs. Holguin, with forces far inferior to thoſe of the oppoſite party, was deſcending towards the coaſt at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuſco. By a very ſimple ſtratagem he deceived his unexperienced adverſary, avoided an engagement, and affected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the firſt to declare againſt Almagro as an uſurper.

Soon after Vaca de Caſtro entered the camp with the troops which he brought from Quito, and erecting the royal ſtandard before his own tent, he declared, that, as governor, he would diſcharge in perſon all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenour of his paſt life to the habits of a ſedentary and pacific profeſſion, he at once aſſumed the activity and diſcovered the deciſion of an officer long accuſtomed to command. Knowing his ſtrength to be now far ſuperior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the conteſt by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining pardon for a crime ſo atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of deciſion. They met at Chupas, about two hundred miles from Cuſco, and fought with all the fierce animoſity inſpired by

the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerneſs of revenge, and the laſt efforts of deſpair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at laſt for Vaca de Caſtro. The ſuperior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Franciſco de Carvajal, a veteran officer, formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro, with a gallant ſpirit, worthy of a better cauſe, and deſerving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquiſhed, eſpecially ſuch as were conſcious that they might be charged with being acceſſary to the aſſaſſination of Pizarro, ruſhing on the ſwords of the enemy, choſe to fall like ſoldiers, rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men, the total amount of combatants on both ſides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was ſtill greater.

If the military talents diſplayed by Vaca de Caſtro, both in the council and in the field, ſurpriſed the adventurers in Peru, they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid diſpenſer of juſtice, and perſuaded that it required examples of extraordinary ſeverity to reſtrain the licentious ſpirit of ſoldiers ſo far removed from the ſeat of government, he proceeded directly to try his priſoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to ſuffer the death of traitors; others were baniſhed from Peru. Their leader, who made his eſcape from the battle, being betrayed by ſome of his officers, was publickly beheaded in Cuſco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the ſpirit of the party, was extinct.

Though a tranquillity, unknown, ſince the arrival of the Spaniards, was now reſtored to Peru, De Caſtro, it ſeems, was not ſufficiently ſkilled in gaining the favour of the Spaniſh miniſtry by proper bribes or promiſes, which in that age a miniſtry would expect from the governor of ſo rich a country. A council, therefore, was ſent over to controul De Caſtro, and the colony was again unſettled. The parties, but juſt extinguiſhed, began to blaze anew; and Gonzalo, the brother of the famous Pizarro, ſet himſelf at the head of his brother's partiſans, with whom many new malcontents had united. It was now no longer a diſpute between governors about the bounds of their juriſdiction, Gonzalo Pizarro only paid a nominal ſubmiſſion to the king. He ſtrengthened daily; and even went ſo far as to behead a governor who was

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ſent over to curb him. He gained the confidence of the admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, in the South Seas, by whoſe means he propoſed to hinder the landing of any troops from Spain; and he had a view of uniting the inhabitants of Mexico in his revolt.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the court of Spain, ſenſible of their miſtake in not ſending into America men whoſe character and virtue only, and not importunity and cabal, pleaded in their behalf, diſpatched with unlimited powers, Pedro de la Gaſca, a man differing only from Caſtro by being of a more mild and inſinuating behaviour, but with the ſame love of juſtice, the ſame greatneſs of ſoul, and the ſame diſintereſted ſpirit. All thoſe who had not joined in Pizarro's revolt flocked to his ſtandard; many of his friends, charmed with the behaviour of Gaſca, forſook their old connections; the admiral was gained over by inſinuation to return to his duty; and Pizarro himſelf was offered a full indemnity, provided he ſhould return to the allegiance of the Spaniſh crown. But ſo intoxicating are the ideas of royalty, that Pizarro was inclined to run every hazard rather than ſubmit to an officer of Spain. With thoſe of his partiſans, therefore, who ſtill continued to adhere to his intereſt, he determined to venture a battle; but when both armies were juſt ready to engage, one of his leading men put ſpurs to his horſe, galloped off, and ſurrendered himſelf to Gaſca. Other officers of note followed his example. The revolt of perſons of ſuch high rank ſtruck all with amazement. The mutual confidence, on which the union and ſtrength of armies depend, ceaſed at once. Diſtruſt and conſternation ſpread from rank to rank. Some ſilently ſlipped away, others threw down their arms, the greateſt number went over to the royaliſts. Pizarro, and Carjaval, his principal officer, a man of great military talents, employed authority, threats, and entreaties to ſtop them, but in vain. In leſs than half an hour, a body of men which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally diſperſed. Pizarro, ſeeing all irretrievably loſt, cried out in amazement to a few officers who ſtill faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us ruſh," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's firmeſt battalion, and die like "Romans." Dejected with ſuch a reverſe of fortune, he had not ſpirit to follow this ſoldierly counſel, and with a tameneſs diſgraceful to his former fame, he ſurrendered to one of Gaſca's officers. Carjaval, who had made the diſpoſition of the troops with a diſcerning eye, and a profound knowledge in the art of war, endeavouring to eſcape,

was overtaken and ſeized. Gaſca, happy in this bloodleſs victory, did not ſtain it with cruelty. Pizarro,
A. D. 1548. Carjaval, and a ſmall number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed or notorious offenders were puniſhed capitally. Pizarro was beheaded on the day after he ſurrendered. He ſubmitted to his fate with a compoſed dignity, and ſeemed deſirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. Thus the brother of him, who conquered Peru for the crown of Spain, fell a ſacrifice to the ſecurity of the Spaniſh dominion over that country. The end of Carjaval was ſuitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the ſentence, adjudging him to be hanged, was pronounced, he careleſsly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the ſentence and execution, he diſcovered no ſign either of remorſe for the paſt, or of ſolicitude about the future; ſcoffing at all who viſited him in his uſual ſarcaſtic vein of mirth, with the ſame quickneſs of repartee and groſs pleaſantry as at any other period of his life.

In the minute detail, which the contemporary hiſtorians have given of the civil diſſenſions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumſtances occur ſo ſtriking, and which indicate ſuch an uncommon ſtate of manners, as to merit particular attention. Though the Spaniards who firſt invaded Peru were of the loweſt order of ſociety, and the greater part of thoſe who afterwards joined them were perſons of deſperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders, who contended for the ſuperiority, not one man acted as a hired ſoldier, that follows his ſtandard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru conſidered himſelf as a conqueror, entitled, by his ſervices, to an eſtabliſhment in that country which had been acquired by his valour. In the conteſts between the rival chiefs, each choſe his ſide as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and diſdained to degrade himſelf by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their ſwords, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that moſt of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the ſame means, to open a way for himſelf to the poſſeſſion of power and wealth.

But, though the troops in Peru ſerved without any regular pay, they were raiſed at an immenſe expence.—Among men accuſtomed to divide the ſpoils of an opulent country, the deſire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardour of purſuit augmented in proportion to

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the hope of ſucceſs. Where all were intent on the ſame object, and under the dominion of the ſame paſſion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of ſecuring their attachment. Officers of name and influence, beſides the promiſe of future eſtabliſhments, received in hand large gratuities from the chief with whom they engaged. While ſuch rewards were dealt out to principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional ſhares were conferred upon thoſe of inferior rank. Such a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and new deſires. Veterans, long accuſtomed to hardſhip and toil, acquired of a ſudden a taſte for profuſe and inconſiderate diſſipation, and indulged in all the exceſſes of military licentiouſneſs. The riot of low debauchery occupied ſome; a reliſh for expenſive luxuries ſpread among others. The meaneſt ſoldier in Peru would have thought himſelf degraded by marching on foot, and at a time when the prices of horſes in that country were exorbitant, each inſiſted on being furniſhed with one before he would take the field. But though leſs patient under the fatigue and hardſhip of ſervice, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever, and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to diſplay all their ancient valour. Together with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally diſtinguiſhed. Civil diſcord never raged with a more fell ſpirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the paſſions which uſually envenom conteſts among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerneſs to ſeize the valuable forfeitures expected upon the death of every opponent, ſhut the door againſt mercy. To be wealthy, was of itſelf ſufficient to expoſe a man to accuſation, or to ſubject him to puniſhment on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions. Pizarro condemned many of the moſt opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carjaval, without ſearching for any pretext to juſtify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of thoſe who ſuffered by the hand of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field; and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

The violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its uſual attendants, attachment and fidelity to thoſe with whom they acted. The ties of honour, which are held ſacred among ſoldiers, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spaniſh character as in that of any nation, ſeem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for

decency, and the ſenſe of ſhame were totally loſt. During their diſſenſions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally eſpouſed, betray the aſſociates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The chief adviſers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt were the firſt to forſake him, and ſubmit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gaſca by the man whom he had fingled out among his officers to entruſt with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in ſight of the enemy, threw down their arms without ſtriking a blow, and deſerted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Inſtances of ſuch general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in ſocial union, rarely occur in hiſtory. It is only where men are far removed from the ſeat of government, where the reſtraints of law and order are little felt, where the proſpect of gain is unbounded, and immenſe wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapacioufneſs, the perfidy, and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.

On the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity ſeemed to be perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. But two very intereſting objects ſtill remained to occupy Gaſca's attention. The one was to find immediately ſuch employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions: the other, to beſtow proper gratifications upon thoſe, to whoſe loyalty and valour he was indebted for his ſucceſs. The former of theſe was in ſome meaſure accompliſhed, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to proſecute the conqueſt of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the diſcovery of the vaſt regions bordering on the river de la Plata. The reputation of thoſe leaders, and the hopes of bettering their condition in a new country, alluring many of the moſt indigent and deſperate ſoldiers to follow their ſtandards, drained off no inconſiderable portion of that mutinous inflammable ſpirit which Gaſca dreaded.

The latter was an affair of greater difficulty, and to be adjuſted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be diſtributed, in conſequence of the death or forfeiture of the former poſſeſſors, were of an immenſe value. Gaſca, when now abſolute maſter of this property, retained the ſame diſintereſted ſentiments which he had originally profeſſed, and re-

fuſed to reſerve the ſmalleſt portion of it for himſelf. But the number of claimants was great; and whilſt the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own ſervices, and eſtimated the recompence which he thought due to him, the pretenſions of each were ſo extravagant, that it was impoſſible to ſatisfy all. Gaſca liſtened to them one by one, with the moſt patient attention, and that he might have leiſure to weigh the comparative merit of their ſeveral claims with accuracy, he retired with the archbiſhop of Lima and a ſingle ſecretary, to a village twelve leagues from Cuſco. There he ſpent ſeveral days in allotting to each a diſtrict of land and a number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their paſt ſervices and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce ſtorm of clamour and rage, which he foreſaw would burſt out on the publication of his decree, notwithſtanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he ſet out for Lima, leaving the inſtrument of partition ſealed up, with orders not to open it for ſome days after his departure.

The indignation excited by publiſhing the decree of partition was not leſs than Gaſca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, ſhame, rage, and all the other paſſions that moſt vehemently agitate the minds of men, when both their honour and their intereſt are deeply affected, conſpired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military inſolence. Calumny, threats, and curſes were poured out openly upon the preſident. He was accuſed of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injuſtice.—Among ſoldiers prompt to action, ſuch ſeditious diſcourſe would have been ſoon followed by deeds no leſs violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards ſome diſcontented leaders, expecting them to ſtand forth in redreſs of their wrongs. By ſome vigorous interpoſitions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous ſpirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the preſent.

Gaſca, however, perceiving that the flame was ſuppreſſed rather than extinguiſhed, laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to ſoothe the malcontents; by beſtowing large gratuities on ſome, by promiſing allotments, when they fell vacant, to others; and by careſſing and flattering all. But that the public ſecurity might reſt on a foundation more ſtable than their good affection, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen the hands of his ſucceſſors in office, by re-eſtabliſhing the regular adminiſtration of juſtice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and ſimplicity into the mode of collecting

collecting the royal revenue. He iſſued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppreſſion, and to provide for their inſtruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labour. Having now accompliſhed every object of his miſſion, Gaſca, longing to return again to a private ſtation, committed the government of Peru to the Court of Audience, and ſet out for Spain. As, during the anarchy and confuſion of the laſt four years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue; he carried with him a very conſiderable ſum of public money, which the œconomy and order of his adminiſtration enabled him to ſave, after paying all the expences of the war.

He was received in his native country with univerſal admiration of his abilities, and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conſpicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train ſo ſimple, that only three thouſand ducats were expended in equipping him*; he ſet out to oppoſe a formidable rebellion. By his addreſs and talents he ſupplied all thoſe defects, and ſeemed to create inſtruments for executing his deſigns. He acquired ſuch a naval force as gave him the command of the ſea. He raiſed a body of men which enabled him to cope with the veteran bands which gave law to Peru. He vanquiſhed their leader, on whoſe arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy he eſtabliſhed the government of laws. But the praiſe beſtowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After reſiding in a country where wealth preſented allurements, which had ſeduced every perſon who had hitherto poſſeſſed power there, he returned from that trying ſtation with integrity not only untainted but unſuſpected. After diſtributing among his countrymen poſſeſſions of greater extent and value than had ever been at the diſpoſal of a ſubject in any age or nation; he himſelf remained in his original ſtate of poverty; and at the very time, when he brought ſuch a large recruit to the royal treaſury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a ſmall ſum to diſcharge ſome petty debts which he had contracted during the courſe of his ſervice. Charles was not inſenſible to ſuch diſintereſted merit. Gaſca was received by him with the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of eſteem, and being promoted to the biſhopric of Palencia, he paſſed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement.—But notwithſtanding all Gaſca's wiſe regulations, the tran-

* Fernandez.

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quillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country, where the authority of government was almoſt forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and miſ-rule, where there were diſappointed leaders ripe for revolt, and ſeditious ſoldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to kindle combuſtion. Several ſucceſſive inſurrections deſolated the country for ſome years. But as thoſe, though fierce, were only tranſient ſtorms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not of much importance. Theſe commotions in Peru, like every thing of extreme violence either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration, and by carrying off the corrupted humours which had given riſe to the diſorders, they contributed in the end to ſtrengthen the ſociety which at firſt they threatened to deſtroy.

CHAP. XIII.

Arts, Literature, and Commerce of the Mexicans and Peruvians.—The rich Mines of Potoſi diſcovered by an Indian.

CORTEZ, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leiſure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural hiſtory with new obſervations. They undertook their expedition in queſt of one object, and ſeem hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or, if during ſome ſhort interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceaſed, and the ardour of plunder was ſuſpended, the inſtitutions and manners of the people whom they had invaded drew their attention, the enquiries of illiterate ſoldiers were conducted with ſo little ſagacity and preciſion, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order eſtabliſhed in the Mexican monarchy are ſuperficial, confuſed, and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occaſionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form ſome idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obſcurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the ſuperſtition

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of thoſe who ſucceeded them. As the memory of paſt events was preſerved among the Mexicans by figures painted on ſkins, on cotton cloth, or on the bark of trees, the early miſſionaries, unable to comprehend their meaning, and ſtruck with their uncouth forms, conceived them to be monuments of idolatry which ought to be deſtroyed, in order to facilitate the converſion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict iſſued by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciſcan monk, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, all thoſe records of the ancient Mexican ſtory were collected and committed to the flames. In conſequence of this fanatical zeal of the monks who firſt viſited New Spain, and which their ſucceſſors ſoon began to lament, whatever knowledge of remote events ſuch rude monuments contained, was entirely loſt, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from ſome fragments of their hiſtorical paintings that eſcaped the barbarous reſearches of Zummaraga.

The progreſs of the Mexicans, as well as Peruvians, in various arts, is a deciſive proof, that they are more poliſhed than the other natives of America, though inferior to the civilized nations of the ancient continent. Cortez, and the early Spaniſh authors, deſcribe this with rapture, and maintain, that the moſt celebrated European artiſts could not ſurpaſs or even equal them in ingenuity and neatneſs of workmanſhip*. They repreſented men, animals, and other objects, by ſuch a diſpoſition of various coloured feathers, as is ſaid to have produced all the effects of light and ſhade, and to have imitated nature with true delicacy. But in forming any idea, from general deſcriptions, concerning the ſtate of arts among nations imperfectly poliſhed, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people, whoſe advances in improvement are nearly the ſame with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conſcious of our own ſuperiority, we ſurvey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are aſtoniſhed at works executed by them under ſuch manifeſt diſadvantages, and in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to repreſent them as productions more finiſhed than they really are. To the influence of this illuſion, without ſuppoſing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of ſome Spaniſh authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

* Dr. Robertſon.

But however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different ſtation belongs to them, when conſidered as the *records of their country*, as hiſtorical monuments of its policy and tranſactions; and they became curious as well as intereſting objects of attention. The nobleſt and moſt beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boaſt, is that of writing. But the firſt eſſays of this art, which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of the ſpecies, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection ſlowly, and by a gradual progreſſion. When the warrior, eager for fame, wiſhed to tranſmit ſome knowledge of his exploits to ſucceeding ages, the firſt method of accompliſhing this, that ſeems to have occurred, was to delineate, in the beſt manner he could, figures repreſenting the action of which he was ſolicitous to preſerve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called *picture-writing**, we find traces among ſome of the moſt ſavage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field, he ſtrips a tree of its bark, and with red paint ſcratches upon it ſome uncouth figures, which repreſent the order of his march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the ſcalps and captures which he brought home. To thoſe ſimple annals he truſts for renown, and ſoothes himſelf with hope that by their means he ſhall receive praiſe from the warriors of future times†. Compared with thoſe aukward eſſays of their ſavage countrymen, the paintings of the Mexicans may be conſidered as works of compoſition and deſign. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording tranſactions, than that of delineating the objects which they wiſhed to repreſent. But they could exhibit a more complex ſeries of events in progreſſive order, and deſcribe, by a proper diſpoſition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his *acceſſion to his death*; the progreſs of an *infant's education* from its birth until it attained to the years of maturity; the different recompences and marks of diſtinction conferred upon *warriors* in proportion to the exploits which they had performed.

Some ſingular ſpecimens of this picture-writing have been preſerved, which are juſtly conſidered as the moſt curious monuments of art brought from the New World.—The moſt valuable of theſe was publiſhed by Purchas, in ſixty-ſix plates. It is divided into three parts. The firſt contains the hiſtory of the Mexican empire under its ten

* Warburton's Divine Legation of Moſes. † Sir Wm. Johnſon.

monarchs.

monarchs. The ſecond is a tribute-roll, repreſenting what each conquered town paid into the royal treaſury. The third is a code of their inſtitutions, domeſtic, political, and military. Another ſpecimen of Mexican painting has been publiſhed in thirty-two plates, by the late archbiſhop of Toledo. To both is annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to repreſent, which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. Their ſtyle of painting in all theſe is the ſame. They repreſent *things* not *words*. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the underſtanding. They may therefore be conſidered as the earlieſt and moſt imperfect eſſay of men in their progreſs towards diſcovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording tranſactions muſt have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was, from its nature, a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any ſociety, its annals muſt have ſwelled to an enormous bulk. Beſides this, no objects could be delineated but thoſe of ſenſe; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form, and as long as picture-writing could not convey an idea of theſe, it muſt have been a very imperfect art. The neceſſity of improving it muſt have roufed and ſharpened invention, and the human mind, holding the ſame courſe in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the ſame ſucceſſive ſteps, firſt, from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic; next, to the allegorical ſymbol, then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was diſcovered, capable of expreſſing all the variety of combinations of ſound employed in ſpeech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we, accordingly, perceive that this progreſs was begun among them. In the annals of their kings, publiſhed by Purchas, the towns conquered by each are uniformly repreſented in the ſame manner by a rude delineation of a *houſe*; but, in order to point out the particular towns which ſubmitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, ſometimes natural objects, and ſometimes artificial figures are employed. In the tribute-roll, publiſhed by the archbiſhop of Toledo, the houſe, which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to repreſent it. They ſeem even to have made ſome advances beyond this, towards the uſe of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphic. In order to deſcribe a monarch, who had enlarged his dominion by force of arms, they painted a [illegible] ornamented with darts, and placed [illegible] which [illegible] ſubdued. The

The ſtructure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes and cauſeways of great length, which ſerved as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water with no leſs ingenuity than labour, ſeems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The ſame obſervation may be applied to the ſtructure of the aqueducts, or conduits, by which they convey a ſtream of freſh water, from a conſiderable diſtance, into the city, along one of the cauſeways. Cortez, who ſeems to have been as much aſtoniſhed with this, as with any inſtance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular deſcription of it. "Along one of the cauſeways," ſays he, "by which they "enter the city, are conducted two conduits, compoſed "of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in "breadth, and raiſed about ſix feet. In one of them is "conveyed a ſtream of excellent water, as large as the "body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it ſup-"plies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, "that when it is neceſſary to clean or repair the former, "the ſtream of water may be turned into it. As this con-"duit paſſes along two of the bridges, where there are "breaches in the cauſeway, through which the ſalt-water "of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as "large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit "to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and ſold to "the inhabitants*." The appointment of a conſiderable number of perſons to clean the ſtreets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrole as watch-men during the night, diſcovers a degree of attention which even poliſhed nations are late in acquiring. The inſtitu-tion of couriers, ſtationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one quarter of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. Some authors, with a deciſive and peremptory tone, pronounce all the accounts of the Spaniſh writers, concerning the Mexican policy, laws, and manners, to be the fictions of men who wiſhed to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. But, as an ingenious hiſtorian juſtly remarks, "who among the deſtroyers of "this great empire was ſo enlightened by ſcience, or ſo "attentive to the progreſs and operations of men in ſocial "life, as to frame a fictitious ſyſtem of policy, ſo well "combined, and ſo conſiſtent, as that which they delineate "in their accounts of the Mexican government? Where "could they have borrowed the idea of many inſtitutions

* Modern Voyages.

in

" in legiſlation and police, to which, at that period, there was " nothing paralled in the nations with which they were ac- " quainted?*" It is almoſt impoſſible that the illiterate conquerors of America ſhould have formed, in any one inſtance, a conception of cuſtoms and laws, beyond the ſtandard of improvement in their own age and country.—Or, if Cortez and his followers had been capable of this, what inducement had thoſe by whom they were ſuperſeded to continue the deception? Why ſhould Corita, or Acoſta have amuſed their fellow citizens with a tale purely fabulous?

The preſent inhabitants of Mexico may be divided into Whites, Indians, and Negroes. The Whites are either born in Old Spain, or they are Creoles, that is, deſcendants of thoſe who came originally from Spain. The former are chiefly employed in government or trade, and have nearly the ſame character as the Spaniards in Europe, with a ſtill more conſiderable proportion of pride; for they conſider themſelves as entitled to great diſtinction as natives of Europe, and look upon the other inhabitants as many degrees beneath them. The Creoles have all the bad qualities of the Spaniards from whom they are deſcended, without that courage, firmneſs, and patience, which conſtitute the praiſe-worthy part of the Spaniſh character. Naturally weak and effeminate, they dedicate the greateſt part of their lives to loitering and inactive pleaſures. Luxurious without variety or elegance, and expenſive with great parade and little convenience; their general character is no more than a grave and ſpecious inſignificance. From idleneſs and conſtitution their whole buſineſs is amour and intrigue; and their leaders, by conſequence, are not at all diſtinguiſhed for their chaſtity or domeſtic virtues. The Indians, who, notwithſtanding the devaſtations of the firſt invaders, remain in great numbers, are become, by continual oppreſſion and indignity, a dejected, timorous, and miſerable race of mortals. The blacks here, like all thoſe in other parts of the world, are ſtubborn, hardy, and as well adapted for the groſs ſlavery they endure, as any human creature can be. Such is the general character of the inhabitants, not only in Mexico, but the greateſt part of Spaniſh America. The civil government is adminiſtered by tribunals, called *Audiences*, which bear a reſemblance to the late parliaments in France. In theſe courts, the vice-roy of the king of Spain preſides. His employment is the greateſt truſt and power which his Catholic Majeſty has

* Abbé Raynal

in

in his diſpoſal, and is perhaps the richeſt government entruſted to any ſubject in the world. For, as jealouſy is the leading feature of Spaniſh politics, in whatever regards America, no officer is allowed to retain his power for more than three years, which no doubt may have a good effect in ſecuring the authority of the crown of Spain, but is attended with unhappy circumſtances to the miſerable inhabitants, who become a prey to every new governor. The clergy are extremely numerous in Mexico, and it has been computed, that prieſts, monks, and nuns of all orders make upwards of a fifth of all the white inhabitants, both here and in the other parts of Spaniſh America. It is impoſſible indeed to find a richer field, or one more peculiarly adapted to the purpoſes of the eccleſiaſtics. The people are ſuperſtitious, ignorant, rich, lazy, and licentious.—With ſuch materials to work upon it is not remarkable that the church ſhould enjoy one fourth of the revenues of the kingdom. It is more ſurpriſing that it has not one half.

Mexico, like all the other tropical countries is rather more abundant in fruits than in grain. But what is conſidered as the chief glory of the country, and what firſt induced the Spaniards to form ſettlements upon it, are the mines of gold and ſilver. The chief mines of gold are in Veragua and New Granada, bordering upon Darien and Terra Firma. Thoſe of ſilver, which are much more rich as well as numerous, are found in ſeveral parts, but in none ſo much as in the province of Mexico. The mines of both kinds are always found in the moſt barren and mountainous parts of the country; nature making amends in one reſpect for her defects in another. The working of the gold and ſilver mines depends on the ſame principles. When the ore is dug out, compounded of ſeveral heterogeneous ſubſtances, mixed with the precious metal, it is broken into ſmall pieces by a mill, and afterwards waſhed; by which means it is diſengaged from the earth and other ſoft bodies which clung to it. Then it is mixed with mercury, which, of all ſubſtances, has the ſtrongeſt attraction for gold, and likewiſe a ſtronger attraction for ſilver than the other ſubſtances which are united with it in the ore. By means of mercury, therefore, the gold and ſilver are firſt ſeparated from the heterogeneous matter, and then by ſtraining and evaporation, they are diſunited from the mercury itſelf. Of the gold and ſilver, which the mines of Mexico afford, great things have been ſaid. Thoſe who have enquired moſt into the ſubject, compute the revenues of Mexico at twenty-four millions of our money*; and it is

* Dr. Smith's Wealth of Nations.

well known that this, with the other provinces of Spanish America, ſupply the whole world with ſilver.

The other articles next in importance to gold and ſilver are the cochineal and cocoa. After much diſpute concerning the nature of the former, it ſeems at laſt agreed that it is of the animal kind, and of the ſpecies of the gall inſects. It adheres to the plant called opuntia, and ſucks the juice of the fruit, which is of a crimſon colour. It is from this juice that the cochineal derives it value, which conſiſts in dying all ſorts of the fineſt ſcarlet, crimſon, and purple. It is alſo uſed in medicine as a ſudorific, and as a cordial; and it is computed that the Spaniards annually export no leſs than nine hundred thouſand weight of this commodity, to anſwer the purpoſes of medicine and dying. The cocoa, of which chocolate is made, is the next conſiderable article in the natural hiſtory and commerce of Mexico. It grows on a tree of middling ſize, which bears a pod of the ſize and ſhape of a cucumber, containing the cocoa. The Spaniſh commerce in this article is immenſe; and ſuch is the internal conſumption, as well as the external demand for it, that a ſmall garden of cocoa is ſaid to produce to the owner twenty thouſand crowns a year. At home it makes a principal part of their diet, and is found wholeſome, nutritious, and ſuitable to the climate.

The trade of Mexico conſiſts of three great branches, which extend over the world. It carries on a traffic with Europe, by La Vera Cruz, ſituated on the gulph of Mexico; with the Eaſt Indies, by Acapulco on the South Sea; and with South America by the ſame port. Theſe two ſea-ports, Vera Cruz and Acapulco, are wonderfully well ſituated for the commercial purpoſes to which they are applied. It is by means of the former that Mexico pours her wealth over the whole world; and receives in return the numberleſs luxuries and neceſſaries, which Europe affords to her, and which the indolence of her inhabitants will never permit them to acquire for themſelves. To this port the fleet from Cadiz, called the Flota, conſiſting of three men of war, as a convoy, and fourteen large merchant ſhips, annually arrive about the beginning of November. Its cargo conſiſts of every commodity and manufacture of Europe, and there are few nations but have more concern in it than the Spaniards, who ſend out little more than wine and oil. The profit of theſe, with the freight and commiſſion to the merchants, and duties to the king, which Spain derives from her

[illegible] all the goods are landed and [illegible] fleet takes in the plate, precious

precious ſtones, and other commodities for Europe. Sometime in May they are ready to depart. From La Vera Cruz they ſail to the Havannah, in the iſle of Cuba, which is the rendezvous where they meet the galleons, another fleet which carries on the trade of Terra Firma, by Carthagena, and of Peru by Panama and Porto Bello. When all are collected and provided with a convoy neceſſary for their ſafety, they ſteer for Old Spain.

Acapulco is the ſea-port by which the communication is kept up between the different parts of the Spaniſh empire in America, and the Eaſt Indies. About the month of December, the great galleon, attended by a large ſhip as a convoy, annually arrives here. The cargoes of theſe ſhips, (for the convoy, though in an underhand manner, likewiſe carries goods) conſiſt of all the rich commodities and manufactures of the Eaſt. At the ſame time the annual ſhip from Lima, the capital of Peru, comes in, and is computed to bring not leſs than two millions of pieces of eight in ſilver, beſides quickſilver and other valuable commodities, to be laid out in the purchaſe of the galleon's cargo. Several other ſhips, from different parts of Chili and Peru, meet upon the ſame occaſion. A great fair, in which the commodities of all parts of the world are bartered for one another, laſts thirty days. The galleon then prepares for her voyage, loaded with ſilver and ſuch European goods as have been thought neceſſary. The Spaniards, though this trade be carried on entirely through their hands, and in the very heart of their dominions, are comparatively but ſmall gainers by it. For, as they allow the Dutch, Great Britain, and other commercial ſtates to furniſh the greater part of the cargo of the flota, ſo the Spaniſh inhabitants of the Philippines, tainted with the ſame indolence which ruined their European anceſtors, permit the Chineſe merchants to furniſh the greater part of the cargo of the galleon. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of Vera Cruz, and Acapulco, the city of Mexico, the capital of the empire, ought to be conſidered as the centre of commerce in this part of the world; for here the principal merchants reſide, and the greateſt part of the buſineſs is negociated. The Eaſt India goods from Acapulco, and the European from Vera Cruz alſo paſs through this city. Hither all the gold and ſilver come to be coined; here the king's fifth is depoſited, and here are wrought all thoſe utenſils and ornaments in plate which are every year ſent into Europe. The city itſelf breathes the air of the higheſt magnificence; and, according to the beſt accounts, contains about eighty thouſand inhabitants.

The empire of *Peru* boaſts of an higher antiquity than that of Mexico. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, it had ſubſiſted four hundred years, under twelve ſucceſſive monarchs. But the knowledge of their ancient ſtory, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, muſt have been both imperfect and uncertain. Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and deſtitute of the only means by which the memory of paſt tranſactions can be preſerved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the uſe of letters is known, the æra where the authenticity of hiſtory commences, is much poſterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continued long ſubſervient to the common buſineſs and wants of life, before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down hiſtoric knowledge, in any full continued ſtream, during a period of half the length that the monarchy of Peru is ſaid to have ſubſiſted. The *Quipos*, or knots on cords of different colours which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous*, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly ſupplied the place of writing. According to their obſcure deſcription, the quipos ſeem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours, different objects were denoted, and by each knot a diſtinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of regiſter kept of the inhabitants in each province, or of the ſeveral productions collected there for public uſe. But as by theſe knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abſtract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be repreſented, they contributed little towards preſerving the memory of ancient events and inſtitutions. The Mexican paintings and ſymbols, rude as they were, conveyed to them more knowledge of remote tranſactions, than the Peruvians could derive from their boaſted quipos. Had they been even of more extenſive uſe, and better adapted to ſupply the place of written records, they periſhed ſo generally together with the other monuments of the Peruvian ingenuity, in the general wreck occaſioned by the Spaniſh conqueſt, and the civil wars ſubſequent to it, that no acceſſion of light or knowledge comes from them. Very little credit is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conqueſts, and private character

* A[illegible] and [illegible]

of

of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can reſt upon nothing in their ſtory as authentic but a few facts, ſo interwoven in the ſyſtem of their religion and policy, as preſerved the memory of them from being loſt; and upon the deſcription of ſuch cuſtoms and inſtitutions as continued in force at the time of the conqueſt, and fell under the immediate obſervation of the Spaniards. The moſt ſingular and ſtriking circumſtances in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make ſuch a feeble impreſſion on the mind of a ſavage, that their effect upon his ſentiments and manners are hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular ſyſtem, and holding a conſiderable place in their public inſtitutions, operated with conſpicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole ſyſtem of civil policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legiſlator, but as the meſſenger of heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a ſuperior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race, as we have already obſerved, was held to be ſacred; and in order to preſerve it diſtinct, without being pollured by a mixture of inferior blood, the ſons of Mango Capac married their own ſiſters, and no perſon was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by ſuch a pure deſcent. To thoſe children of the Sun, for that was the appellation beſtowed upon all the offspring of the firſt Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a ſuperior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they iſſued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was ſuppoſed to be dictated. The multitude liſtened and believed.

Though Peru lies within the torrid zone, yet having on one ſide the South Sea, and on the other the great ridge of the Andes, it is not ſo ſtifled with heat as the other tropical countries. The ſky, too, which is generally cloudy, ſhields them from the direct rays of the ſun: but what is extremely ſingular, it never rains in Peru. The defect, however, is ſufficiently ſupplied by a ſoft kindly dew, which falls gradually every night on the ground, and ſo refreſhes the plants and graſs, as to produce in many places the greateſt fertility. Along the ſea coaſt, Peru is generally a dry barren ſand, except near the banks of rivers, where it is exremely fertile, as are all the low lands in the inland country.

The northern part of Peru produces wine in great plenty. Wool is another article of its produce, and is no leſs remarkable for its fineneſs than for the animals on which it

grows; theſe they call Lamas and Vicunnas. The lama has a ſmall head, reſembling that of a horſe and a ſheep at the ſame time. It is about the ſize of a ſtag, its upper lip is cleft like that of a hare, through which, when enraged, it ſpits a kind of venemous juice, which inflames the part it falls on. The fleſh of the lama is agreeable and ſalutary, and the animal is not only uſeful in affording wool and food, but alſo as a beaſt of burden. It can endure amazing fatigue, and will travel over the ſteepeſt mountains with a burden of ſixty or ſeventy pounds. It feeds very ſparingly, and never drinks. The vicunna is ſmaller and ſwifter than the lama, and produces wool ſtill finer in quality. In the vicunna is found the bezoar ſtone, regarded as a ſpecific againſt poiſons. The next great article is the Peruvian bark, known better by the name of Jeſuits bark. The tree which produces this invaluable drug, grows principally in the mountainous parts of Peru, and particularly in the province of Quito. The beſt bark is always produced in the high and rocky grounds. The tree which bears it, is about the ſize of a cherry tree, and produces a kind of fruit reſembling the almond. But it is only the bark which has thoſe excellent qualities that render it ſo uſeful in intermitting fevers, and other diſorders, to which daily experience extends the application. Guinea pepper, or Cayenne pepper as we call it, is produced in the greateſt abundance in the vale of Africa, a diſtrict in the ſouthern part of Peru, from whence it is annually exported, to the value of 600,000 crowns. Peru is likewiſe the only port of South America which produces quickſilver; an article of immenſe value, conſidering the various purpoſes to which it is applied, and eſpecially the purification of gold and ſilver. The principal mine is at a place called Guancavelica, diſcovered in 1567, where it is found in a whitiſh maſs, reſembling brick ill burned. This ſubſtance is volatilized by fire, and received in ſteam by a combination of glaſs veſſels, where it condenſes by means of a little water at the bottom of each veſſel, and forms a pure heavy liquid.

There are many gold mines in the northern part of Peru; but the old mines are continually decaying, and new ones continually opening. The towns ſhift with the mines. That of Potoſi, which is now much exhauſted, once contained ninety thouſand ſouls, Spaniards and Indians, of which the latter were ſix to one. Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of ſearching for the precious metals is one of the moſt inviting to men, who are either unaccuſtomed to the regular aſſiduity with which

which the culture of the earth, and the operations of commerce muſt be carried on, or ſo enterpriſing and rapacious as not to be ſatisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as ſoon as the ſeveral countries in America were ſubjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almoſt the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers, by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to ſettle, by the proſpect of their affording gold and ſilver, were totally neglected. Thoſe, in which they met with a diſappointment of the ſanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the iſlands, the firſt fruits of their diſcoveries, and the firſt object of their attention, ſunk ſo much in their eſtimation, when the mines which they had opened there were exhauſted, that they were deſerted by may of the planters, and left to be occupied by more induſtrious poſſeſſors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver found among the natives, who ſearched for them with little induſtry, and leſs ſkill, promiſed an unexhauſted ſtore, as the recompence of more intelligent and perſevering efforts. During ſeveral years, the ardour of their reſearches was kept up by hope, rather than ſucceſs. At length the rich ſilver mines of Potoſi, in Peru, were accidentally diſcovered by an Indian as he was clambering up the mountain, in purſuit of a lama which had ſtrayed from his flock. A. D. 1545. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time ſucceſſive diſcoveries have been made in both colonies, and ſilver mines are now ſo numerous, that the working of them, and of ſome few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firma, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a ſyſtem no leſs complicated than intereſting. The exuberant profuſion with which the mountains of the new world poured forth their treaſures, aſtoniſhed mankind, accuſtomed hitherto to receive a penurious ſupply of the precious metals from the more ſcanty ſtores contained in the mines of the ancient hemiſphere. The mines, which yield ſo much riches, are not worked at the expence of the crown, nor of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the perſon who diſcovers a new vein, is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is meaſured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited

time, and of his paying the cuſtomary duty to the king for what it ſhall produce. Invited by the facility with which ſuch grants are obtained, and encouraged by ſome ſtriking example of ſucceſs in this line of adventure; not only the ſanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident enter upon it with aſtoniſhing ardour. With vaſt objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her ſecret ſtores, and give them up to their wiſhes, they deem every other occupation inſipid and unintereſting. The charms of this purſuit, like the rage for deep play, is ſo bewitching, and take ſuch full poſſeſſion of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence, the cautious become enterpriſing, and the covetous profuſe. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru, by the cant name of ſearchers. Theſe are commonly perſons of deſperate fortunes, who, availing themſelves of ſome ſkill in mineralogy, accompanied with the inſinuating manner, and confident pretenſions peculiar to projectors, addreſs the wealthy and the credulous. By plauſible deſcriptions of the appearances, which they have diſcovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing when requiſite, ſpecimens of promiſing ore; by affirming, with an impoſing aſſurance, that ſucceſs is certain, and that the expence muſt be trifling; they ſeldom fail to perſuade. An aſſociation is formed; a ſmall ſum is advanced by each co-partner; the mine is opened; the *ſearcher* is entruſted with the ſole direction of every operation; unforeſeen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but amidſt a ſucceſſion of diſappointments and delays, hope is never extinguiſhed, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is obſerved, that if any perſon once enter this ſeducing path, it is almoſt impoſſible to return; his ideas alter, he ſeems to be poſſeſſed with another ſpirit, viſions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and ſpeaks, and dreams of nothing elſe.

Such is the ſpirit that muſt be formed, wherever the active exertions of any ſociety are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and ſilver. No ſpirit is more adverſe to ſuch improvement in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the Spaniſh colonies had been founded upon principles of ſound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legiſlature would have been exerted with as much ardour, in reſtraining its ſubjects from ſuch pernicious induſtry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of mining

mining (ſays a good judge of the political conduct of nations) inſtead of replacing the capital employed in them, together with the ordinary profit of ſtock, commonly abſorb both capital and profit. They are the projects, therefore, to which, of all others, a prudent law-giver, who deſired to increaſe the capital of his nation, would leaſt chuſe to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater ſhare of that capital than would go to them of its own accord. Such in reality is the abſurd confidence which all men have in their own good fortune, that where there is the leaſt probability of ſucceſs, too great a ſhare of it is apt to go to them of its own accord*". But in the Spaniſh colonies, government is ſtudious to cheriſh a ſpirit which it ſhould have laboured to depreſs, and by the ſanction of its approbation augments that inconſiderate credulity, which has turned the active induſtry of Mexico and Peru into ſuch an improper channel. To this may be imputed the ſlender progreſs which they have made during two centuries and a half, either in uſeful manufactures, or in thoſe lucrative branches of cultivation, which furniſh the colonies of other nations with their ſtaple commodities. In compariſon with the precious metals, every bounty of nature is ſo much deſpiſed, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of the language in America, and the Spaniards ſettled there denominate a country, *rich*, not from the fertility of its ſoil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its paſtures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In queſt of theſe, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and reſort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built ſome of the largeſt towns which they poſſeſs in the new world. As the activity and enterpriſe of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now ſo difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various cauſes, the gain of working mines is much decreaſed; the facination continues, and almoſt every perſon who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is ſtill engaged in ſome adventure of this kind.

Lima is the capital of Peru; its ſituation in the middle of a ſpacious and delightful valley, was fixed upon by the famous Pizarro, as the moſt proper for a city, which he expected would preſerve his memory. It is ſo well watered by the river Rimac, that the inhabitants, like thoſe of London, command a ſtream, each for his own uſe. There

* Dr. Smith's Wealth of Nations.

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are many very magnificent ſtructures, particularly churches, in this city; though the houſes in general are built of ſlight materials, the equality of the climate, and want of rain, rendering ſtone houſes unneceſſary; and beſides, it is found that theſe are more apt to ſuffer by ſhocks of the earth, which are frequent and dreadful all over this province.—Lima is about two leagues from the ſea, extends in length two miles, and in breadth one and a quarter. It contains about ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants, of whom the whites amount to a ſixth part. One remarkable fact is ſufficient to demonſtrate the wealth of the city. When the viceroy, the duke de la Palade, made his entry
A. D. 1682. into Lima, the inhabitants, to do him honour, cauſed the ſtreets to be paved with ingots of ſilver, amounting it is ſaid, to ſeventeen millions ſterling.—All travellers ſpeak with amazement of the decorations of the churches with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, which load and ornament even the walls. The merchants of Lima may be ſaid to deal with all the quarters of the world, and that both on their own accounts, and as factors for others. Here all the products of the ſouthern provinces are conveyed, in order to be exchanged at the harbour of Lima, for ſuch articles as the inhabitants of Peru ſtand in need of; the fleet from Europe, and the Eaſt Indies, land at the ſame harbour, and the commodities of Aſia, Europe, and America, are bartered for each other. What there is no immediate vent for, the merchants of Lima purchaſe on their own accounts, and lay it up in warehouſes, knowing that they muſt ſoon find an outlet, ſince by one channel or other they have a communication with almoſt every commercial nation. But all the wealth of the inhabitants, all the beauty of the ſituation, and fertility of the climate of Lima, are not ſufficient to compenſate for one diſaſter which always threatens, and has ſometimes actually befallen them. A moſt tremendous earthquake laid three-fourths of this city level with the ground, and entirely de-
A. D. 1747. moliſhed Callao, the port town belonging to it. Never was any deſtruction more terrible or compleat, not more than one of three thouſand inhabitants being left to record this dreadful calamity, and he by an accident the moſt extraordinary. This man, who happened to be on a fort which overlooked the harbour, perceived in one minute the inhabitants running from their houſes in the utmoſt terror and confuſion; the ſea, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, receding a conſiderable diſtance, returned in mountainous waves, and buried the inhabitants for ever in its boſom; but the ſame wave which deſtroyed the

the town drove a little boat to the place where the man ſtood, into which he threw himſelf, and was ſaved.

As Cuſco, the ancient capital of the Peruvian empire, lies in the mountainous part of the country, and at a diſtance from the ſea, it has been long on the decline. But it is ſtill a very conſiderable place, and contains above forty thouſand inhabitants, three parts Indians, and very induſtrious in manufacturing baize, cotton, and leather.—They have alſo, both here and at Quito, a particular taſte for painting; and their productions in this way, ſome of which have been admired in Italy, are diſperſed all over South America. Quito is next to Lima in populouſneſs, if not ſuperior to it. It is like Cuſco, an inland city, and having no mines in its neighbourhood, is chiefly famous for its manufactures of cotton, wool, and flax, which ſupply the conſumption over all the kingdom of Peru.

The manners of the inhabitants do not remarkably differ over the whole Spaniſh dominions. Pride and lazineſs are the two predominant paſſions. It is ſaid by the moſt authentic travellers, that the manners of Old Spain have degenerated in its colonies. The Creoles, and all the other deſcendants of the Spaniards, according to the above diſtinctions, are guilty of many mean and pilfering vices, which a true born Caſtilian regards with deteſtation. This, no doubt, in part ariſes from the contempt in which all but the real natives of Spain are held in the Indies, mankind, generally behaving according to the treatment they meet with from others. In Lima, the Spaniſh pride has made the greateſt deſcents; and many of the firſt nobility are employed in commerce. It is in this city that the viceroy reſides, whoſe authority extends over all Peru, except Quito, which has lately been detached from it. The viceroy is as abſolute as the king of Spain; but as his territories are ſo extenſive, it is neceſſary that he ſhould part with a ſhare of his authority to the ſeveral audiences or courts eſtabliſhed over the kingdom. There is a treaſury court eſtabliſhed at Lima, for receiving the fifth of the produce of the mines, and certain taxes paid by the Indians, which belong to the king of Spain.

CHAP.

CHAP XIV.

Of Chili, and other Spaniſh Settlements in South America.

THERE is no part of the world more favoured than Chili with reſpect to the gifts of nature. The air, though in a hot climate, is remarkably temperate, occaſioned by the refreſhing breezes from the ſea, and the cool winds from the tops of the Andes, which are covered with eternal ſnows. Spring begins here about the middle of Auguſt, and continues till November. It is ſummer from November till February. Autumn continues till May; and winter till Auguſt. It rarely ſnows in the valleys, though the mountains are always covered. The country is entirely free from all kinds of ravenous beaſts, poiſonous animals and vermin; not even ſo much as a fly is to be found here. The ſoil is extremely fertile, being watered from numberleſs little rivulets from the mountains. It abounds in gold, ſilver, and lead mines; and the rivers themſelves roll on golden ſands. But their ſtaple commodity is cattle, which they have in ſuch abundance, as frequently to caſt the fleſh into the rivers, reſerving the hides, tallow, and tongues for exportation.

The Spaniards made ſeveral attempts to reduce this country, but with no great ſucceſs, till they built the capital of St. Iago, now the reſidence of the
A. D. 1541. Spaniſh governor, and a biſhop's ſee; and afterwards Coquimbo, Conception, and Baldavia. The natives are remarkable for wit, fortitude, and patience; and the Spaniards to this day have never been able to ſubdue them; they continue ſtill maſters of part of the inland country. There have lately been ſome formidable inſurrections againſt the Spaniards by the natives, which have greatly alarmed the Spaniſh court.

Paraguay, or *La Plata*, was firſt diſcovered by the Spaniards, who founded the capital Buenos Ayres.
A. D. 1535. Moſt of the country is ſtill inhabited by the native Americans, many of whom are ſaid to have wooden houſes built on wheels, which they draw from place to place as occaſion requires. There are no mountains of conſequence here, excepting that remarkable chain which divides South America, called the Andes. The height of Chimborazo, the moſt elevated point in theſe mountains is 20,280 feet, which is above 5000 feet higher than any other mountain in the known world.

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An extraordinary ſpecies of commonwealth was erected by the Jeſuits in the interior parts of this country, concerning which they endeavoured to keep all ſtrangers in the dark. About the middle of laſt century, thoſe fathers repreſented to the court of Spain, that the want of ſucceſs in their miſſions was owing to the ſcandal which the immorality of the Spaniards never failed to give, and to the hatred which their inſolent behaviour cauſed in the Indians.—They inſinuated that, were it not for thoſe obſtacles, the empire of the goſpel might, by their labours, have been extended into the moſt unknown parts of America; and that all thoſe countries might be ſubdued to his Catholic majeſty's obedience, without expence and without force. This remonſtrance met with ſucceſs; the ſphere of their labours was marked out, and the governors of the adjacent provinces had orders, not to interfere, nor to ſuffer any Spaniards to enter into this pale without licence from the fathers. They, on their part, agreed to pay a certain capitation tax, in proportion to their flock; and to ſend a certain number to the king's works whenever they ſhould be demanded, and the miſſions ſhould become populous enough to ſupply them. On theſe terms the Jeſuits gladly entered upon the ſcene of action, and opened their ſpiritual campaign. They began by gathering together about fifty wandering families, whom they perſuaded to ſettle; and they united them into a little townſhip. This was the ſlight foundation upon which they built a ſuperſtructure, which amazed the whole world, and added much power to, at the ſame time that it occaſioned much envy againſt, their ſociety. For, when they had made this beginning, they laboured with ſuch indefatigable pains, and ſuch maſterly policy, that, by degrees, they mollified the minds of the moſt ſavage nations, fixed the moſt rambling, and ſubdued thoſe to their government, who had long diſdained to ſubmit to the arms of the Spaniards and Portugueſe. They prevailed upon thouſands of various diſperſed tribes to embrace their religion; and theſe ſoon induced others to follow the example, magnifying the peace and tranquillity they enjoyed under the protection of the *Fathers*.

To trace with preciſion all the ſteps which were taken in the accompliſhment of ſo extraordinary a conqueſt over the bodies and minds of men, would fill half a volume.—The Jeſuits left nothing undone that could confirm their ſubjection, or that could increaſe their number; and it is ſaid that above 340,000 families lived in obedience, and expreſſed an awe, bordering upon adoration, yet procured without any violence or conſtraint; that the Indians were inſtructed in the military art, and could raiſe 60,000 men well

well armed; that they lived in towns; were regularly clad; laboured in agriculture; exerciſed manufactures; that ſome even aſpired to the elegant arts; and that nothing could equal their ſubmiſſion to authority, except their contentment under it. Some writers have treated the character of theſe Jeſuits with great ſeverity; accuſing them of ambition, pride, and of carrying their authority to ſuch an exceſs, as to cauſe not only perſons of both ſexes, but even the magiſtrates, who were always choſen from among the Indians, to be corrected before them with ſtripes, and by ſuffering perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, within their juriſdiction, to kiſs the hem of their garments as the greateſt honour. The prieſts themſelves poſſeſſed large property, all manufactures were theirs, the natural produce of the country was brought to them, and the treaſures annually remitted to the ſuperior of the order, ſeemed to evince that zeal for religion was not the only motive for forming theſe miſſions. The fathers would not permit any of the inhabitants of Peru to come within their miſſion in Paraguay. When part of this territory was
A. D. 1757. ceded by Spain to the crown of Portugal in exchange for Saint Sacrament, to make the Uragua the boundary of their poſſeſſions, the Jeſuits refuſed to comply with this diviſion, or to ſuffer themſelves to be transferred from one hand to another, like cattle without their own conſent. The Indians, according to the beſt information*, actually took up arms; but, notwithſtanding the exactneſs of their diſcipline, they were eaſily, and without conſiderable ſlaughter, defeated by the European troops, who were ſent to quell them. The Jeſuits were removed from America, by royal
A. D. 1767. authority, and their late ſubjects were put upon the ſame footing with the reſt of the inhabitants of the country.

Terra Firma was diſcovered by Columbus in his third voyage to the American continent. It was ſubdued and ſettled by the Spaniards, after deſtroying, with
A D. 1514. great inhumanity, ſeveral millions of the natives. This country was called Terra Firma, on account of its being the firſt part of the continent which was diſcovered, all the lands that were found previous to this being iſlands. The climate here, eſpecially in the northern parts, is extremely hot and ſultry during the whole year. From the month of May to the end of November, the ſeaſon called winter by the inhabitants, is almoſt a continual ſucceſſion of thunder, rain, and tempeſts; the

* Spaniſh Gazette.

clouds

clouds precipitating the rains with ſuch impetuoſity, that the low lands exhibit the appearance of an ocean. Great part of the country is, by conſequence, almoſt continually flooded; and this, together with the exceſſive heat, ſo impregnates the air with vapours, that in many provinces it is extremely unwholeſome. The ſoil is very different, the inland parts being exceedingly rich and fertile, and the coaſts ſandy and barren. It is impoſſible to view, without admiration, the perpetual verdure of the woods, the luxuriancy of the plains, and the towering height of the mountains. The trees moſt remarkable for their dimenſions, are the cedar, the maria, and the balſam tree. The manchineel tree is particularly ſingular. It bears a fruit reſembling an apple, but which, under this ſpecious appearance, contains the moſt ſubtile poiſon, againſt which common oil is found to be the beſt antidote. The malignity of this tree is ſuch, that if a perſon only ſleep under it, he finds his body all ſwelled, and racked with the ſevereſt tortures. The beaſts, from inſtinct alone, avoid it. Among the animals peculiar to this country, the moſt remarkable is the *Sloth*; or, as it is called by way of deriſion, the *Swift Peter*. It bears a reſemblance to an ordinary monkey in ſhape and ſize, but is of a moſt wretched appearance, and never ſtirs unleſs compelled by hunger. He is ſaid to be ſeveral minutes in moving one of his legs, nor will blows make him mend his pace. When he moves, every effort is attended with ſuch a plaintive, and at the ſame time, ſo diſagreeable a cry, as at once produces pity and diſguſt.—In this cry conſiſts the whole defence of this wretched animal. For, on the firſt hoſtile approach, it is natural for him to be in motion, which is always attended with diſguſtful howling, ſo that his purſuer flies much more ſpeedily in his turn, to be beyond the reach of this horrid noiſe.—When this animal finds no wild fruits on the ground, he looks out with a great deal of pains for a tree well loaded, which he aſcends, with a world of uneaſineſs, moving, and crying, and ſtopping by turns. At length, having mounted, he plucks off all the fruit and throws it on the ground, to ſave him ſuch another troubleſome journey; and rather than be fatigued with coming down the tree, he gathers himſelf in a *bunch* and with a ſhriek drops to the ground.

The commerce of this country is chiefly carried on from the ports of Panama, Carthagena, and Porto Bello; which are three of the moſt conſiderable cities in Spaniſh America. Among the natural merchandiſe of Terra Firma, the pearls found on the coaſt, particularly in the bay of Panama, are not the leaſt conſiderable. The fiſh-

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ing for theſe employs a great number of negro ſlaves, who have arrived at wonderful dexterity in this occupation.—They are ſometimes, however, devoured by fiſh, particularly the ſharks, while they dive to the bottom, or are cruſhed againſt the ſhelves of the rocks.

AMAZONIA was diſcovered by Franciſo Orel-
A. D. 1580. lana, who, on his return from Peru, ſailed down the river Amazon to the Atlantic Ocean. He obſerved on the banks of the river, companies of women in arms, and from thence called the country Amazonia, or the land of the Amazons; and gave the name of Amazon to the river, which formerly had been called Maragon. The Spaniards made ſeveral attempts to plant this country, but always met with ſo many difficulties and diſaſters as rendered their deſigns abortive; ſo that the natives are in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the country. The *Amazon* is one of the largeſt rivers in the world. It runs a courſe, from Weſt to Eaſt, of about three thouſand miles, and receives two hundred other rivers, many of which have a courſe of five or ſix hundred leagues, and ſome of them not inferior to the Danube or the Nile. The breadth of this river at its mouth, where it diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral channels into the ocean, almoſt under the equator, is one hundred and fifty miles; and one thouſand five hundred miles from its mouth, it is thirty or forty fathoms deep.—In the rainy ſeaſon it overflows its banks, and fertilizes the adjacent country.

PATAGONIA is a tract of country, about eight hundred miles long, and three hundred broad, at the ſouthern extremity of the American continent. It was diſcovered by Ferdinand Magellan, a Portugueſe, in the ſervice of Spain; at leaſt he was the firſt that ſailed through the ſtraits called by his name. Upon the firſt diſcovery of the Straits of
Magellan, the Spaniards built forts and ſent
A. D. 1519. ſome colonies thither; but moſt of the people periſhed with cold and hunger; ſince which time no ſettlements have been attempted by any Europeans. Patagonia is full of high mountains, which are covered with ſnow moſt of the year. The ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail are terrible upon this coaſt. The ſoil is very barren, and has never been cultivated. The natives inhabit thatched huts, and wear no clothes, notwithſtanding the rigour of the climate. They live chiefly on fiſh and game, and what the earth ſpontaneouſly produces. A late circumnavigator gives the following account of them. "We "were very near Cape Virgin Mary, on the coaſt of Pa-"tagonia, about four o'clock in the afternoon, and upon

"the

" the point of it we ſaw ſeveral men riding, who made " ſigns for us to come on ſhore In about half an hour " we anchored in a bay, cloſe under the ſouth ſide of the " cape, in ten fathom water, with a gravelly bottom. The " Swallow and ſtore-ſhip anchored ſoon after between us " and the cape. From the cape there runs a ſhoal to the " diſtance of about half a league, which may be eaſily " known by the weeds that are upon it. We found it high " water at half an hour after eleven, and the tide roſe " twenty feet. The natives continued abreaſt of the ſhip " all night, making ſeveral great fires, and frequently " ſhouting very loud. As ſoon as it was light, we ſaw " great numbers of them in motion, who made ſigns for " us to land. About five o'clock I made the ſignal for " the boats belonging to the Swallow and Prince Frederick " to come on board; and, in the mean time, hoiſted out " our own. Theſe boats being all manned and armed, I " took a party of marines and rowed towards the ſhore, " having left orders with the maſter to bring the ſhip's " broad-ſide to bear upon the landing-place, and to keep " the guns loaded with round-ſhot. We reached the beach " about ſix o'clock, and, before we went from the boat, " I made ſigns to the natives to retire to ſome diſtance.— " They immediately complied, and I then landed with the " captain of the Swallow, and ſeveral of the officers. " The marines were drawn up, and the boats were brought " to a grappling near the ſhore. I then made ſigns to the " natives to come near, and directed them to ſit down in a " ſemicircle, which they did, with great order and cheer- " fulneſs. When this was done, I diſtributed among them " ſeveral knives, ſciſſars, buttons, beads, combs, and " other toys; particularly ſome ribbons to the women, " which they received with a very becoming mixture of " pleaſure and reſpect. As I had two meaſuring rods with " me, we went round and meaſured thoſe that appeared to " be *talleſt* among them. One of them was *ſix feet ſeven* " *inches* high, ſeveral more were *ſix feet five, and ſix feet* " *ſix inches:* but the ſtature of the greater part of them " was from *five feet ten to ſix feet.* They appear to be " a hardy and active race. Their arms are bows and ar- " rows headed with flints*,"

* Captain Wallis.

CHAP. XV.

Of Florida, and other Spaniſh Poſſeſſions in North America.

FLORIDA was diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot; and under this name the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America, which extends from Mexico to the northern regions. But fortune, which ſports with the vanity of nations, has long ſince confined this vague deſcription to the peninſula formed by the ſea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louiſiana.—The Spaniards, who had often contented themſelves with preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit, were deſirous of ſettling on this ſpot, A. D. 1565. after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a ſmall eſtabliſhment there. The moſt eaſterly ſettlement in this colony was known by the name of San Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithſtanding it was ſituated on a navigable river, at two leagues diſtance from the ſea, on an agreeable and fertile ſoil, had they not diſcovered the *ſaſſafras* upon it. This tree, a native of America, is of a better kind in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the ſea and upon the mountains; but always in a ſoil that is neither too dry nor too damp. It is ſtraight and lofty like a fir tree, and its top is formed ſomewhat in the ſhape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves reſemble thoſe of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken in infuſion as tea. Its root, being very ſerviceable in medicine, ought to be ſpungy, light, of a greyiſh colour; of a ſharp, ſweetiſh and aromatic taſte; and ſhould have the ſmell of the fennel and aniſe. Theſe qualities give it the virtue of promoting perſpiration, and of diſſolving thick and viſcous humours.

Another eſtabliſhment was formed upon the ſame coaſt about fifteen miles diſtant from San Mattheo, known by the name of St. Auguſtine. The Engliſh attacked it, but were obliged to deſiſt from their attempts.— A. D. 1747. Some Scotch Highlanders, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of the aſſailants, were repulſed and ſlain. A ſerjeant who had fought among the Spaniards, was ſpared by the Indian ſavages, only that he might be reſerved to undergo thoſe torments, which they inflict upon their priſoners. This man, it is ſaid, on ſeeing

ſeeing the horrid tortures which awaited him, addreſſed the blood-thirſty multitude in the following manner: "Heroes "and patriarchs of the weſtern world, you were not the "enemies that I ſought for; but you have at laſt been con- "querors. The chance of war has thrown me into your "power. Make what uſe you pleaſe of the right of con- "queſt. This is a right I do not call in queſtion. But as "it is cuſtomary in my country to offer a ranſom for one's "life, liſten to a propoſal not unworthy of your notice. "Know then, valiant Americans, that in the country of "which I am a native, there are ſome men who poſſeſs a "ſuperior knowledge of the ſecrets of nature. One of "thoſe ſages, connected to me by the ties of kindred, im- "parted to me, when I became a ſoldier, a charm to make "me invulnerable. You muſt have obſerved how I have "eſcaped all your darts. Without ſuch a charm would it "have been poſſible for me to have ſurvived all the mortal "blows you have aimed at me? For I appeal to your own "valour, to teſtify that mine has ſufficiently exerted itſelf, "and has not avoided any danger. Life is not ſo much "the object of my requeſt, as the glory of having com- "municated to you a ſecret of ſo much conſequence to "your ſafety, and of rendering the moſt valiant nation "upon earth invincible. Suffer me only to have one of "my hands at liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies "of inchantment, of which I now make trial on myſelf "before you."

The Indians liſtened with eagerneſs to this diſcourſe, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a ſhort conſultation, they untied one of the priſoner's arms. The Highlander begged that they would put his broad ſword into the hands of the ſtouteſt and moſt expert man among them; and at the ſame time laying bare his neck, after rubbing it, and muttering ſome words accompanied with magic ſigns, he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance: "Obſerve now. "O valiant Indians, an inconteſtible proof of my honeſty! "Thou warrior, who now holdeſt my keen cutting wea- "pon, do thou now ſtrike with all thy ſtrength: far from "being able to ſever my head from my body, thou wilt "not even wound the ſkin of my neck." He had ſcarcely uttered theſe words, when the Indian aiming the moſt vio- lent blow, ſtruck off the head of the ſerjeant, to the diſ- tance of twenty feet. The aſtoniſhed ſavages ſtood mo- tionleſs, viewing the bloody corpſe of the ſtranger; and then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But, admiring the

artifice which the priſoner had made uſe of to avoid torture, by haſtening his death, they beſtowed on his body the funeral honours of their country*.

Florida has experienced the viciſſitudes of war, and frequently changed maſters, belonging alternately to the French and Spaniards. It was ceded by the latter to the Engliſh by the peace of 1763. During the laſt war it was again reduced by the arms of his Catholic Majeſty, and was guaranteed to the crown of Spain by the late definitive treaty. St. Auguſtine, the capital of Eaſt Florida, is ſituated on the ſea coaſt. It is of an oblong figure, and interſected by four ſtreets, which cut each other at right angles. The principal town in Weſt Florida is Penſacola, which lies within the beach, on a ſandy ſhore that can only be approached by ſmall veſſels.

There is not, on the whole continent of America, any place better qualified by nature to afford not only all the neceſſaries of life, but alſo all the pleaſures of habitation, than that part of Florida which lies upon the banks of the Miſſiſſippi. Orange and lemon trees grow here, without cultivation, to a large ſize, and produce better fruit than in Spain or Portugal. But this country is rendered valuable in a peculiar manner, by the extenſive ranges for cattle. The animal creation is here ſo numerous, that one may purchaſe a good-ſaddle horſe in exchange for goods of five ſhillings value, prime coſt; and there are inſtances of horſes being exchanged for a hatchet per head.

Amidſt the various birds which inhabit the foreſts, there is one extremely ſingular in its kind, this is the humming-bird, a ſpecies of which, on account of its ſmallneſs, is called *l'oiſeau mouche*, or the fly bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breaſt is of a roſe colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail are grey, bordered with ſilver, and ſtreaked with the brighteſt gold. The down which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it ſo delicate a caſt, that it reſembles a velvet flower, whoſe beauty fades on the ſlighteſt touch. The ſpring is the only ſeaſon for this charming bird. Its neſt, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outſide with a grey and greenith moſs, and, on the inſide, lined with a very ſoft down gathered from yellow flowers. This neſt is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it about the

* Abbé Raynal.

ſize

ſize of the ſmalleſt peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones, but they have never lived more than three weeks, or a month at moſt. The humming-bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itſelf in the calix of the largeſt flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noiſe like that of a ſpinning-wheel. When tired, it lights upon the neareſt tree or ſtake; reſts a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithſtanding its weakneſs, it does not appear timid, but will ſuffer a perſon to approach within eight or ten feet of it. Who would imagine that ſo diminutive an animal could be malicious? Theſe birds are often ſeen fighting together with great fury and obſtinacy. The ſtrokes they give with their beaks are ſo ſudden and quick, that they are not diſtinguiſhable by the eye. Their wings move with ſuch agility, that they ſeem not to move at all. They are more heard than ſeen; and their noiſe reſembles that of a ſparrow. Theſe little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves aſunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is ſaid, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the ſummer, thouſands of flowers may be ſeen ſtript of all their leaves by the fury of the humming-birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of reſentment be not rather an effect of hunger than of a deſtructive inſtinct.

Louiſiana is a vaſt country, bounded on the ſouth by the ſea; on the eaſt by Carolina; on the weſt by New Mexico; and on the north by that part of Canada whoſe unknown lands are ſuppoſed to extend as far as Hudſon's Bay. It is impoſſible to aſcertain the exact length of it; but it is thought to be about two hundred leagues broad, between the Engliſh and the Spaniſh ſettlements. The Miſſiſſippi, on which the fine country of Louiſiana is ſituated, was firſt diſcovered by Ferdinand de Soto. Monſieur de la Salte was the firſt who traverſed it. He, after paſſing down to the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, and A. D 1541. ſurveying the adjacent country, returned to Canada, from whence he took paſſage to France. From the flattering accounts which he gave of the country, and the conſequential advantages that would accrue from ſettling a colony in thoſe parts, Louis XIV. was induced to eſtabliſh a company for the purpoſe. Accordingly a ſquadron of four veſſels, amply provided with men and proviſions, under the command of Monſieur de la Salte, embarked, with an intention to ſettle near the mouth of the

Miſſiſſippi. But he unintentionally ſailed one hundred leagues to the weſtward of it, where he attempted to eſtabliſh a colony; but, through the unfavourableneſs of the climate, moſt of his men miſerably periſhed, and he himſelf was villainouſly murdered, not long after, by two of his own men. Monſieur Ibberville ſucceeded him in his laudable attempts. He, after two ſucceſsful voyages, died while preparing for a third. Crozar ſucceeded him; and in 1712, the king gave him Louiſiana. This grant continued but a ſhort time after the death of Louis XIV. In 1763, Louiſiana was ceded to the king of Spain, to whom it now belongs.

Louiſiana is agreeably ſituated between the extremes of heat and cold. The ſky is ſeldom clouded; the ſun, which gives life to every thing, ſhining almoſt every day. Whenever it rains, the ſhowers are heavy: but as they ſeldom happen, the want of them is amply compenſated by copious dews. The air in general is pure, but much more ſo in Upper than in Lower Louiſiana. In this happy climate, the women are bleſſed with a pleaſing figure, and the men are leſs ſubject to diſorders in the vigour of life, and have fewer infirmites in old age, than the Europeans. The ſoil muſt have appeared excellent before it was tried. It abounded with wild fruits, very pleaſant to the taſte. It furniſhed a liberal proviſion for a great number of birds and wild beaſts. The meadows, on which no art or labour had been beſtowed, were covered with roebucks and biſons. Perhaps no trees are to be found comparable to thoſe of Louiſiana for height, variety, and thickneſs. If it affords no woods for dying, it is becauſe they are only produced between the tropics. Since the ſoil has been tried in ſeveral diſtricts, it has been found to be fit for all kinds of culture.

The Miſſiſſippi, which forms the weſtern boundary of Florida, and is one of the fineſt in the world, as well as the largeſt; for, including its turnings and windings, it is ſuppoſed to run a courſe of 4500 miles; but its mouths are in a manner choaked up with ſands and ſhoals, which deny acceſs to veſſels of any conſiderable burthen; there being only twelve feet water over the bar at the principal entrance. Within the bar there is 100 fathoms water, and the channel is every where deep, and the current gentle, except at a certain ſeaſon, when, like the Nile, it overflows and becomes extremely rapid. If we except the entrance already mentioned, it is every where free from ſhoals and cataracts, and navigable for craft of one kind or other almoſt to its ſource. When the breadth and depth of the Miſſiſſippi

are alone conſidered, the navigation appears to be eaſy; but this is an error. It is very tedious, even in coming down, becauſe it would be dangerous by night in dark weather, and becauſe the light canoes made of bark, which are ſo convenient on all other rivers, are uſeleſs upon this. It requires larger boats, which are conſequently heavier, and not ſo eaſily managed. Without theſe precautions, as the river is always full of trees that fall from its own banks, or float into it from other rivers it receives, the boats would be in continual danger of ſtriking againſt the boughs or roots of ſome tree lying under the water. The difficulties are greater ſtill in going up the river. At a certain diſtance from land, before the entrance of the Miſſiſſippi, care muſt be taken to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louiſiana. The coaſt is ſo flat, that it can hardly be ſeen at the diſtance of two leagues, and it is not eaſy to get up to it. The river empties itſelf into the ſea, through a great number of openings. Theſe openings are conſtantly varying, and moſt of them have but little depth of water. When a veſſel has happily ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles, ſhe may ſail without any great difficulty, ten or eleven leagues, thro' an open and ſandy country. The boats on each ſide are covered with thick foreſts, that wholly intercept the winds. Such a dead calm prevails, that it commonly takes up a month to ſail twenty leagues; and this is only to be effected by ſucceſſively faſtening the cordage to ſome great tree. The reſt of the navigation, upon a ſtream ſo rapid, and ſo full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and ſails, and are forced to paſs on from one point of land to another; and though they ſet out by break of day, are thought to have made a conſiderable progreſs if they have advanced five or ſix leagues by the cloſe of the evening.

New Mexico and *California*, lying for the moſt part within the temperate zone, have a climate in many places extremely agreeable, and a ſoil productive of every thing, either for profit or delight. In California, however, the heat is great in ſummer, particularly towards the ſea-coaſt; but in the inland country, the climate is more temperate, and in winter even cold. The natural hiſtory of theſe countries is ſtill in its infancy. The Spaniards themſelves know little of the matter, and the little they know they are unwilling to communicate, being jealous of diſcovering the natural advantages of this country, which might be an inducement to other nations to form ſettlements there. It is certain, however, that in general the provinces of New Mexico and California are extremely beautiful and plea-

ſant; the face of the country is agreeably varied with plains, interſected by rivers, and adorned with gentle eminences covered with various kinds of trees, ſome producing excellent fruit. In California there falls in the morning a great quantity of dew, which, ſettling on the roſe-leaves, candies, becomes hard like manna, having all the ſweetneſs of refined ſugar, without its whiteneſs. There is alſo another very ſingular natural production. In the heart of the country there are plains of ſalt, quite firm, clear as cryſtal, which, conſidering the vaſt quantities of fiſh found on its coaſts, might render it an invaluable acquiſition to an induſtrious nation. Cortez, the great conqueror of Mexico, diſcovered the extenſive peninſula of California after enduring incredible hardſhips, and encountering dangers of almoſt every ſpecies. A. D. 1536. During a long period it continued to be ſo little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in moſt maps it was repreſented as an iſland. Sir Francis Drake was the firſt who took poſſeſſion of it in 1578, and his right was confirmed by the principal king or chief in the whole country.

The principal *Spaniſh Iſlands* are Cuba, St. Domingo, Porto Rico, and Juan Fernandez. The iſland of Cuba is ſuppoſed to have the beſt ſoil, for ſo large a country, of any in America. It produces all the commodities known in the Weſt Indies, particularly ginger, long-pepper, and other ſpices, caſſia, fiſtula, maſtic and aloes.

The iſland of *Hiſpaniola* or *St. Domingo*, was firſt poſſeſſed by the Spaniards alone; but by far the moſt conſiderable part is now in the hands of the French. However, as the Spaniards were the original poſſeſſors, and ſtill continue to have a ſhare, Hiſpaniola is commonly regarded as a Spaniſh iſland. It is ſituated between Cuba and Porto-Rico, and is 450 miles long, and 150 broad. When Hiſpaniola was firſt diſcovered by Columbus, the number of its inhabitants was computed to be at leaſt one million. But ſuch was the cruelty of the Spaniards, and to ſo infamous a height did they carry their oppreſſion of the poor natives, that they were reduced to ſixty thouſand in the ſpace of fifteen years. The face of the iſland preſents an agreeable variety of hills, vallies, woods, and rivers; and the ſoil is allowed to be extremely fertile, producing ſugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, maize, and the caſſava root. The European cattle have ſo much multiplied here, that they run wild in the woods, and, as in South America, are hunted for the hides and tallow only. In the moſt barren part of the rocks they diſcovered formerly ſilver and gold.

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The mines, however, are not now worked. The north-weſt parts, which are in poſſeſſion of the French, conſiſt of large fruitful plains, which produce the articles already mentioned in vaſt abundance. This, indeed, is the beſt and moſt fruitful part of the beſt and moſt fertile iſland in the Weſt Indies, and perhaps in the world. The moſt ancient town in this iſland, and in all the New World built by Europeans, is St. Domingo. It was founded by Bartholomew Columbus, brother to the admiral, in 1504, who gave it that name in honour of his father Dominic, and by which the whole iſland is ſometimes named, eſpecially by the French. It is ſituated on a ſpacious harbour, and is a large, well built city, inhabited, like the other Spaniſh towns, by a mixture of Europeans, creoles, mulattoes, and negroes. The French towns are, Cape St. Francois, the capital, which is neither walled nor paled in, and is ſaid to have only two batteries, one at the entrance of the harbour, and the other before the town. It contains about 8000 whites and blacks. Leogane, though inferior in point of ſize, is a good port, a place of conſiderable trade, and the ſeat of the French government. They have two other towns conſiderable for their trade, Petit Guaves, and Port Lewis. It is computed that the exports of the French, from the above mentioned places are not leſs in value than 1,200,000l. They likewiſe carry on a contraband trade with the Spaniards, which is much to their advantage, as they exchange French manufactures for Spaniſh dollars. " In the night between the 22d and 23d of " of Auguſt, 1791, a moſt alarming inſurrection of the " negroes began on the French plantations upon this " iſland. A ſcene of the moſt horrid cruelties enſued. In " a little time no leſs than one hundred thouſand negroes " were in rebellion, and all the manufactories and planta- " tions of more than half the northern province appeared " as one general conflagration. The plains and the moun- " tains are filled with carnage, and deluged with blood. " The coloniſts, ſtupified with fear, know not where to " ſeek refuge; one flies for ſafety to the woods; is there " betrayed by his negroes and ſtabbed; another confides in " the promiſes of his ſlaves; a rebel ring-leader ſteals in " among them; the gang riſes and the proprietor is their " victim. Scattered over a ſurface of land, interſected by " mountains and deep vallies, the flying inhabitants attempt " to rally, and to ſell their lives dearly. The roads are " obſtructed, and they are taken and maſſacred. Thoſe " who re-unite, oppoſe but a feeble bulwark, againſt the " ſwelling torrent; they are diſperſed and taken; and ex-

" piate in tortures their exertions for ſelf-preſervation. " Theſe horrible ſcenes were acting at the gate of the " town of the Cape. Terror and diſmay take poſſeſ- " ſion of every mind, yet all feel the urgency of providing " for their ſafety, of taking arms, and of acting under " the command of the governor. What the iſſue will " be it is impoſſible to ſay. More than one thouſand of the " French have already fallen the victims of this revolt, and " perhaps fifteen thouſand negroes will be deſtroyed before " order and tranquillity be re-eſtabliſhed. But, ſhould " they ſucceed in their projects, St. Domingo will become " the tomb of fifty thouſand Frenchmen." We ſhall only make one reflection on the above facts, which is, that the ſituation of theſe unhappy negroes; men as well as their maſters, and who have as good a right to the liberty of independence as they have, will very much extenuate ſome of the enormities which they have committed; enormities which will not bear a mention with thoſe which theſe poor ſufferers have received from their tyrants in their firſt captivity, and in the ſubſequent hard treatment they have had. Let the proprietors of theſe ſlaves aſk themſelves, whether, had theſe negroes carried them as ſlaves into Africa, they would not have thought it a noble effort to endeavour to regain their freedom. Every man feels the anſwer which would be given; and that anſwer will place the conduct of theſe Africans in its proper point of light*.

Porto Rico is beautifully diverſified with woods, vallies, and plains; and extremely fertile, producing the ſame fruits as the other iſlands. It is well watered with ſprings and rivers; but the iſland is unhealthy in the rainy ſeaſons. It was on account of the gold that the Spaniards ſettled here, but there is no longer any conſiderable quantity of this metal found in it. The capital town ſtands in a little iſland, on the north ſide, forming a capacious harbour, and joined to the chief iſland by a cauſeway, and defended by forts and batteries, which render the town almoſt inacceſſible. It was, however, taken by Sir Francis Drake, and afterwards by the Earl of Cumberland. It is better inhabited than moſt of the Spaniſh towns, becauſe it is the centre of the contraband trade carried on by the Engliſh and French with the king of Spain's ſubjects.

The iſland of *Juan Fernandez* is uninhabited; but having ſome good harbours, it is found extremely convenient for the Engliſh cruiſers to touch at and water; and here they are in no danger of being diſcovered, unleſs when, as is generally the caſe, their arrival in the South Seas, and their motions have been made known to the Spaniards by our

* Abbé Raynal.

our good friends at Brazil. This iſland is famous for having given riſe to the celebrated romance of Robinſon Cruſoe. It ſeems one Alexander Selkirk, a Scotſman was left aſhore in this ſolitary place by his captain, where he lived ſome years, until he was diſcovered by captain Woodes Rogers, in 1709; when taken up he had forgotten his native language, and could ſcarcely be underſtood, ſeeming to ſpeak his words by halves. He was dreſſed in goat's ſkins, would drink nothing but water, and was ſome time before he could reliſh the ſhip's victuals. During his abode in this iſland he had killed 500 goats, which he caught by running them down; and he marked as many more on the ear, which he let go. Some of theſe were caught thirty years after, by lord Anſon's people; their venerable aſpect and majeſtic beards diſcovered ſtrong ſymptoms of antiquity. Selkirk, upon his return to England, was adviſed to publiſh an account of his life and adventures in his little kingdom. He is ſaid to have put his papers into the hands of Daniel Defoe, to prepare them for publication. But, that writer, by the help of thoſe papers, and a lively fancy, transformed Alexander Selkirk into Robinſon Cruſoe, and returned Selkirk his papers again; ſo that the latter derived no advantage from them. They were probably too indigeſted for publication, and Defoe, perhaps, derived little from them, but thoſe hints which gave riſe to his own celebrated performance.

CHAP. XVI.

New Britain, Canada, and Nova Scotia; Britiſh Colonies.

NEW BRITAIN, which comprehends all that tract of country lying round Hudſon's Bay, abounds with lakes, rivers, and bays, that furniſh plenty of fiſh. It is generally mountainous and extremely barren. In ſome places even the hardy pine-tree is ſeen no longer, and the cold womb of the earth is incapable of any better production than ſome miſerable ſhrubs. Every kind of European ſeed hitherto committed to the earth, in this inhoſpitable climate has periſhed; but, perhaps, we have not tried the ſeed of corn from the northern parts of Sweden and

and Norway, which might be more congenial to the climate. The fur of the various animals is close, soft, and warm. In summer there is a diversity in the colours of the animal creation; but when that season is over, they all assume the livery of winter, and the beasts, and most of the fowls, are of the colour of snow; every thing animate and inanimate is white. This is a surprising phenomenon. But what is still more remarkable, and is, indeed, one of the many striking things, that draw the most inattentive to an admiration of the wisdom and goodness of Providence, is, that the dogs and cats from England that have been carried into Hudson's Bay, on the approach of winter, have entirely changed their appearance, and acquired a much longer, softer, and thicker coat of hair, than they had originally.

The knowledge of this country was owing to a project started in England for the discovery of a north-west passage to China and the East Indies, as early as the year 1576. Since then it has been frequently dropped, and as often revived, but never yet completed; and from the late voyages of discovery it seems manifest, that no practicable passage ever can be found. Frobisher only discovered the main of New Britain, or Terra de Labrador, and those straits to which he has given his name. In 1585, John Davis sailed from Portsmouth, and viewed that and the more northerly coasts; but he seems never to have entered the bay. Hudson made three voyages on the same adventure, the first in 1607, the second in 1608, and his third and last in 1610. This bold and judicious navigator entered the straits that lead into this new Mediterranean, the bay known by his name, coasted a great part of it, and penetrated to eighty degrees and a half into the heart of the frozen zone. His ardour for the discovery not being abated by the difficulties he struggled with in this empire of winter, he staid here until the ensuing spring, and prepared, in the beginning of 1611, to pursue his discoveries; but his crew, who suffered equal hardships, without the same spirit to support them, mutinied, seized upon him and seven of those who were most faithful to him, and committed them to the fury of the icy seas, in an open boat. Hudson and his companions were either swallowed up by the waves, or, gaining the hospitable coast, were destroyed by the savages; but the ship and the rest of the men returned home.

The fishery and the fur trade are the only things which render this country valuable. This trade is in the hands of a company of nine or ten persons, to whom a charter was granted, for the exclusive trade to this bay, and they have acted under it ever since with great benefit to themselves.

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The fur and peltry trade might be carried on to a much greater extent, were it not entirely in the hands of this excluſive company, whoſe intereſted, not to ſay iniquitous ſpirit, has been the ſubject of long and juſt complaint. The company employ four ſhips, and 130 ſeamen. They have ſeveral forts, viz. Prince of Wales's fort, Churchill river, Nelſon, New Severn, and Albany, which ſtand on the weſt ſide of the bay, and are garriſoned by 186 men. The French in May 1782, took and deſtroyed theſe forts, and the ſettlements, &c. valued at 500,000l. They export commodities to the value of 16,000l. and bring home returns to the value of 29,340l. which yield to the revenue 3,734l. This includes the fiſhery in Hudſon's Bay. This commerce, ſmall as it is, affords immenſe profits to the company, and even ſome advantages to Great Britain in general; for the commodities we exchange with the Indians for their ſkins and furs, are all manufactured in Britain; and as the Indians are not very nice in their choice, ſuch things are ſent, of which we have the greateſt plenty, and which, in the mercantile phraſe, are drugs with us.—Though the workmanſhip too happens to be in many reſpects ſo deficient, that no civilized people would take it off our hands, it may be admired among the Indians. On the other hand the ſkins and furs we bring from Hudſon's Bay, enter largely into our manufactures, and afford us materials for trading with many nations of Europe, to great advantage.

Canada is 600 miles long, and 300 broad. It was diſcovered by the Engliſh, and ſettled by the French, whoſe manners were not very ſuitable to the climate. Thoſe that lived in the country ſpent their winter in idleneſs, penſively ſitting by their fire ſide. When the return of ſpring called them out to the indiſpenſable labours of the field, they plowed the ground ſuperficially without ever manuring it, ſowed it careleſsly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harveſt time. As the people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be ſeen of that ſprightly joy, which on a fine ſummer day enlivens the reapers, while they are gathering in their rich harveſt.—That of the Canadians was confined to a ſmall quantity of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbage and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in the country. This amazing negligence might be owing to ſeveral cauſes. The exceſſive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, totally prevented them A. D. 1603.

from

from exerting their abilities. They contracted ſuch a habit of idleneſs during the continuance of the ſevere weather for eight months ſucceſſively, that labour appeared inſupportable to them even in the fineſt weather. The numerous feſtivals preſcribed by their religion, which owed its increaſe to their eſtabliſhment, prevented the firſt exertion, as well as interrupted the progreſs of induſtry. Men are ready enough to comply with that ſpecies of devotion that flatters their indolence. Laſtly, a paſſion for war, which had been purpoſely encouraged among theſe bold and courageous men, made them averſe to the labours of huſbandry. Their minds were ſo entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay. The inhabitants of the cities, eſpecially of the capital, ſpent the winter as well as the ſummer, in a conſtant ſcene of diſſipation. They were alike inſenſible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleaſures of imagination; they had no taſte for arts or ſciences, for reading or inſtruction. Their only paſſion was amuſement; and perſons of all ages were fond of dancing at aſſemblies. This manner of life conſiderably increaſed the influence of the women, who were poſſeſſed of every attraction, except thoſe ſoft emotions of the ſoul, which alone conſtitute the merit and the charm of beauty.—Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry; they were more fond of inſpiring than feeling the tender paſſions. There appeared in both ſexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher ſenſe of honour than of real honeſty. Superſtition took place of morality, which will always be the caſe wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compenſate for good works*. Idleneſs, prejudice, and levity would never have gained ſuch an aſcendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to laſting and uſeful objects. But all the coloniſts were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the ſlow and ſure proceſs of laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to ſubmit to without examination. Delays, repreſentations, excuſes of honour, were ſo many crimes in the eyes of a deſpotic ruler, who had uſurped a power of puniſhing or abſolving, merely by his word. He had in his own power all favours and penalties, rewards and puniſhments; the right of impriſoning without the ſhadow of a crime, and

* Abbé Raynal.

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the ſtill more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees, as ſo many acts of juſtice, though they were but the irregular ſallies of his own caprice.

The French kept poſſeſſion of Canada till 1763, when, after a long and bloody war, it fell into the hands of the Britiſh, to whom it has ever ſince belonged. The preſent conſtitution of the province is founded on the 14th of George III. called the Quebec Bill. By this bill the legiſlative power is veſted in the governor and legiſlative council. The council is compoſed of the lieutenant-governor, chief juſtice, and ſecretary for the time being, and twenty other members, of whom almoſt one half are French. They are appointed by the crown, and receive 100l. a year as a ſalary. Their power extends to all the neceſſary purpoſes of government, except the levying of taxes.

The amount of the exports from this province, in the year 1786, was three hundred and forty three thouſand pounds. The amount of imports for the ſame year was three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds The exports conſiſted of wheat, flour, biſcuit, flax-ſeed, lumber of various kinds, fiſh, pot-aſh, oil, ginſeng, and other medicinal roots, but principally of furs and peltries. The imports conſiſted of rum, brandy, molaſſes, coffee, ſugar, wines, tobacco, ſalt, chocolate, proviſions for the troops, and dry goods.

Quebec, the capital of Canada, is ſituated at the confluence of the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles, about 350 miles from the ſea. It is built on a rock, partly of marble and partly of ſlate. From Quebec to Montreal, which is about 170 miles, in ſailing up the river St. Laurence, the eye is entertained with beautiful landſcapes, the banks being in many places very ſteep and ſhaded with lofty trees. Many delightful iſlands are interſperſed in the channel of the river, which have an agreeable effect upon the eye.

As Canada is upon the back of the United States, and contains almoſt all the different ſpecies of wood and animals that are to be found in theſe colonies, it may not be improper here to give ſome account of them. The uncultivated parts of North America contain the greateſt foreſt in the world. They are a continued wood, not planted by the hands of men, but in appearance as old as the world itſelf. Nothing can be more magnificent to the ſight. The trees loſe themſelves in the clouds; and there is ſuch a prodigious variety of ſpecies, that even among thoſe perſons who have taken moſt pains to know them, there is not one perhaps that knows half the number. Ca-

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nada produces, amongſt others, two ſorts of pines, the white and the red; four ſorts of firs; two ſorts of cedar and oak, the white and the red; the male and female maple; three ſorts of aſh trees; the free, the mungrel, and the baſtard; three ſorts of walnut trees; the hard, the ſoft, and the ſmooth; vaſt numbers of beech trees, and white wood; white and red elms, and poplars. The Indians hollow the red elms into canoes, ſome of which are made out of one piece, and will contain twenty perſons; others are made of the bark, the different pieces of which they ſew together with the inner rind, and daub over the ſeams with pitch, or rather a bituminous matter reſembling pitch, to prevent their leaking; and the ribs of theſe canoes are made of boughs of trees. About November the bears and wild cats take up their habitations in the hollow elms, and remain there till April. Here are alſo found cherry trees, plum trees, the vinegar tree, the fruit of which, infuſed in water, produces vinegar; an aquatic plant, called alaco, the fruit of which may be made into a confection; the white thorn; the cotton tree, on the top of which grow ſeveral tufts of flowers, when ſhaken in the morning, before the dew falls off, produces honey, that may be boiled up into ſugar, the ſeed being a pod, containing a very fine kind of cotton; the ſun-plant, which reſembles a marigold, and grows to the height of ſeven or eight feet; Turkey corn; French beans; gourds, melons, capillaire, and the hop-plant.

The animal creation conſtitutes the moſt curious and intereſting part of the natural hiſtory of Canada. It is to the ſpoils of theſe that we owe the materials of many of our manufactures, and moſt of the commerce as yet carried on between us and that province. The American beaver, though reſembling the creature known in Europe by that name, has many particulars which render it the moſt curious animal we are acquainted with. It is near four feet in length, and weighs ſixty or ſeventy pounds; they live from fifteen to twenty years, and the females bring forth four young ones at a time. It is an amphibious quadruped, that does not continue long at a time in the water, but yet cannot live without frequently bathing in it. The ſavages, who waged continual war with this animal, believed it to be a rational creature, that it lived in ſociety, and was governed by a leader reſembling their own ſachem, or prince. It muſt, indeed, be allowed, that the curious accounts given of this animal by ingenious travellers, the manner in which it contrives its habitation, provides food to ſerve during the winter, and always in proportion to the continuance

tinuance and ſeverity of it, are ſufficient to ſhew the near approaches of inſtinct to reaſon, and even in ſome inſtances the ſuperiority of the former. The colours are different; black, brown, white, yellow and ſtraw-colour; but it is obſerved, that the lighter their colour, the leſs quantity of fur they are cloathed with, and live in warmer climates. The furs of the beaver are of two kinds, the dry and the green; the dry fur is the ſkin before it is applied to any uſe; the green are the furs that are worn, after being ſewed to one another, by the Indians, who beſmear them with unctuous ſubſtances, which not only render them more pliable, but give the fine down that is manufactured into hats, the oily quality which renders it proper to be worked up with dry fur. Both the Dutch and Engliſh have of late found the ſecret of making excellent clothes, gloves, and ſtockings, as well as hats, from the beaver fur. Beſides the fur, this uſeful animal produces the true caſtoreum, which is contained in bags in the lower part of the belly, different from the teſticles: the value of this drug is well known. The fleſh of the beaver is a moſt delicious food, but when boiled, it has a diſagreeable reliſh.

The elk is of the ſize of a horſe or mule. Many extraordinary medicinal qualities, particularly that of curing the falling-ſickneſs, are aſcribed to the hoof of the left foot of this animal. Its fleſh is very agreeable and nouriſhing, and its colour a mixture of light-grey and dark-red. They love the cold countries; and when the winter affords them no graſs, they gnaw the bark of trees. It is dangerous to approach very near this animal when he is hunted, as he ſometimes ſprings furiouſly on his purſuers, and tramples them to pieces. To prevent this, the hunter throws his clothes to him, and while the deluded animal ſpends his fury on theſe, he takes proper meaſures to diſpatch him.

There is a carnivorous animal here, called the carcajou, of the feline or cat kind, with a tail ſo long, that a celebrated writer* ſays he twiſted it ſeveral times round his body. Its body is about two feet in length, from the end of the ſnout to the tail. It is ſaid, that this animal, winding himſelf about a tree, will dart from thence upon the elk, twiſting his ſtrong tail round his body, and cut his throat in a moment.

The buffaloe, a kind of wild ox, has much the ſame appearance with thoſe of Europe; his body is covered with

* Charlevoix.

a black wool, which is highly eſteemed. The fleſh of the female is very good; and the buffaloe hides, are ſoft and pliable as chamois leather, but ſo very ſtrong, that the bucklers which the Indians make uſe of are hardly penetrable by a muſket ball. The Canadian roebuck is a domeſtic animal. Wolves are ſcarce in Canada, but they afford the fineſt furs in all the country: their fleſh is white, and good to eat; and they purſue their prey to the tops of the talleſt trees. The black foxes are greatly eſteemed, and very ſcarce; but thoſe of other colours are more common; and ſome on the upper Miſſiſſippi are of a ſilver colour, and very beautiful. They live upon water-fowls, which they decoy with their clutches by a thouſand antic tricks, and then ſpring upon, and devour them. The Canadian pole-cat has a moſt beautiful white fur, except the tip of his tail, which is as black as jet. Nature has given this animal no defence but its urine, the ſmell of which is nauſeous and intolerable; this, when attacked, it ſprinkles plentifully on its tail, and throws it on the aſſailant. The Canadian wood-rat is of a beautiful ſilver colour, with a buſhy tail, and twice as big as the European: the female carries under her belly a bag, which ſhe opens and ſhuts at pleaſure; and in that ſhe places her young when purſued. Here are three ſorts of ſquirrels; that called the flying ſquirrel will leap forty paces and more, from one tree to another. This little animal is eaſily tamed, and is very lively; he puts up wherever he can find a place, in one's ſleeve, pocket, or muff; he firſt pitches on his maſter, whom he will diſtinguiſh among twenty perſons. The Canadian porcupine is leſs than a middling dog; when roaſted he eats full as well as a ſucking pig. The hares and rabbits differ little from thoſe in Europe, only they turn grey in winter. There are two ſorts of bears here, one of a reddiſh, and the other of a black colour; but the former is the moſt dangerous. Theſe bears are not naturally fierce, unleſs when wounded, or oppreſſed with hunger. They are ſaid to ſupport themſelves during the winter, when the ſnow lies from four to ſix feet deep, by ſucking their paws. Scarcely any thing among the Indians is undertaken with greater ſolemnity than hunting the bear; and an alliance with a noted bear-hunter, who has killed ſeveral in one day, is more eagerly ſought after than that of one who has rendered himſelf famous in war. The reaſon is, becauſe this chace ſupplies the family with food and raiment.

Of the feathered creation, they have eagles, falcons, partridges, grey, red, and black, with long tails, which they ſpread out as a fan, and make a very beautiful appearance; woodcocks are ſcarce in Canada, but ſnipes, and other water-

water-game, are plentiful. Here are black-birds, ſwallows, and larks; no leſs than twenty-two different ſpecies of ducks, and a great number of ſwans, turkeys, geeſe, buſtards, teal, water-hens, cranes, and other large water-fowl; but always at a diſtance from houſes. The Canadian wood-pecker is a beautiful bird. Thruſhes and goldfinches are found here; but the chief Canadian bird of melody is the white-bird, which is a kind of ortolan, very ſhowy, and remarkable for announcing the return of ſpring *.

Among the reptiles of this country, the rattle-ſnake only deſerves attention. Some of theſe are as big as a man's leg, and they are long in proportion. What is moſt remarkable in this animal is the tail, which is ſcaly like a coat of mail, and on which it is ſaid there grows every year one ring, or row of ſcales; ſo that they know its age by its tail, as we do that of a horſe by its teeth. In moving it makes a rattling noiſe, from which it has its name. The bite of this ſerpent is mortal, if a remedy is not applied immediately. In all places where this dangerous reptile is bred, there grows a plant, which is called rattle-ſnake herb, the root of which (ſuch is the goodneſs of Providence) is a certain antidote againſt the venom of this ſerpent, and that with the moſt ſimple preparation, for it requires only to be pounded or chewed, and applied like a plaſter to the wound. The rattle-ſnake ſeldom bites paſſengers, unleſs it is provoked; and never darts itſelf at any perſon without firſt rattling three times with its tail. When purſued, if it has but little time to recover, it folds itſelf round, with the head in the middle, and then darts itſelf with great fury and violence againſt its purſuers: nevertheleſs, the ſavages chace it, and find its fleſh very good; and being alſo of a medicinal quality, it is uſed by the American apothecaries in particular caſes. Some writers are of opinion that the fiſheries in Canada, if properly improved, would be more likely to enrich that country than even the fur trade. The river St. Lawrence contains perhaps the greateſt variety of any in the world, and theſe in the greateſt plenty and of the beſt ſorts. Beſides a great variety of other fiſh in the rivers and lakes, are ſea-wolves, ſea-cows, porpoiſes, the lencornet, the goberque, the ſea-plaiſe, ſalmon, trout, turtle, lobſters, the chaouralou, ſturgeon, and achigeau; the gilthead, tunny, trout, turtle, prey, ſmelts, conger-eels, mackarel, ſoals, herrings, anchovies, and pilchards. The ſea-wolf, ſo called from its howling, is an amphibious creature; the largeſt are ſaid to weigh two thouſand pounds; their fleſh is good eating; and the profit of it lies in the oil,

* Buffon.

which is proper for burning, and currying of leather; their ſkins make excellent coverings for trunks, and though not ſo fine as morocco leather, they preſerve their freſhneſs better, and are leſs liable to cracks. The ſhoes and boots made of thoſe ſkins let in no water, and, when properly tanned, make excellent and laſting covers for ſeats. The Canadian ſea-cow is larger than the ſea-wolf, but reſembles it in figure: it has two teeth of the thickneſs and length of a man's arm, which, when grown, look like horns, and are very fine ivory, as well as its other teeth. Some of the porpoiſes of the river St. Lawrence are ſaid to yield a hogſhead of oil; and of their ſkins waiſtcoats are made, which are muſket proof. The lencornet is a kind of cuttle-fiſh, quite round, or rather oval; there are three ſorts of them, which differ only in ſize; ſome being as large as a hogſhead, and others but a foot long; they catch only the laſt, and that with a torch; they are excellent eating. The goberque has the taſte and ſmell of a ſmall cod. The ſea-plaiſe is good eating; they are taken with long poles armed with iron hooks. The chaouraſou is an armed fiſh, about five feet long, and as thick as a man's thigh, reſembling a pike; but is covered with ſcales that are a proof againſt a dagger; its colour is a ſilver grey; and there grows under his mouth a long bony ſubſtance, ragged at the edges. One may readily conceive, that an animal ſo well fortified is a ravager among the inhabitants of the water; but we have few inſtances of fiſh making prey of the feathered creation, which this fiſh does, however, with much art. He conceals himſelf among the canes and reeds, and in ſuch a manner that nothing is to be ſeen beſides his weapon, which he holds raiſed perpendicularly above the ſurface of the water; the fowls, which come to take reſt, imagining the weapon to be only a withered reed, perch upon it; but they are no ſooner alighted, than the fiſh opens his throat, and makes ſuch a ſudden motion to ſeize his prey, that it ſeldom eſcapes him. This fiſh is an inhabitant of the lakes. The ſturgeon is both a freſh and ſalt water fiſh, taken on the coaſts of Canada and the lakes, from eight to twelve feet long, and proportionably thick. There is a ſmall kind of ſturgeon, the fleſh of which is very tender and delicate. The achigeau, and the gilthead, are fiſh peculiar to the river St. Lawrence. Some of the rivers breed a kind of crocodile, that differs but little from thoſe of the Nile.

The ſeal has been ranked in the claſs of fiſh; though he is not dumb, he is always produced on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is ſomewhat like that of a maſtiff. He has four paws which are very ſhort, eſpecially the

the hinder ones, which ſerve him rather to crawl than to walk upon; they are ſhaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His ſkin is hard and covered with ſhort hair. He is at firſt white, but turns ſandy or black, as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all theſe three different colours. There are two different kinds of ſeals. The larger one ſometimes weighs two thouſand pounds, and ſeems to have a ſharper ſnout than the others. The ſmall ones, whoſe ſkin is commonly marbled, are active, and more dexterous in extricating themſelves out of the ſnares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them ſo far as to make them follow them. The dams bring forth their young upon the rocks, and ſometimes on the ice. They more frequently ſuckle them on land than in the water. When they want to teach them to ſwim, it is ſaid they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then in the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are ſtrong enough to ſwim of themſelves. Moſt little birds flutter about from ſpray to ſpray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boiſterous winds; it is not therefore ſurpriſing, that the ſeal produced on land, ſhould uſe her little ones to live under water. There is a very ſimple manner of fiſhing for theſe amphibious animals; who are uſed, when they are in the ſea, to enter into the creeks with the tide. As ſoon as ſome place is diſcovered where they reſort in ſhoals, it is ſurrounded with nets and ſtakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high-water this opening is ſtopped up, and when the tide is gone down, the fiſh remains on dry ground. All that is neceſſary is to kill them. Sometimes the fiſhermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking-places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are eaſily caught; if they are killed, they ſink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs, that are trained up to dive for them ſeven or eight fathom under water. The grain of the ſeals' ſkin is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If it is not quite ſo fine, it preſerves its colour longer. The fleſh of the ſeal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil. For this purpoſe, it is ſufficient to ſet it on the fire in a copper or earthen veſſel. It is thought frequently ſufficient to ſpread the fat upon large ſquares made of boards, where it melts of itſelf, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpoſe.

Nova Scotia, by which at preſent is underſtood all the coaſt of three hundred leagues in length, included between

the limits of New-England, and the ſouth coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, ſeemed at firſt to have comprehended only the great triangular peninſula, lying nearly in the middle of this ſpace. The climate of this country, though within the temperate zone, has been found rather unfavourable to European conſtitutions. They are wrapt up in the gloom of a fog during great part of the year, and for four or five months it is intenſely cold. But though the cold in winter and the heat in ſummer are great, they come on gradually, ſo as to prepare the body for enduring both. From ſuch an unfavourable climate little can be expected. Nova Scotia, or New Scotland, was, till lately, almoſt a continued foreſt; and agriculture, though attempted by the Engliſh ſettlers, has hitherto made little progreſs. In moſt parts the ſoil is thin and barren, the corn it produces, of a ſhrivelled kind like rye, and the graſs intermixed with a cold ſpungy moſs. However, it is not uniformly bad; there are tracts in the peninſula to the ſouthward, which do not yield to the beſt land in New England; and, in general, the ſoil is adapted to the produce of hemp and flax. The timber is extremely proper for ſhipbuilding, and produces pitch and tar.

Notwithſtanding the forbidding appearance of this country, it was here that ſome of the European ſettlements were made. The firſt grant of lands in it was given by James I. to his ſecretary ſir William Alexander, from whom it had the name of Nova Scotia, or New Scotland. Since then it has frequently changed hands, from one private proprietor to another, and from the French to the Engliſh nation backward and forward. It was not confirmed to the Engliſh till the peace of Utrecht, and their deſign in acquiring it does not ſeem to have ſo much ariſen from any proſpect of direct profit to be obtained by it, as from an apprehenſion that the French, by poſſeſſing this province, might have had it in their power to annoy our other ſettlements. Upon
A. D. 1716. this principle, three thouſand families were tranſported, at the charge of the government, into this country. The town they erected is called Halifax, from the earl of that name, to whoſe wiſdom and care we owe this ſettlement. The town of Halifax ſtands upon Chebucto Bay, very commodiouſly ſituated for the fiſhery, and has a communication with moſt parts of the province, either by land carriage, the ſea, or navigable rivers, with a fine harbour, where a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips of war lies during the winter, and in ſummer puts to ſea, under the command of a commodore, for the protection of the fiſhery, and to ſee that the articles of the peace, relating thereto, are duly obſerved

obſerved by the French. The town has an entrenchment, and is ſtrengthened with forts of timber. Three regiments of men were ſtationed in it to protect the inhabitants from the Indians, whoſe reſentment, however excited or fomented, has been found implacable againſt the Engliſh. The number of inhabitants is ſaid to be fifteen or ſixteen thouſand, who live very comfortably by the trade they carry on in furs and naval ſtores, by their fiſheries, and by ſupplying the wants of the governor and the garriſon already mentioned.

The other towns of leſs note are Annapolis Royal, which ſtands on the eaſt ſide of the bay of Fundy, and though but a ſmall wretched place, was formerly the capital of the province. It has one of the firſt harbours in America, capable of containing a thouſand veſſels at anchor in the utmoſt ſecurity. This place is alſo protected by a fortified garriſon. St. John's is a new ſettlement at the mouth of the river of that name, that falls into the bay of Fundy on the weſt ſide. Since the concluſion of the American war, the emigration of loyaliſts to this province from the United States, has been very great. By them new towns have been raiſed, but particularly at Port Roſeway, where is now a city named *Shelburne*, which extends two miles on the water ſide, and one mile back, with wide ſtreets croſſing each other at right angles. It is ſaid to have about nine thouſand inhabitants, excluſive of what is ſtyled the *Black Town*, (containing twelve hundred free blacks, who ſerved on the royal ſide during the war), which ſtands about a mile from Shelburne, and ſeparated from it by a ſmall freſh-water river. The harbour here is deep, capacious, and ſecure, and the tide hath a great riſe and fall. Such of the loyaliſts as apply for lands have in proportion to the property they poſſeſſed before the troubles in America commenced, allowing for ſuch as have large families to provide for. And it is ſaid that the new appointed governor of New Brunſwick has it in his inſtructions to grant, without fee or reward, to ſuch reduced officers as ſerved in provincial corps during the late war in North America, and ſhall perſonally apply for the ſame, the following quantities of lands, ſubject at the expiration of ten years to the ſame quit rents as other lands are ſubject in the province of Nova Scotia, as alſo ſubject to the ſame conditions of cultivation and improvement. To every perſon having the rank of a field officer, three thouſand acres; and to every ſubaltern one thouſand acres. The reduced officers of the navy are entitled to land in the ſame proportion. The exports from Great Britain to this country conſiſt chiefly of woollen and linen cloth, and other neceſſaries for wear, of fiſhing tackle, and

and rigging for ſhips. The amount of our exports, at an average of three years, before the new ſettlements, was about 26,500*l.* The only articles we can get in exchange are timber, and the produce of the fiſhery, which, at a like average, amounted to 38,000*l.* But from the late increaſe of inhabitants, it is ſuppoſed that they will now erect ſaw-mills, and endeavour to ſupply the Weſt India iſlands with timber of every kind, as well as with the produce of the fiſhery, which will be a profitable article to both countries. The whole population of Nova Scotia and the iſland adjoining is eſtimated at fifty thouſand. Recent accounts of theſe ſettlements repreſent them at preſent in a declining ſtate, great numbers of the houſes in the new town being uninhabited, and conſiderably reduced in value.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.